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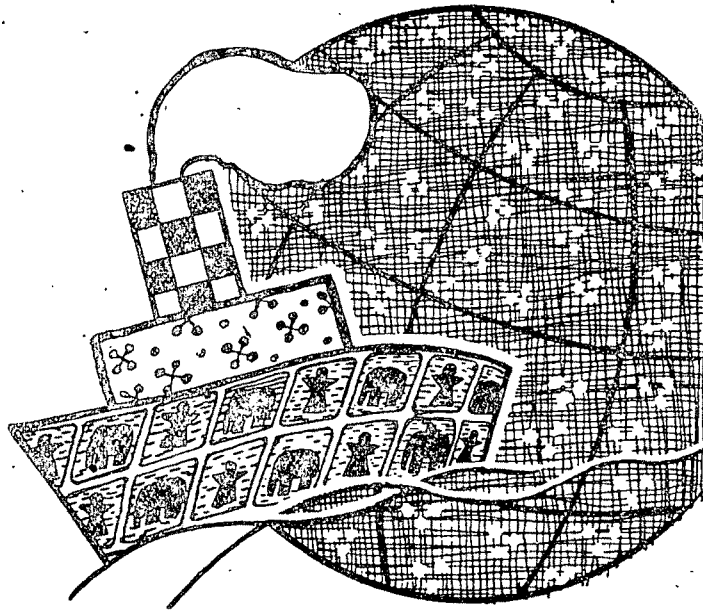
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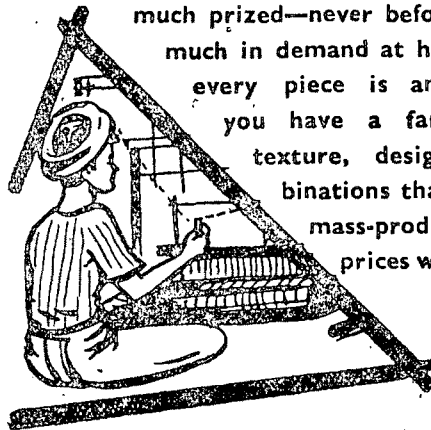
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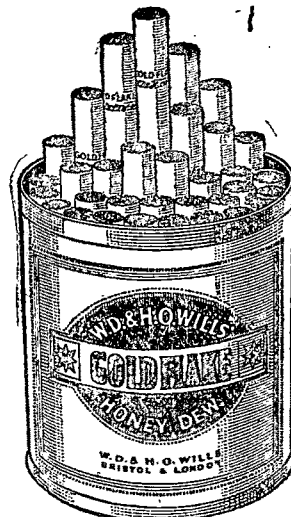
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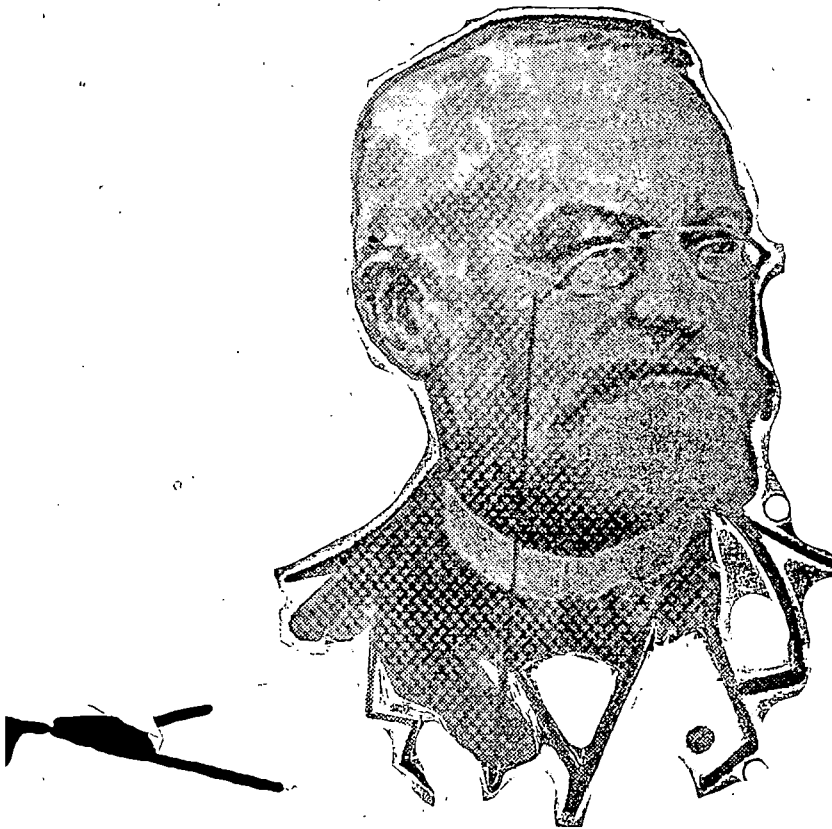
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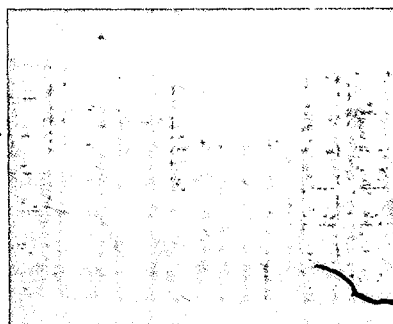
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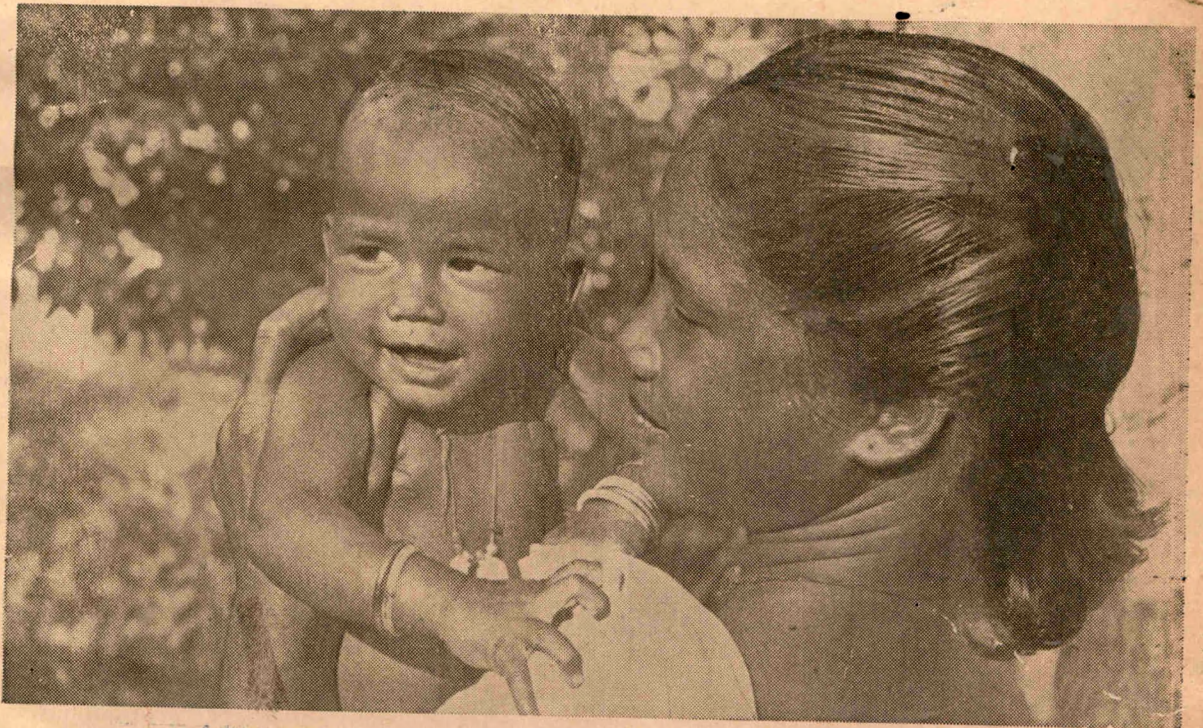
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NOTES

New Year Prospects

The Old Year is out and the New Year is in. We take this opportunity to wish all our friends, associates and readers a happy and prosperous New Year. We would further ask them to join with us in hoping and wishing a dawn of common sense and awakening to the stark realities of the problems that beset us from all sides, to all those whom we have put in power and office. In particular we wish a long life full of achievements to Pandit Nehru, who is the sole hope of the people, and we hope he will realise within this year that he is not the Prime Minister of the whole world, but of a divided India, whose suffering public has been let down by his Cabinet all along this decade.

It might be asked as to why we end our New Year greetings on a cynical note. It is because we find that almost all the problems of 1957 have reached out into 1958, without any lessening of tension and stress and without any signs that those who are in power are actively attempting to tackle them. We know that all of them are inexperienced and that some of them are arrogant to boot, but we had hoped that they would at least comprehend the nature and extent of the distress of the people.

Our Constitution is an admirable one. It should be inscribed in letters of gold, on real parchment, put in a golden casket, adorned with the nine precious stones, locked up as a museum piece—and a new one drawn up. It has made the life of the law-abiding common citizen one long journey into inferno, it has provided the law-breaker with all the safe-guards and escape-holes he could ever dream of, and put the bureaucracy on a higher pedestal than it ever had. As a result the public utility services are

all running down-hill, without any possibility of any brakes being applied and corruption and immorality is rife, even in high places.

The Constitution was drawn up by eminent people, who were well-versed in law but had no understanding whatsoever of the nature of problems, arising out of human psychology.

Man is an animal with primitive passions, lusts and cravings, which can only be regulated by social laws and regulations. These laws and regulations, particularly those that define crime and the punishment thereof, have to have teeth and claws, or else they can never be deterrent, where the reckless and the venturesome are concerned. And if the Social Laws become ineffective, the Law of the Jungle is bound to prevail, as it is doing today all over India. This eventuality was evidently beyond the conception of the enthusiasts who drew up the Constitution or of the motley crowd that formed the Constituent Assembly.

Take for example, the Rashtrabhasha. Hindi is to be our official language, as laid down in our Constitution. What Hindi? Avadhi of Tulsidas, Brij Bhasa of the Vaishnav poets, Khari-boli of the north-west U.P., Hindustani of the common gentry, Maithili of Vidyapati—which is akin to Bengali—or the hotchpotch of the *Kanth-langoti* type? There is no definition!

And what about the Equal Rights of all citizens of India? There are words in Hindi that are obscene expressions in other Indian National languages, are they to be retained in the official terminology? What about the grammar and idiom, which is a queer mixture of several contradictory racial groups of basic languages? Have not the non-Hindi-speaking peoples, who are the majority in India, any say in the matter? There seems to be no answer.

A Critique of Achievements

The Prime Minister of India's address at the Associated Chamber of Commerce makes an attempt to review the achievements India has made during the past decade. He admits that the problems that face the country are tremendous and whatever have been done are very small compared with what would have to be done. He makes the observation that in India today, one of the most popular pastimes is to criticize the Government and to condemn its activities as if nothing has happened since independence. He states that an expert on administration who had visited India two or three years ago and critically examined the developments in this country thought that the most surprising thing about India was that the people seemed to be unaware of the country's tremendous achievements. But the people of this country may pertinently ask what are actually the "tremendous achievements." What is the standard of evaluation for judging whether the achievements are tremendous or not?

Pandit Nehru himself states that Mahatma Gandhi used to say that whenever a problem arose efforts should be made to judge the effect of it on the poorest people. This was the criterion which India had placed before it in formulating its social objectives. By this standard certainly India has not achieved anything memorable since the attainment of independence. If the poorest man in the country is asked about his reaction to the so-called achievements of the country, he will sharply retort that he does not feel at all whether the country is independent or the Britishers still rule the country. The criterion of achievements must necessarily be the welfare of the people, the material and social welfare, and not merely the spiritual. The poorer section of the people in the country still wallow in poverty and ignorance and disease and dirt. The light of freedom has neither enlightened their hearths and homes nor their minds. The poorest people are still the victims of drought and flood and epidemics. The poverty and the unemployment problems of the poor in this country remain unchanged, even though the first Five-Year Plan came and went and Second Five-Year Plan has come and is going. Today almost every home is faced with unemployment and poverty and the material achievements of the country cannot be measured in terms of a

Sindri or a Chittaranjan nor can it be measured in terms of spending huge sums of money, part of which is either unproductive or misappropriated.

We do not deny that there have been some achievements in the post-independence era. But this achievement does not benefit the poorest people in the country, it benefits the few privileged. The poor in this country still sits in the lowest rung of the ladder of achievements. That is why he is not much interested in the affairs of the State nor is there any incentive for him to keep himself informed about the developments in this country.

Pandit Nehru then passes on to a reference to Socialism. He says that it is a very wide term and has not been very precisely defined. Even Communists say that they want socialism. For some people Communism is a gospel and for others it is a bogey. He says that it is neither a gospel nor a bogey for India, which does not belong to any of these categories. That is why India is called an unaligned country. But that is not exactly the position. In the international power politics, India is much maligned because she thinks that she is unaligned. She is believed really by neither of these camps. The Communists think that India is on the side of the Capitalists. That is not wholly unjustified. India is still in the Commonwealth and she indirectly allows the growth of private capital in the country and she goes to Capitalist countries for loans.

The Capitalist countries on the other hand do not believe India. That is why foreign capital as is desired by India is not forthcoming.

They are apprehensive of India's policy of socialism. They find that in international politics India is more aligned with the Soviet block than with the other side. India sacrificed Tibet at the scaffold of China's imperialist policy. Today Tibet is virtually a province of China which she never was until China grabbed this independent country. When China attacked Tibet, Pandit Nehru said, "They (that is, China) are saying that they are liberating the country. But I do not know from whom." Today Nepal is a hot-bed of Communist infiltration and on account of India's namby-pamby policy, anti-Indian outlook is fast developing in that country. But Nepal is strategically of great importance to India because Nepal fortifies the

northern frontiers. India's foreign policy lacks any shape and the result is that she is believed by neither of these contending Powers.

As regards socialism, Pandit Nehru says that there are many forms of socialism. He is not going to define it nor is he tied by any particular definition of it. He wants everyone in India to have equal opportunities for progress and then to raise the level of progress. The concept of socialism has been so fluid that India is moving away and away from this philosophy of economic structure. There is much advantage in not defining a thing and this is done by an opportunist who twists things according to his advantage to suit the situation. Does it indicate that the staunch socialist of yesterday is fast becoming the hard-boiled capitalist of to-morrow? Sriman Narayan, the General Secretary of the Congress, in his pamphlet, "A Plea for Ideological Clarity," observes: "But the fact remains that the greatest factor which is at the root of our weakness is the lack of ideological clarity." . . . "Even the Avadi resolution on Socialist Pattern of Society is gradually losing its appeal for want of clarity and effective implementation." Sriman Narayan concludes by saying: "While we do not desire to create hatred and bitterness towards the privileged sections of the society, the Congress can no longer afford to try to satisfy all interests at the same time. In our attempt to please every one, we are likely to displease everybody." The Indian National Congress is definitely moving away from the ideal of socialism and the Avadi resolution remains a mere wishful thinking. The recently-formed Socialist Forum within the Congress reveals that a feeling is growing among an influential section within the Congress that an ever-yawning gap stands between the idea of socialism and its realization. Socialism does not necessarily mean violence and socialism can also be achieved nowadays by peaceful means through legislation. Whatever may be the meaning of socialism, one thing is certain about it and it is that socialism involves the State ownership of key and large-scale industries and it also brings about a levelling of the economic classes. Pandit Nehru's emphasis is not on economic classes but on castes and this surely is a diversion of attention from the key point to the subsidiary point and in other words this is just an evasion of the issue. In

India we find today that the concentration of capital is on the increase, notwithstanding the "severe" taxation measures. The trouble with the Congress in implementing the socialism in practice is that it is infested with old die-hards who always have a tendency to look askance at socialism which is just Greek to them. They neither know what is socialism nor do they believe in it. Congress today, that is, the ruling party, is the den of vested interests to whom socialism would mean ringing in a deathknell. The result is that Pandit Nehru's lone voice preaching socialism remains a cry in the wilderness being a mere pious wish.

Must India Devalue her Rupee?

Presiding over the 40th annual session of the all-India Economic Conference which was held recently at Nagpur, Prof. B. R. Shenoy suggested devaluation of the rupee and a deflation of the Plan targets to match the available resources as the main solutions for monetary and economic stabilisation in the country. He said that the three factors which necessitated devaluation of the rupee were: Indian exports today are below the pre-war level notwithstanding an increase of 85 per cent in industrial production and of 30 per cent in agricultural production; the vast gap between the internal and external prices of gold; and the gap between the landed costs and market prices of imported goods for which free internal market existed. Prof. Shenoy said that this gap between the prices of gold and between the landed cost and market prices of imported goods could not be covered except through devaluation and cessation of further inflation.

We confess we fail to understand how the devaluation of the rupee will reduce the gap between the internal and external prices of gold in the country. Even before the devaluation of rupee in 1949, there was this abnormal gap between the external and internal prices of gold. Under the IMF price fixation of gold, the price of a tola of gold before devaluation was Rs. 45 only. But at that price gold was never available in India during and after the war, although India has been a member of the IMF ever since 1954. After devaluation, the price of a tola of gold should not exceed Rs. 62; but still at that price gold has not been available in this country. It is really a puzzle how

devaluation of the rupee will bring equilibrium between the external and the internal prices of gold. Gold is sold in this country at a profiteering price with the very knowledge, if not the connivance, of the authorities. India produces nearly 5 million ounces of gold a year. Her annual requirements stand at about 12 million ounces. The balance quantity is smuggled into India which is regarded as the paradise for gold smuggling. India is the traditional "sink" of the yellow metal. Since the beginning of the second world war, the import of gold has been strictly prohibited in India. But it is an open secret that a large quantity of gold is smuggled into the country. Of all the persons and the institutions that benefit on account of this high price of gold in India is the Bombay Bullion Exchange, a private concern and also other bullion dealers in the country. By prohibiting the import of gold, the Government of India has been patronizing these handful of persons who make huge profits on account of the short supply of this metal in this country.

Suggestions were made that as India is losing customs duty as well as valuable foreign exchanges on account of the clandestine import of gold into India, it is better that India should allow import of gold against sterling and that would yield a high import duty to the Government. This open import would have also forced down the prices and profiteering would have been controlled. But the authorities turned a deaf ear to this suggestion. Alternatively it was also suggested that in order to meet the shortage in foreign exchange the Reserve Bank of India should purchase gold and jewellery from the people either against cash or against long-dated bonds. But this suggestion has also gone unheeded. Therefore devaluation is no remedy to bring down the price disparities in gold. If the cost of gold production is high in this country, the Government should give subsidy to the Mysore Government so that gold can be sold in the internal market of India at a price not exceeding the price as fixed by the International Monetary Fund (that is, Rs. 62 a tola).

Devaluation is not in any way a panacea for the economic ills of a country. The IMF has also deprecated that devaluation cannot cure the deficit in a country's balance of payments

position. The main proof is that neither India nor the United Kingdom has been able to stop the persistent deficits in their balance of payments position. The devaluation in 1949 has not in any way helped India, rather it has done harm to our foreign trade. From 1949, India has been running adverse trade balances, with the solitary exception of 1950, when the balance of trade was in favour of India on account of stockpiling purchases by the USA and other countries apprehending the outbreak of the third world war following the declaration of war in Korea. But since then India's balance of payments position has been adverse. From 1951 to 1956, the total adverse balance of payments for India was as high as Rs. 802 crores.

The very suggestion of devaluation of the currency should be regarded as mischievous, no matter from whatever source does it come. When a country imports more, the devaluation would bring about an adverse trade position. India today is heavily importing capital goods as well as foodgrains, particularly from the USA, a dollar area. As a result of the last devaluation India today is made to pay 44 per cent more on these imports of capital goods and foodgrains. That have resulted in turn in higher cost of production and also higher prices. The export of prices of Indian goods since devaluation, contrary to expectation, have gone up by about 20 per cent. Devaluation raises the cost of imported goods and also the cost of living and the internal price level as a whole. The rising internal price level ultimately influences the external price level, that is the prices of exportable commodities. One of the major causes of India's adverse trade balance today is the devaluation of 1949. Professor Shenoy has complained that India's exports are now much lower than what they were before devaluation. But the rising prices of goods have brought down the fall in exports. Further, India is to pay at a higher rate for the repatriation of foreign capital and also for the redemption of debt to the IBRD and the IMF. All external payments having to be made in terms of gold or dollar, India is compelled to pay more and receive less in terms of gold. Had there been gold currencies in circulation between the two countries, India could have benefited by devaluation as in that case it would have been cheaper to make purchases from India.

But on account of managed currency and also on account of transacting only through gold bullion, India has lost and stands to lose for devaluation of the rupee.

Professor Shenoy further observes: "Devaluation may not raise the prices of imported goods or of gold. Its incidence would be on the price differential and therefore, on the abnormal profit margins of the importers and of the gold smugglers." But devaluation inevitably will raise the cost of imported goods and actually it has raised such prices. It is elementary arithmetic to say that if a country is required to pay more on its imports, prices will certainly rise. Gold smuggling is an illegal affair and devaluation of the currency will have little effect on its price, rather much more foreign exchanges of India will be smuggled out of the country.

He has further suggested that "the test of economic statesmanship is, on the one hand, resisting the temptation to invest beyond the savings which the public are willing and able to produce and, on the other, to limit the haste of an impatient democracy for the much-needed social legislation to what the pace of expansion of output would permit without jeopardising the pace of capital formation." The test as laid down by the above suggestion is vague and incapable of tangible measurement. The ability and willingness of the people cannot be a standard for investment, particularly in a planned economy. In a planned economy having a socialistic pattern of economy, savings are created on a national basis by taxation, by borrowing and also by deficit financing. Therefore, the willingness or the ability of the people to save cannot be viewed as an isolated phenomenon; it is inter-connected and dependent on various factors. The agency for mobilising the savings of the nation is Government and it is for the Government to turn private savings into social savings by withdrawing surplus income of the people by taxation or by borrowing. The people's willingness to save and ability to save are therefore not independent factors for determining the basis of the planned economy. Had it been the case, no planned economy could be possible, particularly in a country where private enterprise still plays a predominant part. In a backward country like that of ours, there cannot be over-investment at a level of annual expenditure

at Rs. 1000 crores. It is rather too low. The post-war Germany has spent about 2 billion dollars within four to five years. Russia has spent much more on her economic plans than what is being spent by India on her plans. The shortage of foreign exchange is to be attributed to various other factors, and not to the alleged over-investment. It is on account of the inherent difficulty in planning in a democracy where private enterprises, like commercial banks do not co-operate with the authorities. The present shortage of foreign exchange is to a considerable extent due to the leakage of India's export earnings.

The present debacle in planning the economy in India is not on account of the shortage of internal savings or external assistance. India has received enough of these two kinds of funds. The defect lies fundamentally with the concept of planning, in not pursuing large-scale industrialisation on a more progressive basis.

Developments on Kashmir

The latest Security Council move on Kashmir by adopting a resolution to send Graham to the subcontinent of India to mediate over the 10-year old dispute indicates that the Anglo-American Power block is not in a mood to give up their game of using the Kashmir issue as a weapon in cold war. The first resolution on Graham mission was vetoed by Soviet Russia as it contained a clause authorising Dr. Graham to look into the progress of demilitarization on either side in the dispute. The second resolution has subsequently been adopted on omitting the clause on demilitarization. But in view of Jarring Report on Kashmir, the resolution on Graham Mission is quite uncalled for, because the points raised by India to Mr. Jarring had not been decided over by the Security Council. India has declared that Pakistan has committed an act of aggression on India by invading her territory. Pakistan has not been asked by the Security Council to vacate this aggression. The issue on this point is very simple. India came to the Security Council in order to get redress of her complaint that Pakistan must withdraw from the occupied parts of Jammu and Kashmir which were forcibly taken over by Pakistan. But the Security Council did not ask Pakistan to do that. Instead it placed the

aggressor (Pakistan) and the invaded country on the same footing.

India has declared several times that she is bound only by the Security Council resolution of August 13, 1948. This resolution consists of two main parts. Part I provided for a simultaneous cease-fire order in both parts of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the date to be agreed-upon within four days. Both countries were called upon to refrain from taking any measures that might augment the military potential of their forces, including "organized and unorganized" elements. Other paragraphs dealt with military observers and liaison, and obligated India and Pakistan to "appeal to their respective peoples to assist in creating and maintaining an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiation."

Part II of this resolution dealt with truce agreement. Pakistan was to withdraw its troops from Jammu and Kashmir and use "its best endeavour" to secure withdrawal of tribesmen and Pakistan nationals not normally resident in the State who had entered for the purpose of fighting. The evacuated territory was to be administered by local authorities under the surveillance of the United Nations Commission. When Pakistan forces and tribesmen had been withdrawn, India was to begin the withdrawal of the bulk of its forces in stages to be agreed upon by the Commission. Pending a final settlement India was to maintain on her side of the cease-fire line such forces as the Commission agreed were necessary "to assist local authorities in the observance of law and order."

Part III of the August 13 resolution consisted of a reaffirmation by both Governments of their wish "that the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people and to that end, upon acceptance of the Truce Agreement, both Governments agree to enter into consultations with the Commission to determine fair and equitable conditions whereby such free expression will be assured."

The Government of India pointed out to Mr. Jarring that Pakistan had not performed her part of the obligation as laid down in the resolution of August 13, 1948. Mr. Jarring reported to the Security Council, "The Government of India laid particular emphasis on the fact that, in their view, two factors stood in the

way of the implementation of the two U.N. resolutions. The first of these was that I of the resolution of 13 August 1948 . . . in their view, not been implemented by Government of Pakistan." Particularly felt that Pakistan had not refrained from measures that might augment its military potential in Kashmir, and had not co-operated "creating and maintaining an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations." India also felt aggrieved, Mr. J. reported, that the Security Council had not expressed itself on the question of whether their view was aggression committed by Pakistan on India. The Government of India felt it is incumbent on the Security Council express itself on this question," and equal incumbent on Pakistan to vacate the aggression. The Indian Government maintain that matters must precede execution of its commitments.

Mr. Jarring declared in his report that "could not fail to take note of the concerns expressed in connection with the changing political, economic and strategic factors surrounding the whole of the Kashmir question, together with the changing pattern of power relations in West and South Asia." He warned that the implementation of international agreements of an *ad hoc* character may become progressively more difficult, if not achieved quickly, "because the situation with which they were to cope tended to change." What Mr. Jarring meant "changed factors" was not clear. Evident meant ratification of Kashmir's accession to India on January 26 of this year and also the arms pact between the USA and Pakistan. The consequential U.S. military aid to Pakistan. But during the August session of the Security Council, Mr. Feroz Khan Noon allowed to interpret Mr. Jarring's report to the effect that the changed factors in his report referred only to the ratification of Kashmir's accession. India objected to this procedure allowing Pakistan to interpret the report to its advantage. Mr. Jarring, when asked to explain the report, refused to be drawn into controversy at that stage. India pointed out that conditions in regard to Kashmir had changed a great deal since the Council was first seized of the Kashmir question. India emphasized that the changed circumstances were on account of the

military aid to Pakistan and also Pakistan's not implementing the UNCIP resolution of August 13 by vacating aggression in Kashmir as was laid down by that resolution. India's viewpoint is that the accession of Kashmir has not been questioned by the Security Council ever. Kashmir is an established part of India, and that the adoption of a constitution by the Kashmir Constituent Assembly in November 1956 was not an innovating step, but an act growing out of an established accession to India. The requirements of a plebiscite have been satisfied by this act of ratification by the Kashmir Constituent Assembly as a plebiscite is nothing but an expression of the will of the people through their chosen representatives.

In the Security Council there was a suggestion to refer the Kashmir dispute to arbitration. But India refused to accept the arbitration. India declares that although she is not against the principle of arbitration in other situations, the particular issues at stake here are not suitable for arbitration "because such procedure would be inconsistent with the sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir and the rights and obligations of the Union of India in respect of this territory." Further, India is apprehensive that arbitration even on an isolated part of the resolutions of the UNCIP might be interpreted as indicating that Pakistan has a *locus standi* (right to be heard) in the Kashmir question because Pakistan is an aggressor. The Graham Mission which has been accepted by the Security Council in its December session is another attempt on the part of the Anglo-American Power block to reject India's claim that Pakistan should vacate the aggression first. This is not only an evasion of the issue, but is practically an act of support to Pakistan in her invasion of the Indian territory. But the question is why Pakistan is being supported in her forcible occupation of the Indian territory? The answer is simple. In Gilgit the USA has been allowed to build military bases and it is not so much the interest of Pakistan as that of the USA in not vacating the Pakistani aggression from Kashmir.

The Kashmir issue is being used by the Anglo-American block on putting pressure on the political integrity and stability of India. The main object behind the creation of Pakistan was to build a powerful ally that would support both the USA and the U.K. in their oil monopolies

in the Middle East. But that hope has been belied and Pakistan today is the victim of her own internal strifes. Mr. R. H. Shackford, an American journalist, made the following observations about Pakistan in May, 1957: "This country is in danger of slowly starving to death—in fact it would be starving and totally bankrupt if it were not for American aid. To read the newspapers and listen to Government officials here one would think that Kashmir and the feud with India were Pakistan's only problems."

Caste Riots in the South

Recently we had an occasion to refer to the unfortunate events in the Ramanathapuram districts in Madras. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in his report on these deplorable incidents says that in so far as burning of houses was concerned the Scheduled Castes had suffered most and had lost 3,000 houses. They were, the Commissioner says, "certainly weaker and terribly afraid" of the other party—the Maravars. The Commissioner reports that the four talukas affected by the riots were very backward and under-developed.

There was some excitement in the Lok Sabha on December 18 when Shri B. N. Datar, Minister of State for Home Affairs, on behalf of the Government initially refused to place before the House the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes claiming that it was privileged document. Some scheduled caste members of the House, however, pressed for its presentation and the Speaker Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar rejected Shri Datar's contention that the Report was a privileged document and asked him to place on the table of the House such portions of the Report on the Ramanathapuram riots as did not relate to arson, loot, etc.

The full story of the Ramanathapuram outrages would not be known for a long time to come and perhaps need not be known because it is not at all difficult for any Indian to make out a picture very much approximate to what had actually happened. However, the Government's reticence in taking people, nay even the Lok Sabha, into confidence is inexplicable. And such reticence is by no means restricted to this

isolated incident. Foreign experts often wonder at the paucity of official information on our national undertakings. The tendency to hold back ordinary economic and political information from the people is a dangerous phenomenon and unless eschewed in time may give rise to dictatorial tyranny—the signs of which are already apparent in many of our State-managed undertakings.

Portugal and Rule of Law

Portugal—rather the Government of the dictator, Dr. Oliveira Salazar—has been stubborn in its refusal to see reason over the question of acquiescing in the demand of the people of Goa for independence. The continuation of Portuguese occupation over parts of Indian territory, it should be noted, would have been impossible without the encouragement of some of the leading Western Powers—notably the United States and the United Kingdom. Yet what is the nature of the Salazar Dictatorship? There does not seem to be much awareness even in quarters where there should be such awareness in the full. For example, the New York weekly *New Leader* in a recent issue discussed the internal situation in Portugal but it apparently failed to draw the necessary conclusion. That, perhaps, recounts for the omission of Salazar in the following remark of the weekly: "Some day we will have the kind of world," the *New Leader* writes, "in which the Titos, Kaders and Sukarnos can be dealt with effectively by their own people—a world in which courageous spirits like Djilas, the Dedijers, Nagy, Dery, Hay, Zek, Tardos and Lubis are freer than the most powerful politician alive." It is really curious how the *New Leader* could overlook the presentation of intellectuals in Portugal.

Be that as it may a recent survey conducted on behalf of the International Commission of jurists—a body whose authority and respectability can hardly be called into question in this context—presents us with a fairly detailed account not only of recent political trials but also of the legal aspects of civil rights in Portugal. We give below a summary of the report as published in the Issue No. 7 of the *Bulletin of the International Commission of Jurists*:

"Since 1932 Portugal has been under the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar. There is a 120-member National Assembly with little real powers in so far as the Government is not responsible to the Assembly but to the President, who is supposed to be 'elected' every seven years. Even the Courts have no authority to comment upon the legality or constitutionality of Ordinances promulgated by the President. There was not a single contested election for Presidency. Moreover, candidates cannot contest the Presidential election unless they are approved by the Government. 'Although the National Assembly is elected every four years, for similar reasons there has only been one occasion on which any opposition candidates have stood. No opposition member has ever been elected to the National Assembly'."

About half the people of Portugal itself is disfranchised. Even then the Government does not hesitate to resort to any devices to deprive the opposition of even the slightest chances of success. The manner of holding elections completely violates the requirements of a secret ballot. The Government, moreover, does not allow any representative of the opposition to be present when the votes are counted.

There is virtually no freedom for the Press. As the survey reads: "In practice every newspaper and publication is subject to rigid censorship which excludes practically all criticism of the Government. The newspapers all bear the imprint 'Passed by the Censorship Committee'." No political party, except Dr. Salazar's own party, is recognised. Portugal gained UN membership in 1955 but yet the Government refused to grant permission to the formation of a national United Nations Association to encourage an interest in the work of the United Nations. Even student unions are not allowed to function; strikes and lock-outs are illegal. A worker who strikes may be punished to a term of imprisonment ranging from two to eight years. Trade Unions are regarded as criminal offenders.

The power of the political police is very extensive. Under the various laws many people were arrested by the Political Police and kept in their prisons or deported without trial for periods of years to the Portuguese deportation camps in Timor (East Indies), and in Portuguese Africa, or to the concentration camp of Tarrapal

in the island of Sal in the Cape Verde Archipelago. The police have authority to arrest and detain people without trial even up to six months (whereas before the rule of Dr. Salazar no one could be detained for more than 48 hours without a court's permission); and the police uses these arbitrary powers very frequently. While the Constitution concedes the right of *Habeas Corpus*, it is not granted in practice.

Fifty-two young people were recently tried by the Portuguese Government of whom only three were over thirty. More than half of them were students. They were arrested between January and May 1955 but contrary to Portuguese law which requires trial to be held within one year from the date of arrest, the trial had not begun before December, 1956 and was concluded only in June, 1957. During the trial it was proved beyond doubt that the police had tortured the students in prison. Seventy-two jurists of Lisbon and Oporto requested the Government to institute an enquiry into the conduct of the police. This demand was backed by another thirty-three jurists of Coimbra. How did the Government react? In the words of the *Survey*: "Except that some of the Jurists were threatened with 'security measures' for having signed the request, no action whatever was taken by the Government in the matter."

In another instance Professor Ruy Luis Gomes and four others were tried and convicted for the "crime" of sending an article to the newspapers (the article, it should be noted, was *not published* on account of censorship) in which they advocated for the restoration of free press, free speech and free assembly and for friendly discussions with India over the future of Goa. They were arrested in August 1954, and were duly convicted by the court.

B.B.C. Play Slanders India

Some of the Britishers, it appears, are finding it extremely difficult to reconcile themselves with the norms of civilised conduct—particularly in relation to India. They are even inclined to be oblivious of Indian independence as anecdote described by the President of the Associated Chamber of Commerce of a British firm asking its Indian Branch Manager to contact the Viceroy to get over certain difficulties. Apparently the hack writers of the British and

American Press are so used to slandering India that they find it extremely hard to divest themselves of this habit. Sometimes apologies are made: but apologies do not mean much when the thing goes on recurring. Oftener even such apologies are not also given as in the case of Daniel Bell who justifies his slanderous article about Calcutta on "Sociological" grounds. The news item given below is another example of this jaundiced attitude:

"New Delhi, December 17.—In reply to a question by Shri Maneswar Naik, whether it was a fact that television play produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation contained slanderous features against India and the Indian nation and if so, what action Government had taken in the matter, Shrimati Lakshmi N. Menon, Deputy Minister of External Affairs, said in the Rajya Sabha today:

"The play *Free Passage Home* contained certain objectionable features which were pointed out by our High Commission in London to the British Broadcasting Corporation. In reply, the author, Mr. Ian McCormick, has regretted giving any offence to Indian sentiment and has offered his apologies for any impression that the play was in any way biased against India."

The War Psychosis

The facts disclosed by Mr. Khrushchev in his interview with Mr. W. R. Hearst Junior, Editor-in-Chief and owner of the influential U.S. "Hearst newspapers" and the "International News Service Agency" provide an idea of the extent of the war psychosis. We reproduce the relevant portion of the conversation between Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Hearst and his American colleagues:

"*Considine*: You said that in case of war, American bases both in the country and abroad will be demolished by Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles. Does this mean that already today they are specially trained on all these targets?

"*Khrushchev*: This is a question for the chief of the general staff, as it lies outside the scope of my duties.

"That's what the general staff exists for, to be ready in case of war to hit those centres

which are decisive for the speedy ending of the war, for defeating the enemy.

"In connection with this I would like to express my views with regard to statements made by certain representatives of military circles and published in the Press. It was reported that, allegedly, a part of the American bomber force, with hydrogen and atomic bombs, were constantly in the air and always ready to strike against the Soviet Union. Reports have it that one-half of the planes are in the air.

"This is very dangerous. Such a situation serves as an illustration of the extent of the military psychosis in the U.S.A. When planes with hydrogen bombs take off, that means that many people will be in the air piloting them. There is always the possibility of a mental blackout when the pilot may take the slightest signal as a signal for action and fly to the target that he had been instructed to fly to. Under such conditions a war may start purely by chance, since immediately retaliatory action would be taken.

"Does this not go to show that in such a case a war may start as a result of sheer misunderstanding or of a derangement in the normal psychic state of a person, which may happen to anybody. Such a horrible possibility must be excluded. It may be that both sides will be against war, and yet war may still start as a result of the military psychosis whipped up in the United States of America.

"Hearst: That is a very interesting idea. I had not heard of such a thing. I personally am not a military man, but I do not think that half of our planes are in the air. Mr. Considine here suggests that it may be one-third.

"Khrushchev: Even if only one plane with one atomic or one hydrogen bomb were in the air, in this case too it would be not the government but the pilot who could decide the question of war. And this, as you may imagine, would be a terrible thing.

"Hearst: That is a very interesting thought."

The New Communist Manifesto

The Communist parties of the world seized the opportunity offered by their coming together on the occasion of the celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet October

(November) Revolution in Moscow to issue a Peace Manifesto which was signed by the representatives of the sixty-four Communist parties of the world. The Manifesto reads in part:

"People all over the world, irrespective of nationality and political views, religious belief or colour want to live in peace and ordinary people all over the world say: surely man, whose victorious mind is wresting from nature all her secrets, subordinating her more and more, who, now with the launching of the Soviet earth satellites, may soon reach the stars, surely man can prevent war and self-destruction.

"We, the representatives of the Communist and workers' parties, fully conscious of our responsibility for human destiny, declare:

"War is not inevitable. War can be prevented, peace can be preserved and made secure.

"We are gathered in the capital of the country which forty years ago opened a new era in human history. In the year 1917 for the first time the socialist revolution triumphed on Russian soil. The working people took power into their own hands and set out to destroy all forms of oppression and exploitation of man by man. The workers and peasants of Russia, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin, inscribed peace on their banners and have always remained faithful to it. In the course of its forty years the Soviet Union has opened the way to peace for all peoples, and has sought—despite all imperialist obstacles—peaceful co-existence with all other countries irrespective of their social system.

"We, Communists, say that now it is possible to prevent war, possible to safeguard peace. We say this with full confidence because the world situation today is different and the balance of forces has changed.

"Where does the threat to peace and the security of the peoples come from? From the capitalist monopolies who have a vested interest in war and amassed unprecedented riches from the two world wars and the current arms drive. The arms drive which brings huge profits to the monopolists weighs heavily on the working people and seriously worsens the economy of the countries. The ruling circles of some capitalist countries, under pressure of the monopolies and especially those of the United States, have rejected proposals for disarmament, pro-

hibition of nuclear weapons and other measures aimed at preventing a new war. Not a few excellent proposals by the peace-loving nations have been submitted to the United Nations Organization, acceptance of which would have strengthened peace and lessened the danger of war. No one can deny that the submission to the United Nations of proposals aimed at ending the arms race, removing the threat of an atomic war, and promoting peaceful co-existence of states and economic co-operation between States which is a decisive factor in creating proper confidence in international relations, is in keeping with the vital interests of all nations. The destiny of the world and the destinies of the future generations hinge on the solution of these problems. These proposals are actively resisted only by those interested in maintaining international tension.

"Thousands of newspapers and radio stations daily instil into the minds of the people of the United States, Britain, France, Italy and other countries the claim that 'world communism' is endangering their freedom, their way of life and their peaceful existence.

"However, neither the Communist parties nor any of the socialist countries has any motive or reason for launching wars or military attacks on other countries, for seizing alien soil. The Soviet Union and People's China both have vast expanses of land and untold natural riches. In all the socialist countries there are no classes or social groups interested in war. Power is in the hands of the workers and peasants who in all wars have been the greatest sufferers. Is it possible that they could desire another war? The aim of the Communists is to build a society that will ensure universal well-being, the blossoming of all nations and eternal peace between them. In order to build this society the socialist countries need a lasting and stable peace. There are, therefore, no more consistent enemies of war, no stauncher champions of peace than the Communists.

"Having in mind the well-being of the people throughout the world and desirous of progress and a bright future for all nations we address ourselves: to men and women, to workers and peasants, to men of science and art, to teachers and office workers, to the youth, to handicraftsmen, traders and industrialists, to

socialists, democrats and liberals, to all irrespective of political and religious convictions, to all who love their country, to all who do not want war, to all people of goodwill with the call:

"Demand an end to the arms drive which daily intensifies the danger of war and of which you, the common people, bear the burden;

"Support the policy of collective security, of peaceful co-existence of different social systems, and the widest economic and cultural co-operation of all peoples.

"We address ourselves to all people of goodwill throughout the world: 'Organize and work for (1) immediate cessation of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests, and (2) unconditional and speedy prohibition of the manufacture and use of the weapons.'

"We, the Communists, have devoted our lives to the cause of socialism. We, the Communists, are firmly convinced that this noble cause will triumph. And it is because we believe in the triumph of our ideas—the ideas of Marx and Lenin—the ideas of proletarian internationalism, that we want peace and are working for peace. War is our enemy.

"From now on let the countries with different social systems compete with one another in developing science and technology for peace.

"Let them demonstrate their superiority not on the field of battle but in competition for progress and for raising living standards.

"We extend a hand to all people of goodwill. By a common effort let us get rid of the burden of armaments which oppresses the peoples. Let us rid the world of the danger of war, death and annihilation. Before us is a bright and happy future of mankind marching forward to progress.

"Peace to the world!"

In addition the Communist parties of twelve Socialist countries (Jugoslavia did not participate) issued a Declaration which concluded: "The participants in the meeting unanimously express their firm confidence that, by closing their ranks and thereby rallying the working class and the peoples of all countries, the Communist and Workers' parties will surmount all obstacles in their onward movement

and accelerate further big victories for the cause of Peace, Democracy and Socialism."

The Soviet Affairs Analysis, Munich, points out that "together the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto outline the plan of action and the tactics to be employed in carrying it out." Thus they deserve close study by all concerned.

Goa, Irian and Formosa

Goa, Irian and Formosa have become three plague spots in Asia. In all these three places there is either intransigence or a refusal to acknowledge the changes in the world outlook and persistence in sticking to old colonial outlook regarding possessions, and in all three cases they have the backing of leading Western propounders of "democracy."

Particularly in Goa, the Portuguese colonialists would not have dared to go against India unless Portugal were encouraged to do so by the NATO Powers—more notably by the USA and UK. For a proper assessment of the objectives of the present Portuguese military concentrations in Goa it is sufficient to recall that before India became independent Portugal had no military installations in her territories in India. Neither were there any restrictions between Portuguese and British territories in India. All these, however, changed with Indian independence and it was in a way through British insinuation that Portugal showed the temerity to defy all Indian overtures to a peaceful liberation of Goa. Moreover, Portugal even went to the extent of bringing a complaint against India before the International Court of Justice claiming absolute right of passage (an unheard of thing in international law and practice) through the territory of India so that Portugal could reoccupy the parts already independent of her will. India naturally opposed such a fictitious "right" of passage to crush Indians. The case would be heard this year—though the International Court would not be effective in the case in so far as the issue is predominantly political and not judicial.

Here, however, one cannot but refer to the confusion existing among Goan freedom-fighters about certain things. For example, one may refer to what Mr. Peter Alvarez, the well-known Goan leader, has written in the Goa Special Number of the bi-monthly *United Asia*,

October, 1957: "The statement of Bulganin and Khrushchev in India on Goa gave the West a chance to pull the issue of Goa into a cold-war sphere, and the opportunity that they were seeking. Mr. Dulles had no choice but to side with Portugal when Russia gave its opinion in favour of India."

This statement is factually and chronologically wrong. Long before the U.S.S.R. had indicated its position on Goa, Mr. Dulles had issued his notorious joint statement with Dr. Cunha, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, declaring Goa to be part of Portugal. Mr. Alvarez is a Praja-Socialist leader. Perhaps, that is why he wrote this. But such writing, specially from the pen of a man of his standing does more harm than good. In short, our ideological predilections should not blind us toward facts of life.

Indian Businessmen Helping Portugal?

Are Indian businessmen helping Portugal in Goa? It seems so from an article by Shrikrishna Vanjari in the Goa Special Number of the bi-monthly *United Asia*. He writes: "The latest statements . . . show beyond any shadow of doubt that Indian capital is being exploited and Indian businessmen are actually supporting the Portuguese in India and strengthening their economy."

Mr. Vanjari lists eight Indian (Marwari and Gujarati) firms which helped Portugal in Goa in various ways. He adds: "The suspicion is shared by well-informed observers that the recent relaxation in the Indian restrictions *vis-a-vis* the Portuguese in Goa was the outcome, *inter alia*, of the pressure exerted by the powerful racket of Indian businessmen operating in Goa for securing Indian labour for the Goa mines . . ."

This matter deserves official notice.

The Official Language Controversy

We append below four news reports, taken from *The Statesman*, to show the way the non-Hindi-speaking peoples of India view the problem:

New Delhi December 28.—When the Parliamentary Committee appointed to consider the Official Language Commission's report re-assembles on January 6, it will have before it a comprehensive memorandum on the subject

from the Madras Government. The memorandum, the only one on the report received from a State Government, was recently submitted to the Government of India.

In the memorandum, it is learnt, the Madras Government makes it clear that it does not oppose the constitutional directive in favour of Hindi in principle. But it strongly expresses the view that since Hindi has made little progress towards becoming the official language of the Union so far, it will be essential to retain English long after 1965, the target date for the change-over provided in the Constitution.

It states that half the 15-year period provided to enable Hindi to fulfil the requirements of the official language had expired without it making substantial progress. In these circumstances, it would be impractical to fix an early target date.

At the same time, the memorandum suggests, greater efforts be made to spread understanding of Hindi which, it agrees, must inevitably become the language of the Union.

The memorandum is understood to be strongly critical of the Official Language Commission for not fulfilling its primary responsibility of suggesting a clear time-table for the progressive use of Hindi, while making recommendations on issues beyond its terms of reference. But since the Commission has done so, the memorandum also touches on those issues.

Among the suggestions it makes is that while Hindi should ultimately become the language of the Supreme Court, High Courts should use the regional language. But before either of these steps is taken, it points out, it will be necessary to provide for authoritative translations of Supreme Court proceedings into the regional languages and vice versa.

The memorandum is also reported to oppose the proposal to make Hindi a compulsory subject for public services examinations.

Madras, December 28.—Mr. Deshmukh, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, declared here today that the "almost continuous deterioration in the standards of teaching, and consequently in the standards of education, is bound to accelerate into a widening spiral unless effective ameliorative measures are taken, backed by the necessary efforts to raise the required financial resources."

Mr. Deshmukh, who was presiding over the 32nd All-India Educational Conference here, told the 3,000 educationists from all parts of the country that, "in spite of best efforts," financial resources would be limited and it was not easy to determine where preferably improvements should take place.

"In my view, improvements must begin with college and university teachers, in combination with other simultaneous measures, to improve the standards of higher education," he said. "Among the other measures, while agreeing with the conclusions of the last conference that there should be no contraction of existing facilities and no throwing out of employment of teachers, all the available funds should be used for the consolidation of the educational system rather than for its expansion."

The four-day conference was inaugurated by the State Governor, Mr. P. V. Rajamannar.

Referring to the protest in certain circles against the scaling down of expenditure on education in the Second Plan, Mr. Deshmukh declared: "I hold that such protests are unrealistic and of no practical benefit. The determination of priorities is an essential feature of any plan, in view of the limited resources available. That, as it is, the Second Plan will strain the country's resources to the utmost has become abundantly clear as a result of recent developments."

Educationists in general and teachers in particular might continue, properly, to point out the dangers involved in not making an adequate provision for consolidation and extension of education at all stages. But they should also take note of the decisions taken at the highest level and devote some thought to the drawing up of priorities within the limit of the total allocations for education in the Plan.

"In other words," he said, "the onus lies on educationists of suggesting how the approved allocations made available can be put to the maximum possible use so as to secure an optimum improvement in the educational system of the country. If they are dissatisfied with the sub-allocations made within the educational plan, or with the development of such sub-allocations. It is against this background that I consider that the scales for the university teachers recommended in the resolution in the university education section are somewhat un-

realistic although I do not for a moment hold that they are unreasonable."

Mr. Deshmukh, referred to the "tremendous wastage" at various levels of the educational system and said: "It is notorious that at the elementary stage the strength of attendance of children rapidly falls off with every higher standard, so that in terms of literary gain the cost incurred on producing one literate child is several times more than it need be. It is doubtful if this involves merely questions of quality or emoluments of the elementary teacher. It involves wider social problems, such as, paucity of women teachers, and calls for powerful enough efforts to bring about the reorientation of the attitude of the population, especially in the rural areas, where there is still an indifference towards sending children to school."

Bhubaneswar, December 29.—Dr. Prasad who chose to speak in Hindi in spite of welcome addresses being presented in English at two functions, said there was no need for any controversy over the language issue.

The Constitution had merely provided for a workable language for all-India official purposes only. One language had to be adopted, and it so happened that Hindi was spoken by largest number of people in the country. It was, therefore, merely on the basis of utility and convenience that Hindi had been selected for that restricted use.

The President deprecated the tendency on the part of any one to imagine that his language was superior to other languages. That was a wrong attitude. The best thing would be for people of non-Hindi-speaking States to be allowed to influence the further growth of the vocabulary and style of Hindi. Having been adopted as an all-India language Hindi no longer belonged to any particular State and every State had equal rights to it. The Hindi-speaking people would have to concede this right of influencing Hindi to non-Hindi-speaking people.

Another suggestion he offered was that Hindi-speaking people should learn other languages so that they might know the difficulty of learning a language and also the genius of other languages.

At the first function, the inauguration of the Orissa Sahitya Akademy, Pandit Nilkantha

Das, Speaker of the Orissa Assembly and president of the Orissa Akademy, welcoming the President said that the problem which arose in connexion with the language of the Union and the regional languages was very difficult, almost insurmountable.

Hyderabad, December 29.—Mr. V. K. Ayappan Pillai, Secretary of the Inter-University Board, today emphasized the need to adopt an attitude of "stern realism" with regard to English, says *PTI*.

Presiding over the eighth All-India English Teachers' Conference at Osmania University here, Mr. Pillai said it would be "folly" to throw English overboard just when it was steadily and rapidly becoming an international language which every nation, not excluding Russia, was striving more and more to study, cultivate and master.

The conference, which will last three days, is being attended by 125 delegates drawn from all the universities in the country and some schools, and also by some professors from the U.K. and the U.S.A. The conference has recently been registered as the Indian Association for English Studies with a view to including in it all those in the country interested in the study of English.

Mr. Pillai said that after the reaction against English following independence, there was now a widespread recognition of its need and value. It had to be admitted, however, that being a foreign language English could not at any time arouse the love and passionate devotion Indian languages did. Still it was possible, without in any way impeding the development of these languages, to maintain a high standard of English "so that our young men and women can have a direct access to world literature, science and thought."

Mr. Pillai wanted the mother-tongue or regional language, English and Hindi to be made compulsory in schools and colleges.

Earlier, welcoming the delegates, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. D. S. Reddi, Vice-Chancellor of Osmania University, said English had come to occupy the foremost place among the languages of the world. Historical accident had placed the people of India in a position of advantage so far as knowledge of this language was concerned, and it would be

foolish to throw away this advantage in the name of nationalism.

Inaugurating the conference (UPI reports), Mr. Bhimsen Sachar, Governor of Andhra Pradesh, made a strong plea for the study of English along with other Indian languages. "The study of English in our country need not connote any slavish adherence to a foreign language," he said. "On the contrary, I feel that if, as a free and independent nation, we choose to study English, it testifies not only to our catholicity of outlook and tolerance of everything that is good and useful, irrespective of its country of origin, but to a promising sense of realism."

Stressing that knowledge of English was essential if people were to keep pace with world events. Mr. Sachar said that even in countries like China and Russia English was being given a prominent place.

"It would, I think, be no exaggeration to say that the opinion, in regard to the richness of English literature, its impact on our country's economic, political and social life, and consequently our indebtedness to this language, and above all its present-day international utility, is unanimous. When one is prepared to concede so much in favour of this language, it seems that there is hardly any justification for importing acrimony in discussions connected with the determination of the place English should occupy in our country."

Pandit Nehru at Santiniketan

Pandit Nehru was in an expansive mood when he spoke for 90 minutes at the Convocation of the Visva-Bharati University, as the following report from *The Statesman* shows.

The problems at Santiniketan, at least the most complicated ones, originate from the insidious activities of the old gang, that nearly brought Rabindranath's life-long labours to ruin. We hope Pandit Nehru in his usual way would not fall a victim to their wiles.

Mr. Nehru said it was obvious that Santiniketan and Visva-Bharati were different from other places. This did not mean a criticism of other universities, some of which were hundred years old and produced great men. But the fact was that Visva-Bharati was different from Calcutta, Bombay and Madras universities.

At the back of this difference lay the great personality of one of the greatest men of our generation. But they had to assess how far they had been following Gurudev's ideals and how far they had been swept away from them.

Mr. Nehru, who is the Chancellor of the University, added that no institution which lived cut off from the main current of history and progress was likely to survive.

Referring to the development of Santiniketan, he said it was very good that the institution had put great emphasis on certain very important aspects of education, such as art, music and dancing, which had been neglected by other universities. But it was also necessary to be in tune with the age. It was essential to have a basic scientific approach.

Among highly industrialized countries such as the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. there was one point of similarity. However great their political differences might be, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. bowed to the machine more than other countries. They had become technology-minded. "I am not criticizing it. I hope we also may become so and more of us study technology. Unless we hurry up, we will be short of engineers."

The world today was passing through an age of cold war. How could this be justified? It was based on hatred and violence. It was amazing that men of learning should deliberately lay down the ideal of violence and hatred. Leaders of one nation were criticizing leaders of other nations.

Undreamt of power had come in the possession of man. Yet, at the same time, one saw the amazing fact that, while in some respects man had grown so great, in others he was so limited. The danger in this world was that great power was concentrated in the hands of little men. "But it is not for us to presume to tell others what to do. It is not for us to carry the burden of the world. It is difficult enough to carry our own burdens."

What Gurudev had said in founding this institution and on other occasions was absolutely relevant today. "I have no doubt that the trouble will be got over by compromise and

agreement if the hearts on both sides give up hatred. Otherwise there is a possibility of disaster. The ideal should be peaceful co-existence even though peoples and countries differ."

Recalling his association with Gurudev, he said he often felt sorry that he could not discharge adequately what he should have done about Santiniketan. Three years hence the birth centenary of Rabindranath would be celebrated. The Government would do something in the matter but it was not entirely a matter for the Government. What was necessary was that it should be celebrated in a popular way and subscriptions raised for the purpose from the people.

The first use of funds raised for the occasion should be for setting up a Rabindra-Bharati museum. It was not proper that Uttarayan should be used to house offices. It should be dedicated to a nobler purpose. A trust should be created which should be closely associated with the University. He had no doubt that the people would gladly subscribe funds so that Gurudev's ideals could be propagated adequately. The Prime Minister would be pleased to help in starting such a fund.

Certain things happening at Visva-Bharati had pained him. Mr. Nehru did not clarify what he was referring to in particular, but said these were good neither for teachers nor for students. Such unfortunate incidents only vitiated the atmosphere of the University, and disturbed the communion between teachers and students which was Visva-Bharati's tradition. Both teachers and students should give serious attention to this, he said.

Crime Wave in Greater Calcutta

Law and Order, the twin supports of democracy, seem to be collapsing in some parts of West Bengal. Corruption in the higher regions of the Congress Party has been mentioned as being the principal factor in this retrogression. It was so in the U.P., when a great area near Agra became the happy hunting ground of criminals.

We reproduce below a report from *The Statesman* (December 27):

"Thirty-four persons alleged to have been associated with crimes in Howrah were arrested

on Wednesday and Thursday. The arrests are part of the firm measures the police have taken under orders of Mr. H. N. Sircar, Inspector-General of Police, West Bengal, as the result of a recent disturbing increase in crime in some areas of the town.

"Mr. Sircar told me on Thursday that he was personally supervising the Howrah affair and had assured his officers of protection against any possible interference by 'influential' people in the discharge of their duties. There had been instances of such interference, it is alleged.

"After a visit to the affected areas in Howrah and discussion with senior police officials, the Inspector-General was sure that lawlessness in Howrah could be prevented if the key members of six criminal gangs could be apprehended. These members numbered nearly 60. He had ordered their immediate arrest.

"An analysis of the criminal gangs' activities suggested that there were influential people behind them. Many of the criminals are stated to have worked during the elections, when they were organized and criminal organisations became powerful with financial and other support.

"There were cases where people, believed to have been associated with these gangs, were arrested with immediate reactions in 'influential' circles. Demonstrations were organized outside police-stations after suspected lawless elements had been apprehended in anti-rowdy campaigns. In many cases, criminals immediately after release by the court or from jails again committed a series of crimes.

"The Inspector-General cited a particular case in which an influential person was arrested on charges of theft and other crimes. There had been immediate complaints against the police from interested quarters who also tried to move Dr. Roy.

"It was not unlikely, Mr. Sircar admitted, that efforts were made to influence police officers. Proper scrutiny was being made to weed out 'influenced' officers, if any.

"Among the measures ordered by the Inspector-General were intensive police patrolling of the affected localities, rounding up of all suspected elements and preparation of material

so that known criminals could be arrested under the Preventive Detention Act. A daily police operation report was also being submitted to the I.-G.

"Referring to recent incidents, Mr. Sircar said that the criminals took advantage of the depletion of the district police staff because of engagements outside in connexion with important visitors."

Street Accidents

We are glad to find that the Police in West Bengal are at last getting apprehensive about the increase in street accidents, as the following report would show.

But why blame the police? A thoroughly incompetent and useless Minister, who never had any record of efficiency or action in his life being at the helm, the whole problem has become intensely complicated. Taxis and lorries in West Bengal are mostly driven by ruffians from other provinces. They only respond to very firm measures which our old women are unable to initiate:

No fewer than 576 people have died in street accidents in West Bengal so far this year. The figure which includes 245 deaths in Calcutta, will be higher when the number of fatal accidents in the districts since October is available.

Speaking at a seminar at the Automobile Association of Bengal, Mr. P. K. Sen, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Traffic, said that vehicular traffic had become such a problem that "we can no longer be complacent about it." He pointed out that the number of deaths in traffic accidents was increasing and a greater number of people were inconvenienced by traffic congestion every day.

Problems were different in Calcutta and the districts. Limited road mileage, concentration of people in industrial areas, speeding by truck drivers, rash and negligent driving, overloading, blinding headlights, driving vehicles with mechanical defects and disobeying traffic signals were the main causes of accidents in the districts.

Mr. Sen said that although there had been an appreciable increase in road mileage in West Bengal, it still had less than 0.41 mile per sq. mile while the figures for the U.K., France

and the U.S.A. were 2.0, 1.9 and 1.0 respectively. It was no wonder that, with the expansion of industries which had resulted in increased vehicular traffic, this limited road mileage created many traffic difficulties.

Some people feared that these difficulties would increase manifold with the progress of the Second Plan. It would be wrong to think that the Railway's development scheme under the Plan would minimize pressure on road transport. There should, therefore, be rapid development of road transport to the fullest extent. Roads had been built in a haphazard way, except those built in recent years. Road bridges and culverts were narrow and weak. Big diesel trucks with 10 to 12 tons of load were often too much for them to carry.

The increase in population in distant industrial areas in Jalpaiguri, Siliguri, Habra and Bongaon had created traffic problems there which defied solution. Large numbers of people from Bihar and Orissa and East Pakistan refugees had come to live in these places.

Mr. Sen said the authorities wanted to relieve the pressure on the Grand Trunk Road running through a number of congested municipal towns. For this purpose they were constructing a diversion road from Bally to Saptagram. Barrackpore Trunk Road was being widened. Twenty-four traffic police check posts set up in the districts had checked over 38,000 vehicles last year. In over 5,500 of these cases irregularities in regard to tax tokens, licences, registration certificates, permits and speed governors and mechanical defects were detected. Over 6,000 such cases had been detected up to October this year.

"I am constrained to remark that our motorists, particularly truck drivers, have no fear of the police. Truck drivers have become so bold that they do not even produce the licence on demand by a police officer even when stopped for violation of traffic rules." When the offending driver and the police officer argue, other truck drivers arrive and take the driver's side. If the police officer insists these truck drivers block the road by deliberately parking their vehicles haphazardly on the road. Mr. Sen admitted that there might be a few dishonest police officers who demanded bribes

from drivers. "But the offer comes mostly from the driver who has violated the traffic rules."

Speaking about Calcutta, he referred to the increase in population, increase in the number of vehicles, bad state of road repairs, poor lighting, projection of shops on busy streets, excavation of roads by public utility concerns, hawkers, wandering cattle, slow-moving vehicles and inadequate parking space in office areas.

He completed the list of traffic problems in the city by adding one more—daily numerous marriage, religious and political processions. Almost each of the political processions was a demonstration against the Government and it could not be regulated except by force.

The number of registered vehicles in the city had risen from 38,000 in 1947 to 62,000 in 1956. While both population and vehicular traffic had rapidly increased, there had been no appreciable increase in the area or road mileage, 134,000 cases of minor violation of traffic rules had been registered up to October this year against last year's 115,000. Orders had been issued for prosecution under heavy penal sections in cases of rash and dangerous driving. "I would frankly admit," the D.I.G. said, "that there is still a lot of scope for improvement in the work of the Traffic Department. We are conscious of it and are doing our best."

The N A T O Meeting

The North Atlantic Treaty powers met in Paris about the middle of December last. President Eisenhower was personally present. The results have not been quite as successful as was hoped by the Dulles group. The following extract from the *New York Times* of Dec. 22 is illuminative:

The date was April 4, 1949; the scene, an auditorium in Washington. On a raised dais stood a table bearing a document printed in English and French and headed: "North Atlantic Treaty—*Traite de L'Atlantique Nord*." President Truman made a speech, and one by one twelve foreign ministers affixed their signatures to the document. The largest peace-time alliance in history was fact.

Last week the alliance—now comprising fifteen nations in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—held the most crucial conference in its history. The heads of its member governments gathered in Paris to deal with the

alliance's "crisis of confidence"—a crisis brought on by the new threat of Russian rocketry and a congeries of frictions among the allies themselves.

Thursday, as the conference closed, the NATO chieftains in a communique said:

We have taken decisions to promote greater unity, greater strength and greater security not only for our own nations but also, we believe, for the world at large.

Specifically NATO had reached accommodations on two major questions before them. They were:

First, the question of placing U.S. intermediate range ballistic missiles in Europe. This the U.S. had proposed as the main answer to the new danger from the East. The decision was to accept it in principle but to leave its application to individual states concerned.

Second, the question of responding to the Russians' new "peace offensive." The U.S. had opposed a response as fruitless, but some European partners had favored it as offering the hope of ending the arms race. The decision was to "promote" negotiations with Moscow on the deadlocked issue of disarmament.

On the whole the consensus was that the conference had proved at least a limited success. Nevertheless the talks had underscored some fundamental differences of approach within NATO. And yesterday, Russia raised a new obstacle to negotiations.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is a military alliance whose fifteen members have a combined population of 450,000,000. Its essential purpose is to defend Europe against the threat of Soviet aggression. Its military nucleus is the Supreme Allied Command, Europe, headed by Gen. Lauris Norstad who commands an international force of roughly forty-six divisions. In addition, there are two other NATO commands, covering the North American continent and the Atlantic area. The total armed forces of the NATO members are 5,500,000. They are pledged to regard an armed attack against one as an attack against them all.

NATO is normally governed by the North Atlantic Council consisting of the Foreign Ministers of the member nations. Last October, however, President Eisenhower and British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan asked that the

NATO Council meeting scheduled for last week be converted into a "Summit" conference of the NATO heads of Government—the first in the history of the organization.

The mood in NATO capitals in the weeks preceding the Paris conference was one of anxiety and uncertainty. Dominating the international scene was a triumphant Nikita Khrushchev, hurling satellites into space and warning the world that military supremacy had passed to Russia. In contrast, the NATO alliance was in a state of disarray. There were policy conflicts between NATO members over issues such as Algeria, Cyprus, and the Middle East. There were misgivings about American leadership of NATO—misgivings that deepened after President Eisenhower's illness. Throughout the West, an insistent refrain was: NATO must be strengthened and revitalized to cope with the Soviet challenge. But the question was: How and along what lines?

The United States saw the problem primarily in military terms. Washington's plans for the Paris conference centered mainly on proposals to establish nuclear stockpiles and intermediate range missile bases in Europe.

The strategic reasoning behind the proposals was this: Russia's missile and satellite progress meant that continental North America—and the arsenal of the Western alliance—might soon be within push-button range of Moscow. It was by no means certain that the United States could catch up quickly enough in the intercontinental missile race to deter Russia with the threat of retaliation from North American bases. A better gamble seemed to be intermediate range missiles zeroed in on Russian targets from bases close by in Europe.

China's Efforts for Scientific Progress

China is making every effort to achieve scientific progress at an early date. As in the Soviet Union, in China also scientific progress has been planned as part of the general Five-Year Plans. On her part China has decided upon a Twelve-Year Plan for the advancement of science with the object of bringing China up to the present-day world-level. The seriousness with which the Chinese have set themselves upon the task can be gauged from the fact that the programme document made up of fifty lakh words took six hundred scientists' six months'

systematic work. Among the major tasks laid in the programme are the peaceful uses of atomic energy, development of radio electronics and jet propulsion, the electrification and mechanization of agriculture, utilization of the energy of the Yellow Yangtzi and other rivers, and development of all the leading branches of science.

In this gigantic effort the Chinese are apparently getting substantial help from the Soviet Union. Otherwise the Chinese would not have sent their blueprint for scrutiny of the Soviet scientists as they did in May last. The Soviet Government on its part appointed 26 consultation groups consisting of 640 scientists to examine the blueprint. The Soviet scientists completed their scrutiny by October 20, 1957.

When Chairman Mao Tse-tung went to Moscow on the occasion of the celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet Revolution, many experts (numbering nearly 140) accompanied him there. Extensive talks were held between the two sides and the Chinese suggested over 100 joint (Sino-Soviet) research projects in natural science, technology, philosophy and other branches. Preliminary talks have been completed and the agreements are expected to be signed this month.

Those who would be inclined to be sceptical about the prospects of Chinese success in this gigantic venture would do well to recall that on the face of a great many hurdles the Chinese have achieved basic success in the fulfilment of their First Five-Year Plan and also the fact that similar scepticism had not affected Soviet progress in science and technology. It is to be remembered in this context that China has to make up a tremendous amount of leeway, far in excess of what Russia had to do, as she is even behind India at the present day. Besides she has no groups of "East German" scientists at her beck and call.

Indian and Chinese Foreign Policies

Much is heard about the success of Indian foreign policy—though characteristically enough, the success is never reflected in any gain where India's vital interests are concerned—e.g., in Goa, Kashmir and economic and scientific aid. No doubt India is receiving aid, but that would at any rate have been coming to her—whatever

her foreign policy was. And this failure in safeguarding India's vital interests has occurred while India has officially been in a favourable international situation being in good terms with both the West (USA) and the East (USSR).

This should lead us to a self-analysis of our policies so far and the reasons for their failure. That would obviously be a task beyond the scope of an editorial article. In this connection however the example of China is very relevant. For the past eight years China has been isolated in the international field, her field of manoeuvre being very much restricted. For all material help—vital developmental aid—she had absolutely to depend upon the USSR, and yet she managed to get the mighty Soviet Government to agree to abandon usurpations of Chinese sovereign rights. This has been brilliantly summed up by the noted Russian writer, David J. Dallin, by no means a sympathiser to the present Government of China, in the paper which he read at the *Symposium* organised by the *Institute for the Study of the USSR*, Munich, on the occasion of the completion of forty years of the Soviet revolution in Russia.

Tracing Chinese indignation at the Russian attitude on many matters Dr. Dallin writes that from the very beginning the Chinese Communists were bent upon undoing the wrongs committed by Russia upon China. "And this they (Chinese) began to do, although exclusively behind the scenes. Publicly, overt propaganda was directed against the West and supported Soviet policy in everything. But covertly the Chinese were demanding, more insistently each month, that Soviet troops be withdrawn from Manchuria, that Soviet engineers behave politely and decently toward the Chinese people, that the joint companies be dissolved which were, in fact, created as a citadel of Soviet political influence in China. The Chinese demanded access to Mongolia which . . . was formerly a Chinese province, but which was completely closed to the Chinese under Stalin. They demanded influence in the Korean People's Republic (North Korea) which their troops had saved from being destroyed, and in which even now they maintain an army of two hundred thousand . . ."

"Pressure on the part of China was constant, although behind the scenes. In the sum-

mer of 1954, Khrushchev and Bulganin made their journey to China. These leaders, now without the prestige and strength which only Stalin had possessed, had to make a great number of concessions to China and accept a whole series of Chinese demands. This process of (Soviet) withdrawal in face of Chinese Communist pressure continues to the present day and is the most important event in the current history of the Far East.

"During the last few years the Soviet Government has had to withdraw its military forces from Manchuria, hand over the Manchurian railways to the Chinese, dissolve the Sino-Soviet joint companies. Access has been opened into Outer Mongolia for Chinese specialists, workers and engineers, and the Chinese Government, once again copying Soviet patterns, although itself with no surplus of scientists and technicians, has hastened to send hundreds of its specialists into Outer Mongolia in order to advertise publicly to equality . . .," Dr. Dallin writes.

The Press in India . . .

The *Vigil*, an opposition paper, writes:

"The Press, we all know, is a 'mighty engine.' But what kind of fuel keeps it running and mightily roaring? News, by all means? lots of it. Also views, fresh and fearless. This brings us straight to the question how the Indian Press is feeding itself with the essential fuel of news and views. And this is a question which must have during the last fortnight agitated the minds of many newspaper readers bored stiff with the kind of stuff distributed by the Indian Press. No, the Indian Press does no longer give the impression of being a mighty engine. It is running down; it is getting choked with piles of dead matter—speeches, speeches and still speeches and mostly of Shri Nehru. Nobody grudges the unrivalled position Shri Nehru holds as national leader nor is there anything to be done if he is determined to establish an all-time record as the world's greatest speechmaker. But the Press as a mighty engine, as one of the principal channels of mass-information, should know that a surfeit of Nehru here, there, everywhere kills the lively interest in human affairs, which is the life-blood of newspapers." We are inclined to agree.

A CHAPTER OF MY LIFE

How My Library Grew Up

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By PROF. JADUNATH SARKAR, D.Litt., Hony. M.R.A.S., Eng.

READERS of Shakespeare's *Henry V* will remember the Scots captain Jamy, who was "of great knowledge in the ancient wars, and by Cheshu, he will maintain his argument as well as any military man in the world, in the disciplines of the pristine wars of the Romans."

That was quite in the fitness of things; European captains in all ages have fitted themselves for their duty by the patient study and discussion of military history and military problems. In modern times Henry Havelock and Garnet Wolseley have been notable British examples. The German officers vary billiards and cards with *kriegspegel* (war-game) in their clubs.

Captain Jamy might legitimately make himself a military bore. But how incongruous it is for a native in the civil line during the British period, such as I was, to play the same role and talk of tactics and strategy. Would not Rudyard Kipling have been delighted to find this new material for his mockery of the Bengalee Baboo?

In my case it happened in this way. When I was a schoolboy in the 5th class (now called the Seventh Standard), we had to read a little Greek history. Our text-book was a charmingly written American work, Peter Parley's *Universal History*, as simple and pleasant as *Little Arthur's History of England*. The style and the stories lured us to read it through, and we had to give our answers in Bengali, so that we understood the contents. In the next higher class we read the chapters on Roman history from the same volume. Thus I came to know of the battles of Epaminondas and Alexander, Hannibal and Caesar.

How I longed to visualise those battles! Just then came my opportunity. In the days before the Suez Canal, the British officers who came to serve in India, often passed fifteen or even twenty years here before taking furlough Home. Most of them, therefore, brought with themselves a collection of good books to beguile the time during their Indian exile. Wellington, when he came to India as a Colonel (1798)

brought a fairly large library in his ship. So also did Elphinstone and others. At the time of their retirement they used to sell their furniture and libraries, and the Indian grandees of their last stations used to buy them. My father as a zamindar in Rajshahi (North Bengal) used to buy the books of the retiring Magistrates and Judges of that district. His passion was for History,—fiction and poetry being his aversion. I found among his books a copy of the *History of the Art of War*, by Baron de Jomini (a former General of Napoleon), which was a standard text-book in the military colleges of England.

Here were the battles of Epaminondas illustrated by plans. I could now visualise this antique hero's famous oblique attack and marching *en echelon*, or Hannibal's encircling tactics at Cannæ. In the Fourth Class, geometry was introduced into our course, and I began to draw oblongs and semi-circles to illustrate the military movements I had read of in dear old Peter Parley. Thus the microbe of military historiography entered into my brain and I was doomed to become a military bore (civil division) when I grew up.

Then, after passing the Matric examination (in 1887) I first read Tennyson's *Ode on the Burial of the Duke of Wellington*, where I came upon this passage:

"This is he that far away

Against the myriads of Assaye

Clash'd with his fiery few and won."

Ever since then I have been intrigued by the question—How did it happen that a fiery few could defeat myriads who were not cowards or weaklings, when both sides fought with fire-arms?

From that time it became my passion to buy rare books on Indian history,—at first those written in English and relating to the British period only. My educational expenses were paid by my father and I was free to spend all my own money from the first grade scholarships which I enjoyed throughout my college life, on these "India books." The second-hand book-

sellers of Calcutta found in me their most liberal (and gullible) patron, and thus the rare books on Indian history discarded by the European clubs, barracks and private owners (like Prince Ghulam Husain, the last grandson of Tipu Sultan, who died in Calcutta) were first offered to me.

I thus laid the foundation of my historical library, but when I passed the Premchand Examination (1897) and undertook *original* research, my library grew and branched like the proverbial banyan tree. I discarded my Calcutta suppliers and began to give large orders, year after year, to the famous second-hand book sellers of England,—Luzac and Trubner, Francis Edwards and Blackwell. George's Sons of Bristol were my first and most copious agent in England (from 1898 onwards). After thirty years this stream stopped through fulness of collection and also the demands of my new love,—original research with the help of Persian, Marathi and English MSS. and records. The saturation point in printed English books had now been reached.

My first "baptism of ink" in the field of Indian history was a study of the Fall of Tipu Sultan which I printed in my College Magazine just after graduation (1891). It was based entirely on English books and despatches, all available in print. But after 1897 when I set myself to making truly original researches in Indo-Muslim history, I devoted my resources mainly to acquiring Persian, Marathi and French manuscripts and printed volumes of State-papers (despatches). The result is that today my collection of Persian MSS. and Marathi printed sources is indispensable to the students of our mediaeval history, as it has brought together in *one place* the necessary works which are scattered in many towns of India and the famous public libraries of Europe (India Office, British Museum, the Bodleian, the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris, and the then Royal Library of Berlin, besides Kazvini's metrical history of Nadir Shah of which there is only one MS in the world, in Leningrad). Of these last I have secured photographs. In India, the Rampur (Rohilkhand), Hyderabad and Khuda Bakhsh (Patna) Libraries have been thoroughly ran-

sacked by me after repeated visits. From the first I equipped myself with the very necessary Survey of India maps regardless of cost,—the old *India Atlas* sheets on a scale of four miles to the inch, and in the case of certain battle-fields and cities on a still more detailed scale, one mile to the inch or even three inches,—such as Lalsot, Talekota, Delhi, etc. This old series has now been discarded by the Survey Department and replaced by the *Degree Sheets* (or still more recent international scale), but the oldest scientifically drawn map of British India is of priceless worth to me, as it gives the result of the survey before the Sepoy Mutiny and the Railways changed the face of India; the historic but now discarded routes and village names are to be found here only.

At first I approached military history as a lover of romance. I then belonged to the "drum and trumpet school" of history. My favourite collections in the earlier years related to the Sikh, Nepal, Anglo-Maratha and Burmese wars. Soon after, I took to the Sepoy Mutiny with such zeal that I ended by collecting over 150 volumes on this branch,—or 200 if we include the memoirs of every British officer who took the least part in even one of its campaigns. Naturally, post-Mutiny British-Indian history is poorly represented here, except for the Afghan wars.

In European history, my love of the picturesque drove me to the French Revolution and Napoleonic periods. I bought every book on the Peninsular War and Waterloo that came within my reach, and the memoirs of the statesmen and warriors of that period (available in English translations), including even the gossip of Napoleon's valet (in three volumes !!!). They read like romances of absorbing interest.

It was only late in my literary career that I turned from the romance of war to its technical or educative side; I set myself to exploring the old strategy and tactics of battles fought in India, so long as there was an Indian State to oppose the foreigners. This limited my range to Alexander as the upper time-limit and Wellington as the lower, 323 B.C.—1803 A.D., because of these wars only we possess accurate descriptions, and I had to relegate to dreamers and

Hindu-superiority patriots the fables of our epics and Puranas and even Kautilya's *Artha Shastra*.

But if I am to correctly assess the tactics and strategy of the mediaeval Indian wars, and deduce the lessons that they can teach to a modern soldier, I must first equip myself with a knowledge of the evolution of the art of war in *Europe*, its modern technicalities and practical illustrations (on which subjects the books relating exclusively to Indian history are silent). Those who attempt to study the Indian wars of historic times without such a background of European military history, will only plough the sand, they cannot reach the base-rock of reality. A comic example has been supplied by a Bengali graduate whose doctorate thesis has come under my eyes, and who proves that there was a Red Cross in ancient India, because the Hindu kings went to battle followed by cooks, physicians and coolies who used to take care of their wounded!

I digested Oman's *History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, Denison's *History of Cavalry*, Lloyd's *History of Infantry*, Cole and Priestly's *Outlines of British Military History*, and the works of Liddell Hart and Cyril Falls,

General Fuller and Evelyn Wood. Jomini had one now become a back number.

My last work, the *Military History of India*, began publication serially, but fitfully in the *Hindusthan Standard* newspaper, Sunday issues, in 1952. Several of the battles had been written earlier for my other works, such as *Aurangzib* (5 Vols.), *Shivaji* and *The Fall of the Mughal Empire* (4 Vols.), but they were now collected together in one place and edited for integration in this new body. Ten chapters more will bring this book to its end (1803).

There is no end to this quest, this search for buried truth, which we call research. Even now fresh reflections and newly-discovered materials have forced on me a revision of my earlier descriptions and opinions. One example is the Battle of Assaye, where my first account (printed in my *Fall*, Vol. IV in 1950) and based on Wellington's despatches, has been entirely recast and made credible, by an intensive study (and reading between the lines) of the Regimental records of the 78th Highlanders who bore the brunt of that battle, (quoted in Macveigh's *Historical Records of the 78th Highlanders*). Truly has the ancient Sanskrit poet said:

Time has no end and the world is vast.

—:O:—

DR. BRAJENDRANATH SEAL—HIS LIFE AND WORKS

By DR. S. C. CHATTERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,
Head of the Department of Philosophy, Calcutta University

THE 19th century of the Christian era witnessed the advent of a galaxy of Bengali saints and savants who, by virtue of their wonderful genius and invaluable contributions, raised Bengal in the estimation of the world. Dr. Brajendranath Seal, of revered memory, was one of them. One is simply struck with wonder and admiration when one gazes at and tries to gauge the height of his genius and depth of his learning. He was a versatile genius who could move freely and confidently in very varied and vast spheres like Indian and Western literature, science, religion and philosophy. He combined in himself

profundity of learning with simplicity of life, and depth of knowledge with breadth of the heart in a way, all his own.

Brajendranath was born in Calcutta on the 3rd of September, 1864 A.D. He was the second son of his father, the late Mahendranath Seal. His father was a noted advocate of the Calcutta High Court and was well versed in Mathematics, Philosophy and English literature. In philosophy and life he was a follower of August Comte's Positivism and Humanism.

Brajendranath passed the Entrance

Examination of the Calcutta University at the early age of fourteen in the year 1878, and took admission into the F.A. (now I.A.) class of the General Assembly's Institution which is now known as the Scottish Church College. He was a college-mate and friend of Sri Narendranath Datta, the world-renowned heroic Sannyasi, Swami Vivekananda of a later age. He was a favourite student of Principal William Hastie of the College. While a student of the F.A. class, he read and mastered the books on Logic, recommended for the M.A. Examination. He took first class Honours Degree in the B.A. Examination in 1882. In 1884 he appeared at the M.A. Examination in Philosophy, but was equally prepared for, and could do equally well in, the M.A. Examinations in English, Mathematics and Biology. In every day of his examination in Philosophy, he exhausted almost the full time in answering only one question. But that one answer was so full, comprehensive and brilliant that on the recommendation of the Board of Examiners he was placed first in the first class.

On being admitted to the B.A. Degree, Brajendranath was appointed Professor at the General Assembly's Institution, and was elected a Fellow of the Institution. Just after passing the M.A. Examination he was appointed Professor of English at the City College, Calcutta, and from the very beginning taught the Honours Course in that subject. From 1885-87 he served in the Morris College at Nagpur, first as a Professor and then as its Principal. Subsequently he joined the Krishnanath College of Eerhampur as its Principal and served there till 1897. He was then appointed Principal of the Cooch-Bihar College and worked there from 1897 to 1913. During this time his reputation as an eminent and versatile scholar spread far and wide, and in 1899 he was invited by the organizers of the International Congress of Orientalists at Rome to deliver the inaugural address. The then Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar made arrangements for his visit to Rome. At this Congress he delivered four lectures on "The Test of Truth," "Vaisnavism and Christianity—An Essay in the Study of Comparative Religion," "Foundation of a Science of Mythology in Yaska and the Niruktas with Greek Parallels," and "Origin of Law and Hindus as Founders

of Social Science." These lectures bear unmistakable testimony to the width and depth of his erudition. In 1903 appeared his previously written "New Essays in Criticism," and "The Neo-Romantic Movement in Literature,"—two masterpieces of literary work. In 1902-3, he served as a member of the Simla Committee which was appointed to frame the New Regulations of the Calcutta University.

Brajendranath was admitted to the Ph.D. Degree of the Calcutta University in 1910. The next year he was invited to attend the International Race Congress in England and there he delivered a learned inaugural address on "Race Origin." He visited Europe several times during the years 1905-14. During this time he wrote two chapters in "Life of Raja Rammohun Roy" by Nagendranath Chattopadhyay, and at the request of Sister Nivedita, contributed to the biography of Swami Vivekananda "An Early Chapter in the History of Vivekananda's Mental Development."

At the invitation of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, he joined the Post-Graduate Department of the University in 1913 as George V. Professor of Mental and Moral Science. For seven years he rendered inestimable service to the Calcutta University in various capacities—as Professor of Philosophy and member of Raleigh and Asutosh Committees, and of the Sadler Commission. In fact, the University wanted his help and guidance in all the important spheres of its reformatory and creative activities, and he, in his turn, never spared himself to render the best possible service to his *Alma Mater*. While in this University he guided and supervised the research work of students and teachers alike in diverse subjects like English, History, Mathematics, Economics, Psychology, Philosophy etc., and initiated them into the new method of comparative study of Indian and Western science and philosophy. As a result of this new line of study, there appeared in the year 1915 his well-known and widely-appreciated work, *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, which was intended by him to serve as a preliminary to his "Studies in Comparative Philosophy." Of this book, the chapter on "The Mechanical, Physical, and Chemical Theories of the Ancient Hindus" and that on 'Hindu Doctrine of Scientific

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SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(XIV) Fundamental Rights: Right to Property

By D. N. BANERJEE,

Surendranath Banerjea Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta

I

WE propose to deal in this and in our next article or two, with the nature and extent of our Fundamental Right to Property as it is today. We have purposely stated "as it is today" because the provisions of our Constitution relating to this particular right have, if we leave alone what is provided for in Clauses (1), (5) and (6)¹ of Article 19, been, as we shall see hereinafter, materially changed twice—once in 1951² and again in 1955³—, since the commencement of the constitution on 26th January, 1950. We shall begin with the consideration of Article 31 of the Constitution as it *stands today*.

II

Article 31 now lays down as follows:-

"31.(1) No person shall be deprived of his property* save by authority of law.

"(2) No property shall be compulsorily acquired or requisitioned save for a public purpose and save by authority of a law which provides for compensation for the property so acquired or requisitioned and either fixes the

1. In its amended form.

2. See the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951. This Act also materially changed Clause (6) of Article 19 of the Constitution.

3. See the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955.

* As Ghulam Hasan J. of our Supreme Court observed on 18th December, 1953, in the course of his judgment in *Dwarkanadas Shrinivas of Bombay vs. The Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Co., Ltd. and Others*, the word "property" has not been defined in our Constitution.

Patanjali Sastri, C.J., of the Supreme Court, however, had stated on 17th December, 1953, in the course of his judgment in *The State of West Bengal vs. Subodh Gopal Bose and Others*:

"Now, the word 'property' in the context of Article 31 which is designed to protect private property in all its forms, must be understood both in a corporeal sense as having reference to all those specific things that are susceptible of private appropriation and enjoyment as well as in its juridical or legal sense of a 'bundle' of rights which the owner can exercise under the municipal law with respect to the user and enjoyment of those things to the exclusion of all others."

—*The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Parts VI and VII, June and July, 1954, pp. 737 and 617; also see *ibid*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts IX and X, December 1950, pp. 920-21, for the view of Justice Das on the question.

amount of the compensation or specifies the principles on which, and the manner in which, the compensation is to be determined and given; and no such law shall be called in question in any court on the ground that the compensation provided by that law is not adequate.

"(2A) Where a law does not provide for the transfer of the ownership or right to possession of any property to the State or to a Corporation owned or controlled by the State, it shall not be deemed to provide for the compulsory acquisition or requisitioning of property, notwithstanding that it deprives any person of his property.

"(3) No such law as is referred to in Clause (2) made by the Legislature of a State shall have effect unless such law, having been reserved for the consideration of the President, has received his assent.

"(4) If any Bill pending at the commencement of this Constitution in the Legislature of a State has, after it has been passed by such Legislature, been reserved for the consideration of the President and has received his assent, then, notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, the law so assented to shall not be called in question in any Court on the ground that it contravenes the provisions of Clause (2).

"(5) Nothing in Clause (2) shall affect—

- (a) the provisions of any existing law other than a law to which the provisions of Clause (6) apply, or
- (b) the provisions of any law which the State may hereafter make—
 - (i) for the purpose of imposing or levying any tax or penalty, or
 - (ii) for the promotion of public health or the prevention of danger to life or property, or
 - (iii) in pursuance of any agreement entered into between the Government of the Dominion of India or the Government of India and the Government of any other country, or otherwise, with respect to property declared by law to be evacuee property.

"(6) Any law of the State enacted not more than eighteen months before the commencement of this Constitution may within three months from such commencement be submitted to the President for his certification; and thereupon, if the President by public notification so certifies, it shall not be called in question in any court on the ground that it contravenes the provisions of Clause (2) of this Article or has contravened the provisions of Sub-section (2) of Section 299 of the Government of India Act, 1935."⁴

It may be noted here that Clause (2A) was inserted in Article 31 by the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955, and that Clause (2) in its present form was substituted by the same Act for the original Clause (2) which had run as follows—

"(2) No property, movable or immovable, including any interest in, or in any company owning, any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law authorising the taking of such possession or such acquisition, unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of the compensation, or specifies the principles on which, and the manner in which, the compensation is to be determined and given."

Clauses (1), (3), (4), (5), and (6) of Article 31 have remained, however, as they were originally.

It may also be noted here that the original Article 31 which corresponded to Article 24 of the Draft Constitution of India, and Clauses (1) and (2) of which were largely modelled upon Sub-sections (1) and (2) of Section 299 of the Government of India Act, 1935, appears to have been based upon a compromise between conflicting points of view in the Constituent Assem-

bly of India. This is evident from the following extract from the speech which Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who had previously been the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, delivered on 19th March, 1955, in our Rajya Sabha in connexion with the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, 1954. "Article 31, with which we are dealing now in this amending Bill," said Dr. Ambedkar,⁵ "is an article for which I, and the Drafting Committee, can take no responsibility whatsoever. We do not take any responsibility for that. That is not our draft. The result was that the Congress Party, at the time when Article 31 was being framed, was so divided within itself that we did not know what to do, what to put and what not to put. There were three sections in the Congress Party. One section was led by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who stood for full compensation, full compensation in the sense in which full compensation is enacted in our Land Acquisition Act, namely, market price plus 15 per cent solatium. That was his point of view. Our Prime Minister⁶ was against compensation. Our friend, Mr. Pant,⁷ who is here now—and I am glad to see him here—had conceived his Zamindari Abolition Bill before the Constitution was being actually framed. He wanted a very safe delivery for his baby. So he had his own proposition. There was thus this tripartite struggle, and we left the matter to them to decide in any way they liked. And they merely embodied what their decision was in Article 31. This Article 31, in my judgment, is a very ugly thing, something which I do not like to look at . . . Even then we have made that article as elastic as we possibly could in the matter of compensation."

III

We shall now explain what led to the amendment of the original Clause (2) of Article 31. The chief reason for this amendment appears to have been a certain judicial decision, namely,

4. So far as the State of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, Clauses (3), (4) and (6) will not apply and for Clause (5) the following Clause is to be substituted, namely:

"(5) Nothing in Clause (2) shall affect—

(a) the provisions of any existing law; or

(b) the provisions of any law which the State may hereafter make—

(i) for the purpose of imposing or levying any tax or penalty; or

(ii) for the promotion of public health or the prevention of danger to life or property; or

(iii) with respect to property declared by law to be evacuee property."

5. *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha, Official Report*, Vol. IX; No. 19; 19th March, 1955, columns 2450-2452.

6. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.

7. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, the then Minister for Home Affairs, Government of India; previously Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

the judgment⁸ of our Supreme Court in *The State of West Bengal V. Mrs. Bela Banerjee and Others*, to be referred to hereinafter as the *Bela Banerjee* case.

Briefly speaking,⁹ it appears from the facts of the case that the West Bengal Land Development and Planning Act, 1948 (West Bengal Act XXI of 1948), which had been passed on October 1st, 1948, "primarily for the settlement of immigrants who had migrated into West Bengal due to communal disturbances in East Bengal," had provided "for the acquisition and development of land for public purposes including the purpose aforesaid." The constitutional validity of this Act had been challenged by the respondents when an attempt had been made to enforce it in respect of certain lands owned by them. A Division Bench of the Calcutta High Court, had, however, held on 22nd March, 1951, that the "Act as a whole was not unconstitutional or void save as regards two of the provisions contained in Section 8" thereof. On an appeal by the State of West Bengal against this judgment, the Supreme Court unanimously held¹⁰ on 11th December, 1953, "that the provisions of Section 8 of the West Bengal Act XXI of 1948¹¹ making the declaration of the Government conclusive as to the public nature of the purpose of the acquisition," and limiting "the amount of compensation so as not to exceed the market value of the land (to be acquired) on December 31, 1946," were *ultra vires* the Constitution and void; that "inasmuch as Article 31(2) of the Constitution made the existence of a public purpose a necessary condition of acquisition, the existence of such a purpose as a fact must be established objectively;" that the impugned Act¹² was not saved by Article 31(5) of the Constitution from the operation of Article 31(2) thereof as it had not been "certified by the President (of India) as provided for by Article 31(6)"; that "while it is true that the legislature is given the discretionary power of laying down

the principles which should govern the determination of the amount to be given to the owner for the property appropriated, such principles must ensure that what is determined as payable must be compensation, that is, a just equivalent of what the owner has been deprived of;" that "within the limits of this basic requirement of full indemnification of the expropriated owner, the Constitution allows free play to the legislative judgment as to what principles should guide the determination of the amount payable;" but that "whether such principles take into account all the elements which make up the true value of the property appropriated and exclude matters which are to be neglected, is a justiciable issue to be adjudicated by the Court."

The Supreme Court added:¹³

"Turning now to the provisions relating to compensation under the impugned Act, it will be seen that the latter part of the proviso to Section 8 (thereof) limits the amount of compensation so as not to exceed the market value of the land on December 31, 1946, no matter when the land is acquired. Considering that the impugned Act is a permanent enactment and lands may be acquired under it many years after it came into force, the fixing of the market value on December 31, 1946, as the ceiling on compensation, without reference to the value of the land at the time of the acquisition is arbitrary and cannot be regarded as due compliance in letter and spirit with the requirement of Article 31(2). The fixing of an anterior date for the ascertainment of value may not, in certain circumstances, be a violation of the constitutional requirement as, for instance, when the proposed scheme of acquisition becomes known before it is launched and prices rise sharply in anticipation of the benefits to be derived under it, but the fixing of an anterior date, which might have no relation to the value of the land when it is acquired, may be, many years later, cannot but be regarded as arbitrary. The learned Judges below observe that it is common knowledge that since the end of the War, land, particularly around Calcutta, has increased enormously in value and might still further increase very considerably in value when the pace of industrialisation increases. Any principle for determining compensation which

8. In Civil Appeal No. 123 of 1952: Appeal against the judgment, dated 22nd March, 1951, of the High Court of Calcutta (Harries C. J. and Banerjee, J.).—*The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Part V, May, 1954, pp. 558-65.

9. For details, see *ibid.*, pp. 558-65.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 558-65.

11. *I.e.*, the West Bengal Land Development and Planning Act, 1948.

12. *I.e.*, the West Bengal Act XXI of 1948 under consideration.

13. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, May, 1954, pp. 564-65.

denies to the owner this increment in value cannot result in the ascertainment of the true equivalent of the land appropriated.

"We accordingly hold that the latter part of proviso (b) to section 8 of the impugned Act which fixes the market value on December 31, 1946, as the maximum compensation¹⁴ for lands acquired under it offends against the provisions of Article 31(2) and is unconstitutional and void. The appeal is dismissed with costs."

This decision of the Supreme Court had a far-reaching effect and was one of the main causes¹⁵ that led to the replacement, under the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955, of the original Clause (2) in Article 31 of the Constitution by the new Clause (2) which we have quoted before. It may be noticed that under the new Clause (2) the quantum of compensation payable for any property acquired or requisitioned under it, is not justiciable. That is to say, the adequacy or the inadequacy of such compensation is not open to review by any court of law. We find an official defence of this non-justiciability of the quantum of compensation payable, in the speeches delivered in our Parliament¹⁶ by the Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru),* by the Minister in the Ministry of Law (Shri Hari Vinayak Pataskar), by the Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari), and by the Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Govind Ballabh Pant),

14. The relevant provision in the West Bengal Land Development and Planning Act, 1948, ran as follows:

"Provided that—

* * * *

(b) in determining the amount of compensation to be awarded for land acquired in pursuance of this Act the market value referred to in Clause first (sic) of Sub-section (1) of Section 23 of the said Act shall be deemed to be the market value of the land on the date of publication of the notification under Sub-section (1) of Section 4 for the notified area in which the land is included subject to the following condition, that is to say—

if such market value exceeds by any amount the market value of the land on the 31st day of December, 1946, on the assumption that the land had been at that date in the State in which it, in fact, was on the date of publication of the said notification, the amount of such excess shall not be taken into consideration."

15. See the *Lok Sabha Debate* of 12th April, 1955, column 4977.

16. See the *Lok Sabha Debates*, New Delhi, of 14th and 15th March and of 11th and 12th April, 1955; also the *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, New Delhi, of 17th and 19th March and of 19th and 20th April, 1955.

in connexion with the enactment of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955. The sum and substance of these speeches was that this particular amendment of our Constitution as well as some others to which we shall refer later on, was urgently necessary if we wanted to create in India a "socialist pattern of society" and to realise the ideal of a "Welfare State" in the country. Besides, this amendment was in accordance with the real wishes of the authors of the Constitution in respect of the particular matter with which it dealt, although, unfortunately, these wishes had not been properly reflected in the language of the Constitution on account of a defective draftsmanship. Moreover, the amendment would remove "an inherent contradiction in the Constitution between the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy." Finally, it should, it had been argued, be borne in mind that the concept of private property itself must change in a dynamic and progressive society. Thus, for instance, Prime Minister Nehru observed in the Lok Sabha, on 14th March, 1955, in connexion with the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill:¹⁷

"This Constitution is now about five years old, and in the making of it, undoubtedly, there was a good deal of effort and labour on the part of many of the leading persons in this country We are entitled to treat this Constitution, therefore, with all the respect that it deserves. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that however good a Constitution might be at any time, after working it for some little time, flaws appear. Nothing is perfect, and then it becomes necessary to make changes to remove those flaws After all, the Constitution is meant to facilitate the working of the Government and the administrative and other structures of this country. It is meant to be not something that is static and which has a static form in a changing world, but something which has something dynamic in it, which takes cognizance of the dynamic nature of modern conditions, modern society, and at the same time has checks which prevent hasty action which might happen to be wrong. There are plenty of checks in this Constitution. Now, therefore, the fact that an

17. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 14th March, 1955.

amendment is proposed to this Constitution now or later should not and cannot be challenged except on the merits Now, what basically do these amendments deal with? Basically, they deal with the power and authority of this Parliament, that is to say, how far that power and authority of this Parliament can be exercised without review or check or other decision against it by the Courts, by the judiciary. Now, one of the fundamental bases of this Constitution and our general practice in this country is to have an independent and powerful judiciary. We have respected that, and I hope we will continue to respect it. There is no question of challenging, modifying, limiting or minimising the authority of the judiciary in this country. That should be understood, and therefore, what the judiciary, the High Courts, or the Supreme Court, decide we inevitably accept, and we act upon it. That is one thing. On the other side, if I may say so with all respect to the judiciary, they do not decide about high political, social, or economic or other questions. It is for Parliament to decide the ultimate authority to lay down what political or social or economic law we should have is Parliament and Parliament alone; it is not the function of the judiciary to do that. Now, the mere fact that I come up before this House with these amendments to the Constitution shows our respect for the judiciary. We accept the interpretation by the judiciary of the Constitution. Having accepted that, we feel it is not in consonance with the social or economic policy that we think the country should pursue. Therefore, we do not by-pass the Supreme Court; we come for a change in the Constitution, accepting their interpretation of it."

"It was my privilege in fact," the Prime Minister continued,¹⁸ "to move this Article,¹⁹ or the corresponding one,²⁰ before the Constituent Assembly, and I gave expression to my views as to what it meant fairly clearly then; but I am a layman. A very high constitutional and legal authority, Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, also spoke; my colleague here sitting to the right of me also spoke; and they gave expression to a certain viewpoint in interpreting

the very articles that we are putting forward. One might presume therefore what the intention of the movers of those articles was when they placed them forward, and therefore what the intention of the Constituent Assembly was at the time. But we need not trouble ourselves about that. If the Supreme Court or the High Courts of this country have interpreted those articles in a different way, contrary to the intentions as expressed by the very movers of these articles in the Constituent Assembly, they have every right to do so. We cannot say, they should go back to refer to the speeches made and the rest. It simply means that we who put forward these articles were in error in drafting them. We did not put forward, we did not define precisely, what we meant. And therefore, we have to come to this House, to Parliament, now to change the drafting, the wording, to give effect to what was clearly meant then Now, the object of the amendments I am placing before this House is to clarify this matter, to make it in precise language perfectly clear, so that the decisions of this Parliament might not be challenged in regard to these matters in the court of law. Now, what are these amendments? In the main, as I said, they merely state what the authority of Parliament is The question really has resolved itself as to the manner and the quantum of compensation. Now, I had thought, when we passed this Article in the Constituent Assembly, that we had made it perfectly clear that Parliament would fix either quantum of, or the rules governing, compensation, and after that, there would be no challenge at all. Well, in spite of that, it has been challenged—and in fact, challenged effectively. The question, therefore, is not one of expropriating without compensation, but the quantum of compensation to be given and who is to fix it. In fact, what we are doing, so far as Article 31 is concerned, is that we are merely repeating, but in more precise and clear language, what we had said before. That is, previously it had been said—I need not read it, the House knows it—that there would be compensation but Parliament would determine the quantum of it or fix the rules governing it."

Further, The Prime Minister stated :²¹

18. See *ibid.*

19. I.e., Article 31 of the Constitution.

20. I.e., Article 24 of the Draft Constitution of India.

21. Lok Sabha Debates, 14th March, 1955.

"In the case of normal land acquisition, the normal laws prevail and the normal full compensation is given, but where all this affects a much larger sphere, the social sphere, then we have provided differently. If we are aiming as, I hope, we are aiming—and we repeatedly say we are aiming—at changes in the social structure, then, inevitably, you cannot think in terms of giving what is called full compensation. Why? Well, firstly, because you cannot do it. Secondly, because it would be improper to do it, unjust to do it, and it should not be done even if you can do it, for the simple reason that all these social matters, laws, etc., are aiming to bring about a certain structure of society different from what it is at present. In that different structure, among the other things that will change is this—the big difference between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots.' Now, if we are giving full compensation, well, the 'haves' remain the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' 'have-nots'; it does not change in shape or form if compensation takes place. Therefore, in any scheme of social engineering, if I may say so, you cannot give full compensation, apart from the other patent fact that you are not in a position—nobody has the resources—to give it We do want to give compensation and we intend to, as we have been doing. But it is patent that the compensation that has to be paid is not a kind of rule of thumb, that the compensation that you give should be the market value of the property. It cannot be done, if you have to think in terms of India as a whole State; you have to think not only of the type of property but the history behind it, the social consequences behind it and all that kind of thing in determining the compensation. The object is not to expropriate, the object is not to injure anybody; the object is a positive object, to bring about a social change for the benefit of the largest number of people doing the least injury to any group or class. Now, in a matter of this kind, therefore, where you have to consider all these factors, political, social, economic, I submit that the judiciary is not the competent authority. The judiciary is a competent authority to judge—is this the market value or not? They are better competent than Parliament to decide that, but when you have to consider social and economic policies, obviously it would be unfair to cast the

burden on the judiciary and it is only Parliament or the State that can do it."

In conclusion, the Prime Minister remarked:²²

"I would like to draw the attention of the House to something that is not adequately stressed either in Parliament or in the country. We stress greatly and argue in courts of law about the fundamental rights. Rightly so, but there is such a thing also as the Directive Principles of the Constitution. Even at the cost of repealing them, I wish to read them out. (The Prime Minister referred here to Articles 37, 38 and 39 of the Constitution). These are, as the Constitution says, the fundamentals in the governance of the country. Now, I should like the House to consider how you can give effect to these principles if the argument which is often being used even, if I may say so with all respect, by the Supreme Court, is adhered to. You can't. You may say you must accept the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution. They are wiser than we are in interpreting things. But I say, then if that is correct, there is an inherent contradiction in the Constitution between the fundamental rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy. Therefore, again, it is up to this Parliament to remove that contradiction and make the fundamental rights subserve the Directive Principles of State Policy. Therefore, without going into further details of these matters, I would like to commend this Bill²³ to the House The main purpose is to remove this apparent contradiction that has arisen owing to the decisions of the Supreme Court between certain parts of the Constitution, between certain Articles on the fundamental rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy in Part IV of the Constitution: and to make the Constitution more harmonious."

Again, while moving for the consideration of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill as reported by the Joint (Select) Committee of the two Houses of Parliament, the Prime Minister observed²⁴ on 11th April, 1955, in the Lok Sabha, in connexion with the question of alleged "sanctity of private property":

"The view in regard to property which Shri

22. See *ibid.*

23. *I.e.*, the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill.

24. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 11th April, 1955.

Chatterjee²⁵ has put forward in his Minute of Dissent and in which he is supported by some high legal authorities, is one with which I cannot agree Repeatedly, Shri N. C. Chatterjee refers to the use of the phrase 'the sanctity of private property', as though there was something divine or semi-divine about it. It is a right-property. The possession of property is a thing which we recognise, which we protect, and it is defined here how compensation is to be given if a man is deprived of it. There it is. But to talk in these terms, if I may say so, of sanctity, divinity, etc., being attached to property is very much out of date. It has no relation, not only to present days but to present-day facts. I am not referring to what may be called socialistic or communistic countries, but to countries which are presumed to be capitalistic and the like. The whole conception, the whole approach, is changing. If Shri Chatterjee quotes something from the judges of the middle of the 19th century, that may have been the way of thinking then. It is not so now. The whole idea and approach to this question is changing Again, Shri Chatterjee quotes—rather, he quotes someone who quotes an eminent English jurist as having said that 'the public good is in nothing more essentially interested than in the protection of private property.' I would like the House to consider these words: 'Public good is in nothing more essentially interested than in the protection of private property.' That is what I call an astounding and amazing statement—that the highest public good is the protection of private property, more than everything else. I do submit that not only we should not agree to it but we should reject it summarily and absolutely—such a statement—whoever might have made it The whole thing changes, everything. The idea of property changes with the coming of the technological revolution atomic energy is releasing enormous forces which are bound to change and which are changing human life. In this tremendous age, to think in a static way and to imagine that property has exactly the same place in human life as it used to, means that you have stopped thinking at all."

25. Shri N. C. Chatterjee, Hooghly, West Bengal. As a member of the Joint (Select) Committee of Parliament, Shri Chatterjee had submitted a Minute of Dissent on the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill,

The Prime Minister added, however²⁶:

"I think the proposition that some hon. Members on the other side advanced about acquisition or confiscation without compensation seems to me a basically wrong proposition from the point of view of the public good—not from love of property or anything like that. It is basically a wrong proposition. In a particular case if a person misbehaves that is a different matter. I am talking in the broad sense: I do not want anything to be acquired except—normally speaking—on payment of just compensation if we have to acquire property I think we should pay just and equitable compensation. I am talking about individual properties."

Finally, in connexion with the motion for the passing of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill as amended, the Prime Minister stated²⁷ in the Lok Sabha on 12th April, 1955:

"The object of this Bill, in fact, is not to give, in the normal cases, any illusory or unjust compensation. There may be such cases, I can concede, when dealing with large schemes where compensation may be calculated in a special way. But, even there, it won't be, I hope, unjust this amendment removes certain difficulties in our way; it makes it easier for us in future to proceed with our social plans, and at the same time, it does not injure really any interest; and certainly it does not injure the interest of the small producer or small-owner."

Views more or less similar to those of the Prime Minister as quoted above, were expressed in our Parliament²⁸ by the Minister in the Ministry of Law (Shri Pataskar), by the Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Krishnamachari), and by the Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Pant), in connection with the enactment of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955. For reasons of space we cannot quote these views here. We may, however, refer here to one or two such views. For instance, Shri Pataskar said²⁹ in the Lok Sabha on 14th March, 1955, that it was "not a correct proce-

26. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 11th April, 1955.

27. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 12th April, 1955, columns 5116 and 5124.

28. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 14th and 15th March and 11th and 12th April, 1955; also the *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, of 17th and 19th March and of 19th and 20th April, 1957.

29. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 14th March, 1955.

durs to try to construe (as, according to him, the Supreme Court of India had done) the Indian Constitution on the basis of the words and phrases which occur" in the Constitutions of Australia, Canada, or the United States of America, as these Constitutions "were meant for being useful to different countries for the solution of their own different problems." The provisions of our Constitution should, he held, be interpreted in the light of Clause 5³⁰ of the Objectives Resolution unanimously adopted by our Constituent Assembly³¹ (on 22nd January, 1947), the Preamble³² to our Constitution, and the Directive Principles of State Policy as embodied in Part IV of the Constitution. "The most important provision in this connexion," observed³³ Shri Pataskar, "is Article 38 (of the Constitution) which lays down that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by establishing a social order in which justice, social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of the national life. Whatever is laid down in Articles 19, 31 and similar provisions (of the Constitution) have to be interpreted in view of this policy of a welfare state. If you do not take any account of this thing and try to interpret the Constitution, the interpretation is bound to be incorrect Our Constitution is an independent piece of work not based on any particular Constitution, but is framed on the historical background of our constitutional development and the particular needs of our country in view of the goal which has been set before us. That must be taken into account for its proper interpretation There is no point in arguing about the sanctity of property. If there is any interpretation by which the progress of the country is going to be held up, such an amendment³⁴ is the only solution To argue that by this amendment we are trying to take away the authority of the courts is not correct.

30. Reference was to the following provision in it: "Wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India, justice, social, economic, and political."

31. See our article in *The Modern Review* for September, 1954, in this connexion.

32. Reference was made to the following provision in it: "We, the People of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens: justice, social, economic and political."

33. See the *Lok Sabha Debates*, of 14th March, 1955.

34. I.e., as proposed by the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill.

We are trying to restore what the Constitution-makers really intended In our opinion the present Articles (of the Constitution) are enough for the purpose for which they are intended. But on account of the interpretation of the Courts it has become necessary to bring forward this legislation. It should be more appropriate to hold that our Constitution-makers trusted the legislatures to protect the rights of citizens, as the people of Great Britain trust their Parliament to protect (the) people's property The intention of the framers of the Constitution cannot be allowed to be negated or hampered by incorrect interpretation" (by the court of law).

And Shri G. B. Pant said ³⁵ in the Rajya Sabha on 17th March, 1955:

"Our Constitution enshrines the main purpose and objective of our national policy. Our society is to be based on the twin pillars of social and economic justice. The Preamble embodies the main objective for which the Parliament is designed and intended to function. It has, besides the Preamble, the Directive Principles (of State Policy) which in a way chalk out the road which will lead to the goal which has been defined in the Constitution. Still in greater detail we have also certain Fundamental Rights which are equally entitled to every consideration and regard. Besides, the Constitution provides for an independent judiciary and the Supreme Court. The function of the Parliament is the most important. It has an unlimited scope and it can, if it so chooses and if circumstances so require, make far-reaching changes in the Constitution But when there is a conflict between the main central objective of our social reconstruction policy, the Fundamental Rights, the Directive Principles and Parliamentary legislation on the one hand and the decisions of the Supreme Court on the other, some way has to be found out to establish harmony between all these, especially between the Legislature and the Supreme Court. It is with a view to resolving that conflict (an) amendment of the Constitution has to be made. While in every way upholding the dignity and respect that is due to the Supreme Court, it becomes the duty of the executive to devise suitable means in order to bring the two together,

35. See the *Parliamentary Debates*, Rajya Sabha, of 17th March, 1955.

so that the main purpose for which the two exist, may be fulfilled. The course of legislation during the last few years has revealed defects in Article 31 of our Constitution. It is with a view to curing that defect that this Bill has been placed before this House."

Further³⁶:

"Article 31 is concerned with a vital matter. The original clause in the Draft Constitution was, I think, Clause 24. That by itself was the subject of a prolonged controversy and some of us happened to be concerned with that controversy even then. Some basic fundamentals were accepted and are accepted even today. We have no desire to indulge in the game of expropriation wantonly. We do not want to deprive anyone of his property unnecessarily or to acquire any property except on the payment of such compensation as may be appropriate. There are different purposes for which properties have to be acquired. Sometimes, we have to acquire a piece of land for an isolated administrative purpose, such as the building of a post office or a railway station. In such cases we pay adequate compensation, the market value and something in addition. That law is not in any way varied Social legislation affecting the community in general or large sections of it stands on a different footing and it has to be viewed from a different angle. It is here that Article 31 comes in It was by itself, a sort of a compromise Article. That Article, however, laid down that compensation would be paid for acquisition, but the quantum of it or the principles and the manner in which, or in accordance with which, such compensation was to be given, should be determined by Parliament. It was then the view of very eminent jurists like Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar* and also others, that the Parliament would be the final authority in the matter. Only when a fraud on the Constitution was conclusively and demonstrably established, would the courts intervene. And we thought that it would not be otherwise, for when principles are laid down and the methods also are prescribed, the court can ordinarily only act according to the principles, interpret the principles that are prescribed and also see if the method laid down by the Legis-

lature has been complied with faithfully. But the hopes have been belied. It has been found that the courts did not agree with the interpretation which the authors of the Constitution thought it bore and it would convey. They have construed the Article differently."

"Many things have happened," added³⁷ Shri Pant, "which were altogether beyond the range of imagination of the authors of the Constitution. It has been found that the guarantees that they had given has been interpreted in a manner which comes in the way of social legislation, and which does not allow even very modest steps to be taken in the direction of social welfare. We have decided to work for a welfare state of a socialistic pattern in our country; well, that may call for big changes We regard the community as the supreme arbiter of all things. In a democratic State it is the people who are the masters. But, as I said, we do recognise private rights even in property. But it should not be forgotten that all private rights in property are the creatures of society. Such rights exist because the State is able to maintain order and to follow certain policies. Even if one were to say that compensation should be determined by the market value, the State could always order things in such a way that the value might almost be diminished and reduced to zero. The State could impose taxation to the extent of 99.5 per cent on the income from the property. There is nothing to prevent it from doing so. There is no constitutional bar. It could say that the rent to be paid would be such as would be even less than the cost of repair of the property. So various devices could be adopted which would altogether nullify even a provision about the payment of a price on the basis of the market rate."

Again, on 19th April, 1955, Shri Pant stated³⁸ in the *Rajya Sabha*:

"There is a change at the end of Article 31 (2) (of the Constitution) in order that it may be in accord with the spirit and the intentions of the Constitution. The amendments do not make any real change in the Constitution as such but they bring the Constitution in conformity with what the authors of the Constitution intended and expected it to be. The occasion

³⁶ See *ibid.*

* Also spelt in our Parliamentary Proceedings as "Iyer".

³⁷ See *ibid.*

³⁸ See the *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, of 19th April, 1955.

for these changes has arisen out of certain decisions and pronouncements by the Supreme Court and by some of the High Courts. The Constitution gave the supreme authority to Parliament and the State Legislatures for determining the quantum of the compensation that would be payable for the acquisition of property for public social purposes. That was the intention of the framers of the Constitution That was the intention, but the language (of the Constitution) did not fully convey it. The courts were in the circumstances unable to carry out the intentions of the authors (of the Constitution). It became necessary therefore to amend the language so that the courts might be relieved of the embarrassing necessity of having to interpret the clause in a manner which did not quite conform to the wishes, intentions or objects of the authors of the Constitution. This Bill³⁹ was introduced in order to get over the hurdles which had been thus created When the Select Committee⁴⁰ examined it, it felt that the room for misunderstanding should be completely eliminated and the language should be made precise and clear so that there may be no occasion for any misinterpretation or misunderstanding in the future. With that object in view these words were introduced, that is, the compensation that may be fixed by the Parliament or the principles that may be evolved by it for the determination of compensation will not be questioned on the ground that the compensation so provided is not adequate. Adequacy or inadequacy will not come within the field of justiciability. Still the jurisdiction of the courts has not been removed. The courts will have authority to determine whether the compensation in any case is illusory or amounts to a fraud on the Constitution. I personally am confident that no such occasion will ever arise. I may just state that there is no suggestion or indication in the clause⁴¹ itself about any intentions regarding expropriation of property. The clause in fact makes a provision the other way.

39. The title of the Bill was originally the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, 1954. Later on it was changed into the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, 1955.—See *ibid.*, columns 5097-5098.

40. Reference here is to the Joint Select Committee of Parliament to which the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill had been referred.

41. I.e., the new Clause (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution.

It says that no property will be acquired or requisitioned except on payment of compensation The question however that has to be considered in connection with this proposition is one relating to the quantum of compensation. It is to be frankly admitted that where property is acquired for a colossal scheme of social reform we cannot pay compensation according to the market rate. It is impossible; no State can do it."

Finally, Shri G. B. Pant observed⁴² in the Rajya Sabha on 20th April, 1955:

"It has been said that we should not tamper with the Constitution lightly. That principle has been accepted and it is not denied. But what we are doing by means of this amending Bill today is to rehabilitate the Constitution and not to tamper with it. The spirit of the Constitution, the intentions of the authors should prevail and where the language had been found defective or ambiguous it should be adjusted and revised so that the actual purpose for which the Constitution was framed and the intentions of the authors and the motives which actuated them may be fully borne out. There is no intention of tampering with the Constitution. The instrument that was framed for the purpose has been found defective and we are trying to remove the deficiencies I should like to mention that the concept of private property is not a static one; it has been changing from time to time. In the good or bad old days, slaves were regarded as private property. Some time ago even women were treated as such. But the concept of private property has been changing One can easily say that private property is a creature of the State Whatever rights there are, they are creatures of the State We have no desire to interfere with the rights of private property. I personally do not think that it will be consistent with our accepted canons of non-violence and democracy to wipe out the right of private property. We may regulate it; we may control it or we may deal with it in a manner which will just conduce to the welfare of the community but we need not efface it completely. That has never been the intention What we have to do is that our resources should be expended in the just manner possible so that the establishment of the

42. See the *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, of 20th April, 1955.

welfare state of our dreams may be speeded up and expedited. That is the only purpose which this Bill has before it. Some Members have suggested that it will interfere with the jurisdiction of the courts. Well, in so far as the ambiguous language of the former Clause (2) of Article 31 compelled the courts to exercise the jurisdiction which the authors of the Constitution never imagined the courts possessed, that power the courts will cease to have but to the extent the courts were actually given any jurisdiction by the authors of the Constitution, the courts will continue to exercise. The need for this amendment arose out of the interpretations placed on this clause by the highest tribunal in this land in a series of cases which arose on this particular clause. . . . in *Bela Banerjee's* case . . . it was unequivocally held that the compensation that will be paid under this clause should be the full equivalent of the property. It is impossible to carry out any measure of social legislation if the market value for the property acquired is to be paid especially when large schemes of social reforms are to be launched, which we hope to, in the course of the next few years. No State can afford to pay the money equivalent of the property that will be acquired for the benefit of the poorer sections of the community in this land . . . It has, therefore, to be accepted that an amendment of Article 31 (2) had become unavoidable. That being conceded and it also being accepted that full market value cannot possibly be paid, I think the least intelligent will concede that no other formula could have been devised than the one which has found place in this amending Bill."

IV

We have given above, in view of the importance of the question, sufficient extracts from official views to indicate why the original Clause (2) of Article 31 was replaced in 1955 by the new Clause (2) which we have quoted before. The object of this change was, to quote *Shri G. B. Pant*⁴³ again, "to bring about (a) complete harmony between the Directive Principles (of State Policy), Fundamental Rights, Preamble (to the Constitution) and the laws that are designed to carry the country forward

on the road chalked out for it, towards the central objective which has been solemnly prescribed for it," namely, the establishment of a Welfare State in India on a socialistic pattern.

The Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill was passed, practically as it emerged from the Joint Select Committee of Parliament by the Lok Sabha on 12th April, 1955, by 302 votes against 5, and by the Rajya Sabha on 20th April, 1955, by 139 votes against nil. It became law and a part of our Constitution on 27th April, 1955.

We shall now see the other side of the picture so far as the new Clause (2) of Article 31 is concerned. As we have seen before, reading the original Clause (2) of Article 31 in the light of its own sober and conscientious judgment and with due regard to the judicial oath (or affirmation), the Supreme Court held in essence in the *Bela Banerjee* case that the quantum of compensation payable under this clause was "a justiciable issue to be adjudicated (upon) by the court" of law. That element of justiciability has now been repealed by the new Clause (2) of Article 31. Thus the jurisdiction of the court of law has been ousted by the new Clause in respect of the quantum of compensation payable under it. It was argued on the official side that this change was really in accordance with the intention of the authors of the Constitution. We do not know. As, however, shown before, *Dr. B. R. Ambedkar*, on the other hand, revealed⁴⁴ in the course of his speech in the Rajya Sabha on 19th March, 1955, that he and his Drafting Committee (of the Constituent Assembly) could "take no responsibility whatsoever" for Article 31 of the Constitution; that it had not been drafted by them; that, "at the time when Article 31 was being framed," the Congress Party (in the Constituent Assembly) "was so divided within itself" that they "did not know what to do, what to put and what not to put;" that there were three sections in the Congress Party; and that one section had been "led by *Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel*, who stood for full compensation, full compensation in the sense in which full compensation is enacted in our Land Acquisition Act, namely, market price plus 15

43. See the *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, of 19th March, 1955, column 2510.

44. See the *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, of 19th March, 1955, columns 2450-2451.

per cent solatium." What Dr. Ambedkar revealed on 19th March was not contradicted by any Member of the Rajya Sabha, including Shri G. B. Pant who was present there when he spoke. Moreover, Sri Pant had also previously admitted himself, in the course of his speech in the Rajya Sabha on 17th March, 1955, that the original Clause 24 of the Draft Constitution which later on became Article 31 of the Constitution, had been "the subject of a prolonged controversy", and that Article 31 "was by itself, a sort of a compromise Article."⁴⁵ In view of this previous record of a sharp difference of opinion, it is difficult to agree fully with the contention that the change made by the new Clause (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution was in accordance with *the intention of the authors* of the Constitution, since under the new clause compensation offered in accordance with a duly enacted law might sometimes, as we shall see later on, be nominal or illusory and there would be no remedy against it in any court of law. In view of the revelation made by Dr. Ambedkar, it does not seem that Sardar Patel and his group would agree to this.

Secondly, the Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Pant) stated⁴⁶ on 12th April, 1955, in the Lok Sabha—and he repeated this view in essence on several occasions later on—that the amendments proposed did "not abrogate any of the Fundamental Rights." Further, he observed:⁴⁷

"The right of private property has not been abolished by this amended Bill⁴⁸ nor have the courts been completely deprived of jurisdiction justiciability remains and in suitable cases relief can be obtained While compensation should be paid wherever property is acquired, the courts can be approached only when the compensation is almost illusory or when there has been a fraud on the Constitution."

It is really difficult to agree with this view also. Apart from the difficulty of defining the expressions "almost illusory" and "a fraud on the Constitution," we should like to submit that a law may be duly made by a Legislature,

Central or State,—and this is quite conceivable in these days of party discipline in the Legislature,—which may provide for the payment of only a nominal compensation for a very valuable piece of property acquired for a public purpose. For instance, the law in question may provide for the payment of Rs. 5,000 only for a property which is worth, at least, Rs. 50,000. If this happens, there will be no remedy in any court of law. The new Clause (2) of Article 31 will stand in the way. Legally speaking, we submit that the offer, by way of compensation, of any positive quantity of money above zero, will satisfy the requirements of the Constitution, and that it will be non-justiciable. Therefore, the Fundamental Right to Property as originally guaranteed by the Constitution and as expounded by our Supreme Court, has been, in effect, largely abrogated by the new Clause (2). There can be no reasonable doubt about this.*

Again, the Minister of Home Affairs stated⁴⁹ in the Lok Sabha on 12th April, 1955:

"We must clearly understand the scope of this clause.⁵⁰ It does not apply to the acquisition of a small bit of property for administrative purposes. It would not apply to the acquisition of any piece of land in Delhi, say, for building an office for the Speaker. It would apply only to cases which come within the compass of what the Prime Minister has called 'social engineering'."

This argument appears to us to be rather specious and misleading as the distinction made by the Minister of Home Affairs is not warranted by the language of the Clause (2) of Article 31. There is no reference to such a distinction in the Clause.

We may refer in this connexion to another point. Many verbal assurances were given by the Prime Minister and other official spokesmen on the floor of either Chamber of Parliament in connexion with the enactment of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment), Act, 1955. The sum and substance of these assurances was that no injustice would be done to any person under the Act, and particularly to any owner of a small property. Whatever moral value these assurances might have had, they have, it

45. See the *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, of 17th March, 1955, columns 2229-2230.

46. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 12th April, 1955.

47. *Ibid.*

48. I.e., the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill as amended by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament.

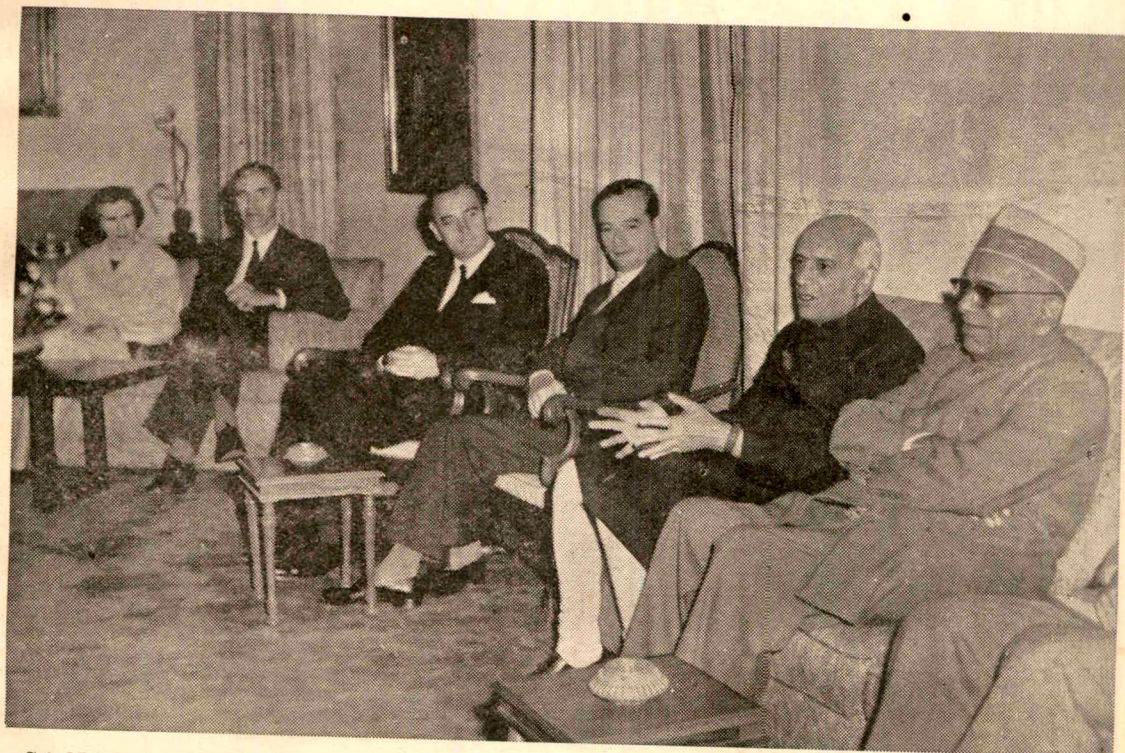
* See in this connexion foot-note 56 *post*.

49. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 12th April, 1955.

50. The Home Minister obviously meant by this word the new Clause (2) of Article 31.



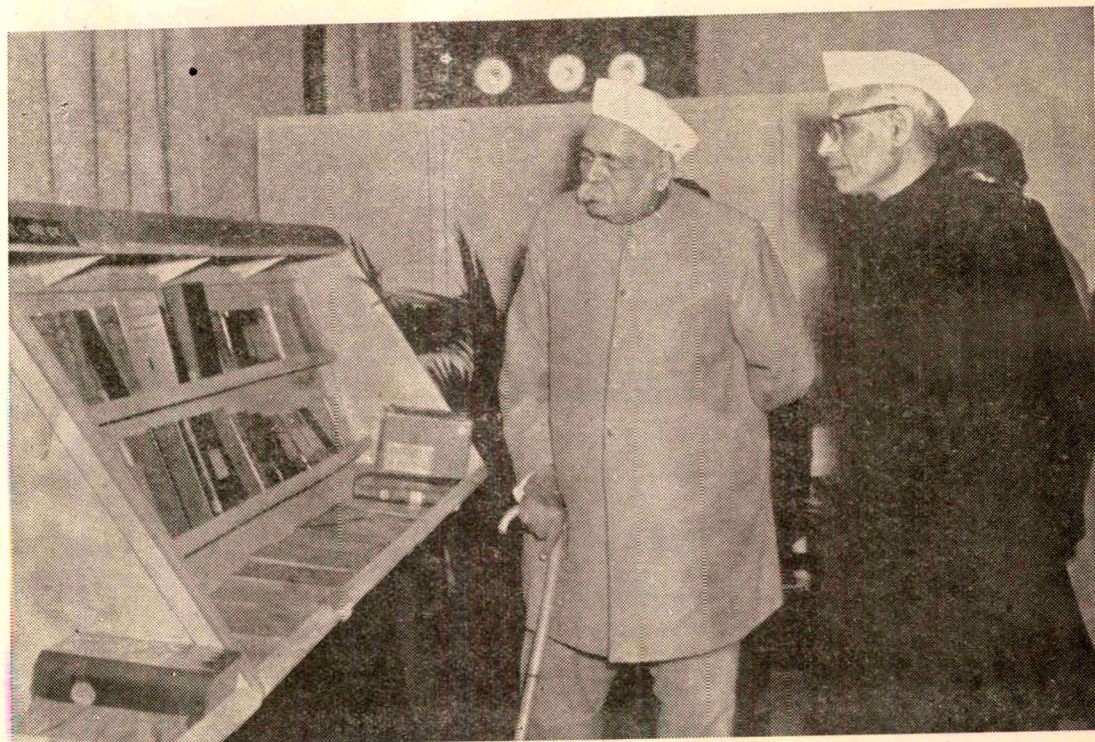
Members of the Rumanian Cultural Delegation cheering the Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, after he had witnessed the show put up by the Delegation in New Delhi



Sri Nehru in conversation with members of the International Press Institute Delegation in New Delhi



Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan greeting Mr. A. Buican, Leader of the Rumanian Cultural Delegation in New Delhi



Sri G. B. Pant, Union Home Minister, being conducted round the exhibition of scientific and technical literature in Hindi held in New Delhi.

is submitted, no value in law. In case of any dispute, the court of law will be guided by the language of the relevant law. "If the words of the statute," says Maxwell,⁵¹ "are in themselves precise and unambiguous no more is necessary than to expound those words in their natural and ordinary sense, the words themselves in such cases best declaring the intention of the legislature 'If there is one rule of construction for statutes and other documents, it is that you must not imply anything in them which is inconsistent with the words expressly used'." "Further," where, by the use of clear and unequivocal language capable of only one meaning, anything is enacted by the legislature, it must be enforced, even though it be absurd or mischievous However unjust, arbitrary or inconvenient the meaning conveyed may be, it must receive its full effect. When once the meaning is plain, it is not the province of a court to scan its wisdom or its policy. Its duty is not to make the law reasonable, but to expound it as it stands, according to the real sense of the words" (used).⁵² This is the accepted rule of construction of statutes, and the language of our new Clause (2) of Article 31 is clear and unequivocal. We, therefore, feel that, notwithstanding any official assurances to the contrary, the power conferred by the new Clause may be misused and the clause has grave potentialities for mischief. Today, one political party with a balanced outlook on life and a moderate ideology may be in power in the country. Tomorrow, another political party with a less balanced outlook on life and with a less moderate ideology may come into power. And then there may be a danger of abuse of the power conferred by the new Clause, by such a political party. Indeed, the new Clause has provided for a potential tyranny in the name of a Welfare State.

In the third place, it has to be borne in mind that Part III of the Constitution in which Article 31 occurs, is headed "Fundamental Rights," and that Article 31 itself is preceded by the heading "Right to Property." Therefore, Right to Property is a Fundamental Right and, as a matter of fact, constitutes one of the seven divisions in which our Fundamental Rights are

divided. Now, "a right," says a great jurist,⁵³ "is an interest *recognised and protected by a rule of right*."⁵⁴ It is any interest, respect for which is a duty, and the disregard of which is a wrong." Further,⁵⁵ "a legal right is an interest recognised and protected by a rule of legal justice—an interest the violation of which would be a legal wrong done to him whose interest it is, and respect for which is a legal duty. 'Rights,' says Ihering, 'are legally protected interests'." A right, therefore, implies a legal remedy to enforce it. But if there is a constitutional bar to the judicial enforcement of a right, that is to say, its enforcement or vindication by an aggrieved party through the medium of a court of law, then the right in question has really no meaning and has, in fact, ceased to be a right. As Lord Chief Justice Holt of England observed in the course of his judgment in *Ashby v. White and Others* (2 Anne, 1704), "It is a vain thing to imagine, there should be Right without a Remedy, for Want of Right and Want of Remedy are convertibles."* The new Clause (2) of Article 31 is such a constitutional bar and implies in effect a great erosion of our Fundamental Right to Property as originally guaranteed by our Constitution.⁵⁶ And as it provided for the ousting of the jurisdiction of the court of law in a very important matter, it is difficult to say that it satisfies the requirements of the rule of law which is a fundamental principle of democracy.

It may be argued in this connexion—and, as a matter of fact, it was so argued by several Members of our Parliament during the consideration of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill—, that we must trust our legislatures. Well, our reply to this is that if we could always trust our legislatures, then there would have

53. Salmond, *Jurisprudence*, 10th Edition, p. 229.

54. The italics are ours.

55. Salmond, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

* Robertson, *Select Statutes, Cases and Documents*, 1947, p. 410.

56. Acharya Kripalani was more forthright when he declared in the Lok Sabha on 12th April, 1955:

"To say that these amendments are not tampering with private property rights as conceived by the orthodox, is absolutely incorrect. Let us say frankly that we are doing it—abrogating property rights. We are doing this deliberately and let there be no misconception about this."—*Lok Sabha Debates*, 12th April, 1955, columns 4988. This is a very honest and straightforward view.

51. Maxwell on the Interpretation of Statutes, 10th Edition, p. 2.

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

been no necessity of the Chapter of Fundamental Rights in our Constitution. We have previously⁵⁷ discussed the question of the utility of a bill of rights in the Constitution of a country governed democratically. We need not repeat here what we have already said except that "the incorporation of a bill of rights in a Constitution acts as a great safeguard, not only against any 'misconstruction or abuse of power' on the part of a department of a Government, but also against any 'excesses of party spirit' and what is known in political speculation as 'the tyranny of the majority' which is now generally included, as John Stuart Mill has rightly said, 'among the evils against which society requires to be on its guard'." And we must not forget here that, thanks to the requirements of party discipline in a parliamentary form of government, "Legislature practically means," as Acharya Kripalani rightly observed⁵⁸ in the Lok Sabha on 12th April, 1955, "the executive."⁵⁹

Fourthly, as shown before, the Prime Minister raised an important question of constitutional principle when he stated⁶⁰ in the course of his speech in the Lok Sabha on 14th March, 1955, that, if the view that we must accept the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution was correct, then there was "an inherent contradiction in the Constitution between the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy." Therefore, he declared:⁶¹ "It is up to this Parliament to remove that contradiction and make the Fundamental Rights subserve the Directive Principles of State Policy."

This view of the Prime Minister was later on echoed in our Parliament by some other members of it. It, however, appears to us that to declare that the Parliament should "make the Fundamental Rights subserve the Directive Principles of State Policy," is to say something which is against the whole scheme of our Constitution to which the Prime Minister him-

self had been a party. As Shri N. C. Chatterjee rightly pointed out⁶² in the Lok Sabha on 11th April, 1955 :

"The purpose of this Fundamental Rights Chapter was that no matter what majority you have, there are certain forbidden sectors on which you will never trespass. The purpose of Fundamental Rights is that certain legal principles should be established, beyond the reach of the Parliament and the executive, to be applied by Courts of law You cannot enforce Directive Principles. Our Constitution says⁶³ expressly that they are non-justiciable There lies the main difference between Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles these Fundamental Rights were made to withdraw certain items from the reach of political controversy, and to provide certain essential safeguards which are regarded as sacred."

Shri Chatterjee quoted⁶⁴ in this connexion Justice Sutherland of the United States to say:

"The very purpose of a Bill of Rights was to withdraw certain subjects from the vicissitudes of political controversy."

We may also mention here that as early as 9th April, 1951, the Supreme Court had, as we have seen before,⁶⁵ declared unanimously and in unequivocal terms, in the course of its judgment in *The State of Madras V. Srimathi Champakam Dorairajan* and *The State of Madras V. C.R. Srinivasan* :⁶⁶

"The learned Advocate-General of Madras even contends that the provisions of Article 46 override the provisions of Article 29(2). We reject the above-noted contentions completely. The directive principles of the State policy, which by Article 37 are expressly made unenforceable by a Court, cannot override the provisions found in Part III (of the Constitution) which, notwithstanding other provisions, are expressly made enforceable by appropriate Writs, Orders or directions under Article 32. The chapter of Fundamental Rights is sacrosanct

57. See *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 274-76.

58. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 12th April, 1955, column 4989.

59. Acharya Kripalani added: "It is absurd to say that the legislature is a free body of persons. . . . The executive is the legislature in a party system democracy."—See *ibid.*

60. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 14th March, 1955, column 1956.

61. See *ibid.*

62. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 11th April, 1955, column 4890-4892.

63. Reference here is to Article 37 of the Constitution.

64. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 11th April, 1955, column 4891.

65. See *The Modern Review* for March, 1955, p. 199.

66. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, Vol. II, Part V, May, 1951, pp. 530-31.

and not liable to be abridged by any Legislative or Executive Act or order, except to the extent provided in the appropriate Article in Part III. The directive principles of State policy *have to conform to and run as subsidiary*⁶⁷ to the Chapter of Fundamental Rights. In our opinion, that is the correct way in which the provisions found in Parts III and IV (of the Constitution) have to be understood. However, so long as there is no infringement of any Fundamental Right, to the extent conferred by the provisions in Part III, there can be no objection to the State acting in accordance with the directive principles set out in Part IV, but subject again to the Legislative and Executive powers and limitations conferred on the State under different provisions of the Constitution."

This is the constitutional position of the Fundamental Rights *vis-a-vis* the Directive Principles of State Policy as envisaged by the authors of the Constitution. In the course of his speech on the Draft Constitution of India as prepared by the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Committee, observed⁶⁸ in the Constituent Assembly on 4th November, 1948, with reference to the Directive Principle of State Policy :

"In the Draft Constitution the Fundamental Rights are followed by what are called 'Directive Principles' These Directive Principles have also come up for criticism. It is said that they are only pious declarations. They have no binding force. This criticism is of course superfluous. The Constitution itself says so in so many words. If it is said that the Directive Principles have no legal force behind them, I am prepared to admit it. But I am not prepared to admit that they have no sort of binding force at all. Nor am I prepared to concede that they are useless because they have no binding force in law they are really Instruments of Instructions to the Executive and the Legislatures as to how they should exercise their powers."

We, therefore, certainly recognize the importance of the Directive Principles in our Con-

stitution. But at the same time, we should not exaggerate this importance. To declare solemnly, as the Prime Minister did on 14th March, 1955, within a little over five years of the commencement of the Constitution, that it is up to our Parliament to "make the Fundamental Rights subserve the Directive Principles of State Policy," is to go, we repeat, against the whole scheme of the Constitution. If the view of the Prime Minister is generally to prevail and if, therefore, the requirements of the Directive Principles of State Policy are to have a prior importance over those of our Fundamental Rights, then it would be much better and more straightforward to delete the Chapter on Fundamental Rights from the Constitution, and thus to do away with a camouflage. Nor should we ignore in this connexion the fact that, although there are really many fine declarations as well as expressions of noble sentiments in our Directive Principles, yet many of them, are, speaking administratively, incapable of translation into practice. This is probably the reason why the Directive Principles have been declared by Article 37 of our Constitution as unenforceable by any court of law.

Finally, we should like to make one more observation. It was argued in our Parliament by more than one speaker in connexion with the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill that the proposed new Clause (2) of Article 31 would materially help to promote the economic well-being of our country. We are afraid that it may act otherwise. Regard being had to what economists consider to be the "fundamental principles of human nature," we feel that in the long run the new Clause (2) may, as a great damper, adversely affect the incentive to hard work on the part of our people, and in particular the inducement to invest money in productive enterprises on the part of our entrepreneurs. Moreover, it may even scare away foreign investment from our country. Thus on the whole, the productiveness of the country and its economic well-being may be seriously affected as a result of the new Clause (2), and it would be both unwise and unrealistic to ignore this psychological effect.

For considerations of space, we propose to continue our discussion of Article 31 in our next articles in the series we have been publishing.

67. The italics are ours.

68. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 4th November, 1948, pp. 41-42.

KASHMIR PROBLEM AND THE UNITED NATIONS

By PROF. KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL, M.A., W.B.E.S.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM

IN his Report to the Security Council, dated April 29, 1957, on the Kashmir question, officially known as the India-Pakistan Question, Mr. Gunnar Jarring, Swedish Representative at the United Nations, who visited the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent for nearly a month from March 14. to April 11, 1957, observed : "While I feel unable to report to the Council any concrete proposals which in my opinion *at this time* are likely to contribute toward a settlement of the dispute, as I was requested to do under the terms of reference of the Council's resolution of February 21, 1957 (S/3793), my examination of the situation as it obtains *at present* would indicate that, despite the *present* deadlock, both parties are still desirous of finding a solution to the problem. In this connection the Council may wish to take note of expressions of sincere willingness to co-operate with the United Nations in the finding of a peaceful solution, which I received from both governments."¹

It is not understood if Mr. Jarring is waiting for a more suitable moment to suggest any concrete proposals for the solution of the Kashmir question. When the Security Council debated the question on September 24, 1957, and there were conflicting interpretations of the Jarring Report regarding the practicability of a plebiscite *at present* in the State of Jammu and Kashmir on the issue of its accession to India or Pakistan, Mr. Jarring steadfastly refused to abandon his silence, though Mr. Krishna Menon, India's delegate, insisted on the author's own interpretation of the Report.

As it is, Mr. Jarring's unwillingness or inability to suggest a concrete solution even at this late stage is an illustration of political bankruptcy not only on the part of statesmen in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, but also in the whole world. Yet the consequences of allowing this highly charged problem of Kashmir to drift on aimlessly in a world so full of tensions, specially great power tensions, may be tragic. For it endangers or threatens not only the peace of the Indo-Pakistan area, but

also the peace of many other nations,—indeed the peace of the whole world.

The dispute or situation centres round an area which is on the frontiers of as many as five states,—India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, China and Russia, and is thus geographically tempting to all world incendiaries. Moreover, in the name of self-defence, Pakistan is now, bilaterally or multilaterally, associated with some thirteen states directly and thirty-two states indirectly,² so that once Pakistan can persuade her allies that she is taking action in self-defence in Kashmir, she could bring almost half the world in her support. It is important in this context that "The Kashmir question is the most significant example in Asia today of the pressure tactics by which certain European Powers still hope to retain their grip on former colonial territories which have emerged into sovereign nationhood."³ Mr. Jarring also in his Report "could not fail to take note of the concern expressed in connection with the changing political, economic and strategic factors surrounding the whole of the Kashmir question, together with the changing pattern of power relations in West and South Asia."⁴

ACCESSION OF THE STATE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

The international aspect of the problem in Kashmir today may be analysed into four basic and connected parts : (1) Accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, or shortly, Kashmir, (2) Pakistan's aggression, (3) Rights of the people in Kashmir, and (4) Ways of solving the problem.

2. The relevant treaties or agreements are: Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement between the Governments of the U.S.A. and Pakistan, May 19, 1954; South-East Asian Collective Defence Treaty, September 8, 1954; Bagdad Pact, 1955; North Atlantic Treaty, April 4, 1949; and Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, September 2, 1947. Pakistan's association with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Organization of American States is indirect, because she is not a party to the North Atlantic Treaty or the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, but some who are parties to these treaties are also parties to the South-East Asian Collective Defence Treaty or the Bagdad Pact with which Pakistan is directly connected.

3. *International Affairs*, Moscow, July, 1957 p. 64.

4. *Jarring Report*, April 29, 1957, paragraph 20.

1. *United Nations Weekly Newsletter*, Vol. V, No. 19, May 10, 1957. Published by the U.N. Information Centre, Delhi. Italics mine.

India strongly holds that legally and constitutionally the State of Jammu and Kashmir is a permanent and irrevocable part of the Indian Union. The reasons suggested are various. First, accession of Kashmir was final and irrevocable under Section 6 of the Government of India Act, 1955 as amended by the Indian Independence Act, 1947, for the Maharaja of Kashmir set no conditions in laying down his terms of accession in October, 1947. Secondly, the Maharaja's Proclamation, dated November 25, 1949, made the Indian constitution also applicable to Kashmir, thus making the latter an integral part of the Indian Union. Thirdly, Article 370 of the Indian Constitution is a temporary and transitional provision, not cancelling Article 1 which makes Kashmir a constituent unit of the Indian Union. Fourthly, Article 370 (3) of the Indian Constitution does not authorise the President of India to amend Article 1, but only "this Article," i.e., Article 370. Fifthly, Article 370 (1) specifically states that the provisions of Articles 1 and 370 shall apply "in relation to that State," i.e., Kashmir, and it could be legitimately inferred that these Articles in respect of their application to the whole of India as distinct from their application simply in relation to Kashmir comes under the protection of Article 368 relating to the amendment of the Indian Constitution. Sixthly, under the Constitution of India there is no authority or functionary to allow secession of any part of India. Seventhly, the new Constitution of Kashmir which came into force on January 26, 1957 also endorses the accession.

Confronted by such unassailable legal arguments, Sir Ivor Jennings, the great constitutional expert, who was also a constitutional advisor to Pakistan in 1954 and 1955, suggested a novel line of approach. In a letter to the *Times*, London, dated March 5, 1957, he wrote: "The question whether the Maharaja's accession in October 1947 was final and irrevocable is not . . . the fundamental question. It would not allow Pakistan to argue that there never was an accession within the meaning of Section 6 of the Government of India Act, 1935; nor would it enable India to secure a decision on the complaint which it submitted to the Security Council in December 1957. The fundamental question is whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir was *lawfully included*⁵ among the

territories of the Union of India by Section 1 and the first Schedule of the Constitution of India. If the answer is in the negative, Kashmir is an independent State and all troops should be withdrawn. If it is in the affirmative, Pakistan would no doubt argue that the *incorporation*⁵ is temporary and conditional on the decision of the people after troops had been withdrawn. This question . . . could be decided by the International Court."

A REPLY TO SIR IVOR JENNINGS

Sir Ivor Jennings is unintelligible here unless we take into consideration the fact that he is trying to play on words like "accession," "inclusion," "incorporation," "administration," and is also thinking of law from two different points of view, viz., international law and constitutional law, and making the latter subordinate to the former. When he says that a settlement of the question of accession "would not enable India to secure a decision on the complaint which it submitted to the Security Council in December 1947," he has in mind the fact that under the new Constitution of Pakistan which has been in force since March 23, 1956 and which was drafted on his advice, the territory which after the evacuation of the Pakistani troops was to "be administered by the local authorities" under the surveillance of the United Nations Representative in accordance with the resolutions of August 13, 1948 and March 14, 1950, is actually being "administered" by Pakistan.

But how is "administration" here by Pakistan different from annexation, incorporation or inclusion by Pakistan? According to Mr. Nehru, "So far as Azad Kashmir is concerned, . . . it has been incorporated into Pakistan."⁶ On February 4, 1957, Pakistan's Law Minister, Sadar Amir Azam Khan, said in an official statement that Mr. Nehru was completely wrong in saying that Azad Kashmir has been incorporated into Pakistan. The Law Minister said: "Our Constitution contains no provision of the kind mentioned by Mr. Nehru. 'Azad Kashmir' has never been incorporated by Pakistan. It is, as has always been, an independent entity with its own government. Our Constitution makes it clear beyond a shadow

5. Italics mine.

6. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, February 2, 1957.

of doubt that the question of accession remains to be decided." The Minister quoted from Article 203 of the Pakistani Constitution which says: "When the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir decide to accede to Pakistan, the relationship between Pakistan and the said State shall be determined in accordance with the wishes of the people of that State."⁷ To this Mr. Nehru gave an effective reply in the Indian Lok Sabha on March 25, 1957. "Even by their Constitution," said Mr. Nehru, "they have stated that all the administered area is part of Pakistan, and undoubtedly this is one of their administered areas, so that they have for a long time past and later even constitutionally treated this as an area which is part of Pakistan. It has been surprising that little reference has been made to this annexation of nearly half of the Jammu and Kashmir State area, while a great deal of discussion is taking place about what is called the annexation of Kashmir by India. There has been no annexation by us."⁸

TWO OPPOSING CONSTITUTIONS

Thus under the Constitutional Law of India and of Pakistan, Kashmir today belongs to the Indian Union through legal accession, while a part of it is under the administration of Pakistan through annexation though Pakistan denies that there has been any annexation by her. The question then that must arise according to Sir Ivor Jennings' analysis is: Which country's Constitution is illegal under International Law in this respect? Pakistan seems to think that her signing of the Standstill Agreement with the State of Jammu and Kashmir on August 15, 1947 meant that the latter State must necessarily accede to Pakistan, though there is no basis for such thinking either in law or in fact. For the Standstill Agreement was merely devised to ensure continuity of administrative agreements relating to communications, post, telegraphs, telephones, Central excise, salt, etc. The Standstill Agreement, as the very words imply, was meant to maintain the *status quo*, and could not create rights and obligations arising from an act of accession.

Sir Ivor suggests that the law on this point, *i.e.*, the legality of the Constitutions of India and Pakistan regarding the territory of Jammu

and Kashmir, and not simply the legality of the accession of the State be decided by a reference to the International Court of Justice. But this suggestion is based on the unfounded assumption that the Constitution of a country is necessarily subordinate to International Law to the extent of requiring the Constitution to be interpreted by the International Court of Justice. The Charter of the United Nations does not recognise any such assumption. For the United Nations is "based on the principle of sovereign equality of all its Members."⁹ Indeed, nothing in the United Nations Charter authorises the United Nations to interfere in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State or requires the Members of the United Nations to submit such matters to settlement under the Charter, unless these matters are in connexion with enforcement measures taken by the Security Council.

The real question, therefore, is to persuade India and Pakistan to agree, as *The Times*, London, suggested in an editorial on March 2, 1957, "to pluck this one question of the accession out of the ring and submit its legality to the International Court." But perhaps this is unnecessary. For the answer is very clear, as Sir Ivor Jennings also suggests. In the words of Sir Ivor Jennings himself, "It would not allow Pakistan to argue that there never was an accession within the meaning of Section 6 of the Government of India Act, 1935."¹⁰

It is not understood how Sir Ivor comes to the conclusion that if it is not lawful to include the Jammu and Kashmir State in this or that Article of the Indian Constitution, that State is at once "an independent state and all troops should be withdrawn." India's right to station her forces in Kashmir is based for purposes of International Law upon Kashmir's accession to India, but for purposes of municipal law upon the Indian Constitution drawn up after the accession of Kashmir was complete under International Law. The primary question here for International Law is not the legality of this or that Constitution of states which are independent, but the legality of the Instrument of Accession of the *then* independent state of Kashmir which became independent like India and Pakis-

7. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, February 6, 1957.

8. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, March 26, 1957.

9. *The U. N. Charter*, Art. 2.

10. *The Times*, London, March 5, 1957. Also *The Statesman*, Calcutta, March 7, 1957.

tan under the Indian Independence Act, 1947 and merged itself into India by that accession.

PAKISTAN'S AGGRESSION

If Kashmir's accession to India is unchallengeable, it would enable India to secure a decision on the original complaint which it submitted to the Security Council. For once it is accepted that accession was legal, International Law requires that Pakistan should be proclaimed an aggressor for sending her armed forces into Kashmir and continuing to maintain them there, and penal action also should be taken against the aggressor. Pakistan, of course, claimed that she sent her armed forces into Kashmir in self-defence. But that claim is evidently spurious. For when and how did Kashmir become a part of Pakistan, so that the latter could legally make this claim? In any case, as Oppenheim says: "The legality of recourse to force is in each particular case a proper subject for impartial determination by Judicial or other bodies."¹¹

RIGHTS OF THE KASHMIRIS

The fundamental question in relation to Kashmir is the rights of the Kashmiris. India proposed of her own accord from the very beginning that "the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people."¹² India agrees even now that, in accordance with the resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949 accepted by both India and Pakistan, a plebiscite in Kashmir under the auspices of the United Nations should be held to decide the accession issue when (1) Azad Kashmir forces are disarmed and disbanded,¹³ (2) United State's military aid to Pakistan is discontinued,¹⁴ (3) Pakistan withdraws her forces from Kashmir,¹⁵ cuts off her connexions with the Baghdad Pact, 1955 and the South East Asian Collective Defence Treaty, 1954,¹⁶ maintains an atmosphere favourable to negotiations,¹⁷ gives up her religious fanaticism¹⁸ and enters into a truce agreement or 'No War'

declaration with India.¹⁹ In recent times India has been repeatedly reminded by Pakistan, her Western friends and even the Security Council about her obligations regarding this plebiscite in Kashmir. But they forget that this plebiscite was to be held when certain conditions were realised. In that part of Kashmir where law and order have been restored and the soil cleared of the invader, the question of the State's accession has already been settled by a reference to the people. The plebiscite in the remaining part of Kashmir will also be held as soon as the proper conditions are obtained.

PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF THE SITUATION

The next question that immediately arises is: How can these conditions be obtained? Can they be achieved through (1) recommendations of the Security Council or the General Assembly, (2) mediation, conciliation, arbitraaion or judicial settlement under the United Nations' auspices, (3) military action by the Security Council or the General Assembly, or (4) direct negotiations between India and Pakistan?

Once we have a proper idea of the great imperfections from which the United Nations suffers today in respect of purposes, principles, structures and procedures, we may realise that the United Nations Organization as it stands today can help us very little in realising democratic ideals in Kashmir or in many other parts of the World. The moving forces in the United Nations today are not the idealistic purposes set forth in the United Nations Charter: peace, law, justice, friendship, good faith, co-operation and fundamental human rights. The United Nations is united only in name; it is more disunited than united. It is precariously trying to establish an uneasy balance of power among nations led on the one side by the U.S.A. and the U.K. and on the other by the U.S.S.R.

Justice through the Security Council as it is organized today is very unsatisfactory. The Security Council is often packed with the supporters of the Anglo-American Powers who like to use Pakistan as a tool against India because of the latter's independent and neutral foreign policy directed towards peaceful co-existence among nations. For 1957, the Security Coun-

11. *International Law*, Lauterpacht, Vol. II, 7th Edition, 1952, p. 188.

12. *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, November, 1947, p. 340.

13. *UNCIP Second Interim Report*, Annexe 4.

14. *UNCIP Resolution*, August 13, 1948, Part I.B.

15. *Ibid.*, Part II, A.1.

16. *Ibid.*, Part I.B.

17. *Ibid.*, Part I.E.

18. *UNCIP Second Interim Report*, Annexe 4.

19. *UNCIP Resolution*, August 13, 1948, Part II.

cil consists of the five permanent members: the U.S.A., the U.K., the U.S.S.R., France and China, and the six non-permanent members: the Philippines, Australia, Iraq, Sweden, Cuba and Columbia. China is not represented by her Communist Government which since 1949 has been both the *de jure* and the *de facto* government in the Chinese mainland where some 464 million Chinese live; it is being represented by a remnant of China under the protection of the forces of the U.S.A. in Formosa where less than 8 million Chinese live. Of the six non-permanent members, only Sweden is somewhat neutral; the Philippines, Australia and Iraq are Pakistan's friends in a partisan spirit, being associated with her under the South-East Asian Collective Defence Treaty or the Bagdad Pact; and Cuba and Columbia are under the beck and call of the U.S.A., which since 1954 has been giving active military aid to Pakistan. The world-wide balance of power easily projects itself into the Security Council chamber with the U.S.A. and the U.K. having in their pocket as many as 9 votes, and the U.S.S.R. being supported by none except neutral Sweden.

In the Security Council Veto was in the beginning an effective instrument for protecting the rights of the U.S.S.R. and her supporters. But since the Korean war in 1950, especially after the General Assembly adopted the Uniting for Peace Resolution of doubtful legal validity²⁰ in November, 1950, that effectiveness has been greatly lost.

In the General Assembly the Anglo-Americans have a sure majority. For the eighty-two votes in the General Assembly are distributed in a most undemocratic manner. Europe today with a population of some 600 million has 27 votes in the General Assembly, America with some 300 million 22 votes, Asia with some 1200 million also 22 votes, Africa with some 200 million 9 votes, and Australasia with some 10 million 2 votes²¹. How is it possible to expect full demo-

cratic justice from this undemocratic General Assembly of the United Nations?

Mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement of the Kashmir issue under the United Nations auspices has, of course, greater possibilities than direct recommendations of the General Assembly or the Security Council. But due to the incidence of the power politics of the United Nations on these methods, these are also not dependable for discovering the balance of truth involved in any issue. These methods under the United Nations as it is organized today operate too little at the level of peace-politics, but too much at the level of power-politics based on the traditional theories of balance of power among nations or balance of profits among them. A democratic solution of the Kashmir question is, therefore, impossible through the undemocratic United Nations. From this point of view it was a mistake to refer the Kashmir question to the United Nations, and there is much to be said for the withdrawal of the issue from the United Nations till the United Nations itself is more democratically organized.

UNITED NATIONS FORCE

The next move of Pakistan and her supporters will perhaps be to send a United Nations Force into Kashmir under the illegal Uniting for Peace Resolution of November, 1950 after a show of paralysis of the Security Council through a veto of the U.S.S.R. which has been supporting India's cause in Kashmir. The history over the Suez Canal since 1956 before the United Nations Emergency Force was sent there will perhaps be repeated over Kashmir *mutatis mutandis*, and there will also be much show of sympathy for India, as for Egypt, along with much shedding of crocodile tears from the Western Powers. Pakistan under her Constitutional Law, but in breach of Inter-

Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Malay; Nepal; Pakistan; Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand and Yemen.

Australasia: Australia and New Zealand.

America: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile; Columbia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras; Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay; Peru; U.S.A.; Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Europe: Belgium, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands; Norway, Poland, Turkey; Ukraine; U.S.S.R.; U.K.; Yugoslavia, Albania; Austria; Bulgaria; Ere; Finland; Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Portugal; Rumania; Spain; and Sweden.

20. My paper on "Revision of the U.N. Charter." Published in the *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. XV, No. 4, October-December 1954.

21. Members of the United Nations and hence of the General Assembly from different continents are as follows:

Africa: Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, South Africa, Sudan, and Tunis

Asia: Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq; Israel; Japan;

national Law, may allow the so-called United Nations Forces to be stationed in her part of Kashmir. India certainly will not allow these United Nations Forces to be stationed anywhere in India. But it is not clear what immediately effective steps can be taken, if Pakistan in her part of Kashmir allows these United Nations Forces in clear breach not only of International Law, but also of India's Constitutional Law.

It is significant in this connexion that Pakistan today wants not only a temporary United Nations Force for Kashmir, but also a permanent United Nations Force without reorganizing the United Nations on a more democratic basis along the principles of a World-state. In a broadcast over the United Nations Radio on July 25, 1957, Pakistan's Prime Minister, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy said: "In order to be able to reach a position where the decisions of the United Nations will be respected and carried out by all concerned, it seems necessary that there should be constituted a permanent United Nations Force. The duties of such a Force should include preventive policing as well as enforcement of measures considered necessary by the United Nations to maintain peace. Unless this is done, justice will remain impotent and international security remain in jeopardy. Once such a force has been effectively created, it would be possible for nations to make rapid progress with disarmament measures including the abandonment of nuclear weapons."²²

Unfortunately Mr. Suhrawardy does not realise that this is arming an organization, some leading Members in which sometimes in some cases, as in Korea, China and the Middle East, behaved somewhat like partners in a conspiracy to rob or deceive the peoples of Asia and Africa, though inherent resilience of a sense of justice in man showed enough strength to foil, to some extent at least, the attempts of the conspirators. This is not to suggest that the United Nations should not have an armed force. But it should have that force when it approaches after some reorganization the ideal of a democratic, federal, and perhaps socialist World-state.

AN IDEAL SOLUTION THROUGH A DEMOCRATIC UNITED NATIONS

It is, therefore, necessary to examine the scope for direct negotiations between India and Pakistan for the solution of the Kashmir issue. Direct negotiations were tried at the very beginning of the dispute from October, 1947 to December, 1947 and at a later stage from June, 1953 to September, 1954. But they failed and this failure was due to the fact that behind this Kashmir question, there is a bigger question, that of Pakistan inheriting the mentality of the Muslim League in undivided India—the mentality of creating difficulties, of organizing fights and feuds and intimidation. The Muslim League led by Mr. Jinnah got Pakistan, because the Muslims in Greater India including Pakistan were somehow led to believe through the British policy of divide and rule that they were a separate nation with their "own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions"²³.

It is difficult to understand this theory of two nations for India and Pakistan and thus look upon two parts of a same population living together for centuries in a geographically compact area not simply as distinct groups, but also as possibly hostile ones for purposes of international politics. If the Muslims in Greater India really belonged to a separate nation, the Hindus in Pakistan today must be supposed to constitute a separate nation. But this, it is feared, might lead to a disintegration of the State of Pakistan itself. Not prepared to face this consequence, leaders of Pakistan sometimes say that, not the Muslims separately, but the Hindus, Muslims and all others of Pakistan together constitute the nation of Pakistan. But then why should it be supposed that the nationalism of Pakistan is different from that of the Indian Union?

In an attempt to avoid the difficulty, Mr. Suhrawardy, the former Prime Minister of Pakistan, once said that the two-nation theory is dead. But unfortunately Pakistan has not yet been able to put an end to this theory of two nations. Indeed, in clear violation

22. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, July 27, 1957.

23. Mr. Jinnah's letter to Mahatma Gandhi, dated September 17, 1944.

of Article 1 (3) of the United Nations Charter²⁴ and of Articles like 2 and 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights²⁵ proclaimed by the General Assembly on December 10, 1948, Pakistani Constitution gave a new lease of life to this theory by proclaiming that Pakistan is based on the Islamic principles of social justice. Under ideal conditions Pakistan should have been based, as in the case of India and most of the civilised world, on the secular principles of democracy, *i.e.*, the principles common to all the religions of the world, or rather the principles of the Universal religion of mankind, and not on those of a single denominational religion like Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, etc.

The real difficulty arises from the fact that "nationality is a subjective conception that eludes definition in scientific terms" and is a "psychological phenomenon rather than a juridical principle."²⁶ If it is demanded that the Muslims are a nation, then it must be also admitted that the Hindus are a nation. In a sense it might indeed be claimed that Bengalis, Punjabis, Biharis, Buddhists, Sikhs and Jains, etc., are all nations from different points of view in the same way as Scotland and Wales are sometimes spoken of as nations, though evidently any one of them does not and indeed cannot possess the full panoply of a sovereign state.²⁷ India and Pakistan each could then legitimately be spoken of as a nation of nations, or briefly, a United Nations where no distinction is made or should be made on grounds of race, religion, caste, creed, or language, etc. Is not loyalty to

a single small nation a narrower idea than loyalty to a nation of nations or a United Nations where all differences are forgotten and the unity of the whole human race is realised? If so, let the idea of the United Nations, *i.e.* unity of the whole humanity, capture the imagination of both India and Pakistan and indeed of all Nations.

It would be of lasting benefit to the politics of India and Pakistan and of all nations in the world today, if they reject the theory of two nations or more nations claiming exclusive loyalties, and accept this theory of the United Nations claiming inclusive loyalties of all persons who should be treated as equal citizens of the whole world and not simply of this or that nation in the narrow sense. Let India and Pakistan surrender the vague and harmful principle of narrow nationalism and come to an agreement, call it United Nations Agreement, on the basis of this theory of the United Nations. If we cannot unite today on the basis of such a noble purpose, then in spite of freedom from the United Kingdom we will be no better than the slaves of the present United Nations Organization where Europeans and Americans predominate and where Asians and Africans are greatly under-represented. If Indians and Pakistanis unite—not necessarily under a single constitution—and give a lead to the Asians and Africans and other under-represented parts of the world to unite for reorganizing the United Nations Organization on a more democratic basis with individual as the unit of representation, then problems like Kashmir, Viet Nam, Formosa, Korea, Israel, Germany, Cyprus, etc., will fade into insignificance and may even wither away under pressure from the new ideal of the Democratic United Nations replacing the old undemocratic "Disunited Nations." A first step to give shape to this theory would be to incorporate into the Constitutions of all countries accepting this ideal the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to implement those rights in all possible ways of municipal laws and International Law.²⁸

Vera Anstey in a letter to *The Economist*, dated May, 25, 1957 suggested a challenging

24. A purpose of the United Nations according to Art 4 (3) of the *U.N. Charter* is "to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

25. Article 2(1): "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." Article 18: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance."

26. Laski: *Liberty in the Modern State*, Pelican Edition, p. 194.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

28. My article in *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, October, 1949, entitled "Implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

idea that Kashmir should federate with both India and Pakistan.²⁹ The details of this suggestion are not clear. If it be suggested that in joining both India and Pakistan, the two parts of Kashmir have to be united and thus form some sort of a United Nations in Kashmir with a Constitution based perhaps on a political G. C.M. of the ideals of the Indian and Pakistani Constitutions, the suggestion deserves careful examination. Kashmir then will be a great centre radiating the new idea of the United Nations,—an idea leading ultimately not only to the unity of India and Pakistan, but also of the whole world along the road to a Democratic, Federal and perhaps Socialist United Nations or World-state.

A PRACTICAL SOLUTION

But perhaps we are thinking of very high ideals which have no chance of being accepted in the immediate future. If so, we have no other alternative but to wait till we are persuaded to accept this high ideal of unity of humanity. The immediate solution then can be only a compromise solution. One such solution was announced by Sri Nehru himself in 1956. Addressing a

29. *Public Administration Abstracts And Index of Articles*, Vol. I, No. 4, July 1957; published by Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

meeting in Delhi on April 13, 1956, Sri Nehru disclosed that he had suggested to the Pakistani leaders to hold discussions to settle the Kashmir issue by demarcating the borders of the State on the basis of the present cease-fire line. In a special Article to *The Statesman*, Calcutta, dated September 17, 1957 Mr. Prem Bhatia also supported this idea of the partition of Kashmir. "Assuming that we fail to get a satisfactory response from the Security Council to our insistence that Pakistan vacate her aggression," asks Mr. Bhatia, "why should we not take steps to sponsor a proposal that past efforts for demilitarization having failed and the next stage for the fulfilment of commitments by the two countries having been rendered impracticable thereby, the two areas of Kashmir, as separated at present by the cease-fire line, with necessary adjustments, be finally regarded as the inviolable territories of India and Pakistan?" The Partition of Kashmir has thus to be accepted as a consequence of the partition of Greater India into the Indian Union and Pakistan, the latter partition itself being a consequence of the partition of the world through our failure to recognize the unity of humanity, i.e., a consequence of the abandonment of the true United Nations idea which ought to have been a living force in all countries of the world.

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THE PUNJAB TANGLE

By A NATIONALIST

THE Sikhs, the followers of Guru Nanak (1469-1539 A.D.) of hallowed memory, were originally an inoffensive and peaceful religious sect. Oppression goaded them to armed resistance to Muslim tyranny. Guru Govind Singh, the last and tenth Guru of the Sikhs (1666-1708 A.D.), gave an altogether new direction to Sikhism and organised the Sikhs into a military fraternity after the execution of his father Teg Bahadur at Delhi in 1675 under the orders of Aurungzeb. Guru Govind Singh breathed new life into the Sikhs and they were poised for action to pull down the Muslim tyrants from their pedestal of power. Guru Govind Singh was verily the harbinger of a new era in the Punjab, the "land of five rivers."

The next chapter of the history of the Punjab is, by and large, a story of Sikh-Muslim conflicts. The story of Sikh resistance to Muslim rulers and aggressors constitutes one of the never-to-be-forgotten chapters of Indian history. The liquidation of Muslim rule in the Punjab is to be attributed to the valiant Sikhs.

The fall of the Muslim power in the Punjab was followed by a long period of internecine feuds amongst the Sikhs themselves. The martial ardour unleashed by wars against the Muslims found vent in fratricidal strife after the discomfiture of the common enemy. The Punjab presented a sad spectacle till the rise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839 A.D.) in the closing years of the 19th century and the open-

ing years of the 20th. He united almost the whole of Sikhdom under him. The Cis-Sutlej Sikh States of Patiala, Nabha, Jhind, Kapurthala and Faridkote, however, placed themselves under the protection of the English East India Company. But for them the subsequent history of the Punjab—may be, of India—might have been different.

The Hindus and the Sikhs lived as peaceful and friendly neighbours till the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839. Hindu-Sikh differences were unknown. There is, in fact, no fundamental difference between Hinduism and Guru Nanak's religion of humanism based on the lofty idealism of the Upanishads and nourished by the medieval 'Bhakti' cult. Hindus and Sikhs looked upon each other—and they are, in reality—as different branches of the same stem.

The annexation of the Punjab to the dominions of the East India Company in 1849 brought a change and a change for the worse it has proved to be. Revivalist Sikh movements with a narrow and puritanical outlook, such as the Nirankari movement, the Namdhari movement and the Singh Sabha movement taught the Sikhs that they were different from the Hindus. The Akali movement in the earlier years of the current century widened the gulf between the Hindus and the Sikhs.

Mr. M. A. Macauliffe's six-volume monumental work on Sikh religion and philosophy emphasized that the Hindus and the Sikhs are two wholly different religious sects. Lesser men took their cue from Macauliffe's thesis and Sardar Bahadur Bhai Kahan Singh elaborated Macauliffe's proposition in his *Ham Hindu Nahen* (We are not Hindus). Emphatic repetitions made the lie a truth. The idea originated by the Sikh revivalist movements and advocated by Macauliffe struck deep roots. Many an orthodox Sikh would once say that Islam was closer to Sikhism than Hinduism.

India was convulsed by the Great Revolt of 1857 within eight years of the annexation of the Punjab by the East India Company. There was no love lost between the English and the Sikhs at the time. The English, however, told the Sikhs that help to the former would give the Sikhs an opportunity to avenge Guru Teg Bahadur, who, as noted above, had been put to

death by Aurungzeb in 1675. Had not Bahadur Shah, a descendant of Aurungzeb, assumed the leadership of the rebels? Was not Delhi the principal stronghold, the nerve-centre, of the uprising? English propaganda coupled with the inherent martial ardour of the Sikh, which not unoften finds expression in querulousness, the promise of *jagirs* and pensions after the war and the Sikh's bitter hatred for the *poorbeahs* (men from the east), the inhabitants of Uttar Pradesh, persuaded him to fight for the East India Company in the critical days of 1857-58. The *poorbeahs* hated by the Sikhs, it may be noted in passing, were the vanguard, nay, the very soul, of the Revolt of 1857. "It is no exaggeration to say," says a historian of the Punjab, "that but for their (the Sikhs') timely assistance the British Government would have found it very difficult to quell the Mutiny."—(*Transformation of Sikhism* by Dr. G. C. Narang, 4th Edition, p. 191).

The end of the Mutiny was followed by a long period of honeymooning between the Sikhs and the English. The English trusted the Sikhs. The latter, in their turn, sincerely believed that the English were their benefactors and well-wishers. The English sought to prove their *bona-fides* by simulating an active interest in the Sikhs and their affairs. The Golden Temple at Amritsar, the Mecca of Sikhdom, and the Khalsa College, Amritsar, the premier Sikh educational institution, were run under Governmental supervision for many years.

1913 witnessed the first ripples in the placid waters of Anglo-Sikh cordiality. The Sikh temple at Rekabganj in Delhi—Gurudwara Rekabganj—is among the historical Sikh shrines. One of its compound walls was pulled down for the construction of a new road. The sacrilege incensed the Sikhs. A controversy started. The Great War broke out in the following year (1914) and the controversy was shelved for the time being. The dispute was revived with the restoration of peace in 1918. A compromise was however effected after a time and the dismantled wall was re-built. Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha and Sir Edward Maclagan, the then Lt.-Governor of the Punjab, played an important part in bringing about the settlement. The Rekabganj-Gurudwara controversy was followed not long after by the police firing at

Baj Baj in the suburbs of Calcutta on the passengers of the *Komagata Maru*. The firing resulted in a number of casualties, the victims being mostly Sikhs. Not a few Sikhs lost their lives in the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre shortly afterwards (April 13, 1919).

The incidents noted above drove a wedge between the English and the Sikhs and shook their confidence in the former and were followed by the Gurudwara movement. The Gurudwaras were at this time personal properties of the priests most of whom were Hindus by religion—if they had any religion at all. They ill-treated the pilgrims and extorted money from them on various pretexts. Not a few of the priests were addicted to vices of all sorts. The Gurudwara movement aimed at depriving them of the control of the Sikh shrines. Spearheaded by the Akali Dal, blessed by the Indian National Congress and supported by the Sikh community almost to a man, the movement was perfectly well-disciplined and absolutely non-violent. Many Sikhs courted imprisonment. A few laid down their lives for the cause. These sufferings and sacrifices did not go in vain. The Gurudwara Act of 1925 transferred the control of the principal Sikh shrines in the Punjab to the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (S.G.P.C.), a body to be elected by the Sikhs themselves.

The Gurudwara movement was crowned with success. But the Sikhs forfeited the confidence and goodwill of the rulers to a great extent. The prestige and influence of the Akali Dal were enhanced. The provisions for separate electorate and communal safeguards for the Sikhs in the Government of India Act, 1935, drove deeper the roots of Sikh communalism.

The demand for a 'Khalistan' (Sikh State) began to crystallize before the partition of India in 1947. The Akali Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission, 1946, demanded a separate Sikh State, among others. "The Sikhs," the Memorandum emphasised, "have as good a claim for an Independent Sikh State as the Mussalmans." "The claim for the Muslim Pakistan," it contended, "should not be conceded to the Mussalmans without at the same time conceding the claim for an independent Sovereign State to (*sic*) the Sikhs." Master Tara Singh's statement published by *The Tribune* (Lahore) in its issue of April 4,

1946, said, *inter alia*, "We want a Sikh State in a United India." The demand was re-iterated in a mass rally of the Sikhs on the Indian New Year's Day a few days later (vide *The Tribune*, Lahore, dated April 16, 1946).

In a joint conference of the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim leaders in January, 1947, Giani Kartar Singh, Secretary of the Akali Dal, demanded, "The Sikhs should be allowed to form an independent State of their own in Northern India." *The Tribune* (Lahore) in its issue of June 19, 1947, published the proceedings of a mass meeting of the Sikhs at Amritsar. The Akalis contended that "they should get East Punjab as a Sikh State. All areas that contain at least 85 per cent Sikh population should be included in such (a) State."

The Sikh minority, it is argued, are not prepared to accept "Hindu domination." The Hindus, by the way, are in a majority in the post-partition Punjab.

The accession of the native States to the Dominion of India after the attainment of independence in 1947, wiped princely India out of existence. The Sikh States of the Punjab—Patiala, Jhind, Nabha, Kapurthala and Faridkote—together with the Hindu State of Nalagarh were integrated into one administrative unit and came to be known as the PEPSU (the Patiala and the East Punjab States Union). The ruling chiefs lost their political and administrative powers.

Loss of independence a hundred years ago notwithstanding—the Punjab was annexed in 1849—the continuance of the Sikh principalities each with its own prince was anodyne to the wounded pride and ruffled feelings of the Sikhs. They too now ceased to be. There was an undercurrent of dejection and disappointment in the Sikh mass mind. The leadership sought to counter this sense of dejection and disappointment by enhancing the prestige and influence of the community as a whole. They demanded that the Punjabi language should be the medium of instruction in the schools of the Punjab. Punjabi, they further demanded, should be written in Gurumukhi script. The Hindus opposed. A controversy ensued. The controversy resulted in communal bitterness.

A solution was found at last by dividing the Punjab into two linguistic zones. Punjabi

was to be the medium of instruction in the schools of the Punjabi zone. Hindi was to have an identical status in the Hindi zone. Punjabi was to be written in the Gurumukhi script and Hindi in the Devanagari. The Sikhs, it should be noted, were in a majority in the former and the Hindus, in the latter. A rider was added at the instance of the Rashtrapati. If at least 40 students of any primary school in the Punjabi zone or at least 10 students in any class demanded instruction through the medium of Hindi (in the Devanagari script), the demand was to be accepted. A similar concession was to be made to Punjabi (in the Gurumukhi script) in the Hindi zone. Lala Bhimsen Sachar, the Governor of Andhra, was the Chief Minister of the Punjab at the time and the solution came to be known as the Sachar Formula. The reader will please note that neither Punjabi nor the Gurumukhi script enjoyed official recognition during the British rule. Urdu was the medium of instruction of schools.

The Sachar Formula fell short of the expectations of the Sikhs. The redoubtable Master Tara Singh appeared on the scene at the head of the Shiromani Akali Dal. The Dal contended that independence had won Pakistan for the Muslims and Hindustan for the Hindus; but nothing for the Sikhs. The wrong must be undone by the creation of a 'Khalistan,' i.e., a Sikh State. The Akali leadership realised before long that such a communal demand would never be accepted by the rest of India. Clever strategists that they are, they gave up the demand for that of the Punjabi Suba, i.e., a Punjabi-speaking State. The Suba was to include the Sikh majority areas of the Punjab and the PEPSU and also the areas where the Sikhs constitute a substantial proportion of the population.

The Akalis further demanded that the special privileges guaranteed constitutionally to the Hindu Harijans must be so guaranteed to the Sikh untouchables as well.* They argued that Harijans do not feel encouraged to embrace Sikhism as conversion robs them of the privileged constitutional position they enjoy as Hindus. Two hundred thousand Sikhs in Uttar Pradesh were alleged to have gone back to the

Hindu fold for this reason. The Government of India accepted the demand. The Akalis scored a victory at the expense of one of the fundamental principles of Sikhism which recognises no artificial barrier between man and man. Religion was sacrificed at the altar of politics. There is no dearth of similar sacrifices in the history of man.

The Akalis next complained that justice is not done to the Sikhs in the matter of recruitment to public services—central and provincial. The complaint was not however pressed for obvious reasons. The Sikhs in fact get more than a fair share of Government appointments in general and of the appointments in police and armed forces in particular.

The agitation for a Punjabi-speaking State gained momentum every day. The shouting of communal and pro-Punjabi Suba slogans became a regular feature of even purely religious processions. The present writer had the shocking experience of hearing such slogans in a procession taken out on the occasion of the birth anniversary of Guru Nanak. Meetings were held all over the country—in the Punjab and in the Western U.P. in particular—in support of the Punjabi Suba demand. Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, left his lieutenants miles behind in intemperate and irresponsible speech-making. Anti-Hindu and anti-Nehru slogans were a common feature of the meetings and processions organised by the Akalis. Communal-minded Hindus too raised counter-slogans here and there. Minor Hindu-Sikh skirmishes took place at various places in the Punjab.

Chief Minister Mr. Sachar had made no attempt to put down the Akali agitation in the beginning. Not a few hold that he lacked the strength of mind and character to deal firmly with the Akali intransigence. But the increasing frequency of Hindu-Sikh clashes forced him to shake off his inertia early in 1956. He banned the shouting of slogans in processions. The

† One—and perhaps the most popular for the time being—was "Raj Kare Khalsa," i.e., the Sikhs are destined to reign.

‡ i. "Dhoti topi Yamuna par"—the dhoti (cloth) and topi (cap) wearing folk, i.e., the Hindus will be driven across the Yamuna. The Hindus in other words, will be forced to quit the Punjab.

ii. *Khanda kharku, Nehru bhajju*—Nehru will run away when the Sikh swords will rattle. In other words, a Sikh revolt will bring about the downfall of the Nehru Government.

* Sikhism does not recognise the caste system. But casteism prevails in the Sikh society.

Akalis defied the ban. The law-breakers were arrested and jailed. It is estimated that nearly 10,000 Akalis and Akali-sympathisers courted incarceration on the occasion. Prime Minister Nehru went abroad to Europe during the agitation. Rumour has it that he was politely reminded at places that the principle of co-existence based on Pancha Shila—the burden of his message to Europe—was being ignored in his own country where a minority community was being ill-treated and a large number of their (the minority community's) members were being gaoled by a Congress Government. Nehru is said to have instructed Sachar to stop arrests. On the day of Nehru's return home two days before the ban was due to expire, the Sachar Government lifted the ban on slogans in processions. The Punjab Government explained in a statement that the ban was lifted to mark the Prime Minister's home-coming after a successful tour abroad.

A number of Akalis had, during the agitation against the ban, taken shelter in some houses on the Golden Temple premises. These houses are, however, not a part of the Temple. The police entered a few of these houses in search of the potential law-breakers. The Akalis and practically the whole Sikh community condemned the action of the police as sacrilegious and demanded an enquiry. Mr. Sachar was unnerved. In a public meeting of the Sikhs, he expressed regret for the conduct of the police and tendered an unqualified apology. The Akalis were jubilant. Mr. Sachar lost his Chief Ministership within a few days and was succeeded by Mr. Pratap Singh Kairon, the present Chief Minister of the Punjab.

The States Reorganisation Commission appointed by the Government of India in December, 1953, had in the meanwhile begun its work. The Akali Memorandum to the Commission demanded the formation of a Punjabi-speaking State on the following grounds, among others. For one thing, a Punjabi-speaking State was essential in the interest of communal amity in the Punjab. For another, the formation of a Punjabi-speaking State and that alone could guarantee the preservation of the cultural traditions of the Punjab.

The Punjab Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, on the other hand, demanded the formation of

a Maha Punjab (Greater Punjab) by the amalgamation of the Punjab, the PEPSU and the Himachal Pradesh. The Maha Sabha Memorandum to the States Reorganisation Commission pointed out, among others, that the demand for the Punjabi Suba of Akali conception was inspired by purely communal considerations. The Punjabi Suba as envisaged by the Akalis would be a State dominated by the Sikhs and the Sikhs themselves were not united on issue. It was further pointed out that the preservation of the cultural traditions of the Punjab was a hoax; because religious differences notwithstanding, all Punjabis—Hindus and Sikhs—are heirs to the same cultural heritage.

The States Reorganisation Commission rejected the Punjabi-Suba demand with the following remarks:

"The case for a Punjabi-speaking State falls firstly, because it lacks the general support of the people inhabiting the area, and secondly, because it will not eliminate any of the causes of friction from which the demand for a Punjabi-speaking State emanates. The proposed State will solve neither the language problem nor the communal problem, and far from relieving internal tension, which exists between communal and not linguistic and religious groups, it might further exacerbate the existing feelings."—(*Report of the States Reorganisation Commission*, p. 146).

The Commission recommended instead the integration of the Punjab, the PEPSU and the Himachal Pradesh into one administrative unit. This was exactly what the anti-Akali Hindus had put forward as their demand. The chairman of the Commission Sir Fazl Ali, sign as he did the *Report*, submitted also an individual report recommending that the Himachal Pradesh should not be merged in the bigger Punjab.

The Akalis, needless to say, were infuriated. They denounced the Commission's recommendation regarding the Punjab and began to agitate against it. At last, towards the end of 1955, negotiations for a settlement were begun between the Akalis on the one hand and the Central Government and the Congress High Command on the other. Mr. Ram Narayan Chaudhury, the Secretary of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, took

the initiative in the matter of bringing the parties together.

The Akali-controlled Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee gave a grand ovation to Mr. Nehru during his visit to Amritsar in November, 1956, while the Akali agitation against the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission regarding the Punjab was in full swing. The reception, there are reasons to believe, deeply impressed the Prime Minister. The Congress held its annual session at Amritsar in February, 1956. The Akalis too called a Sikh conference at the same time. The conference met at Amritsar. Instructed by leaders, the Sikhs in their thousands armed with sticks, spears, swords and axes marched in procession to the conference ground. Master Tara Singh, the president-designate, led the procession seated on a richly caparisoned elephant. Fate Singh Nagar, the venue of the Akali conference, was within two furlongs away from the Congress venue Saheed Nagar. The Congress High Command was befooled into the belief that the Punjabi Suba demand was the demand of the whole Sikh community. They thought it imprudent to reject the demand outright.*

Not a few acts and utterances of the Akalis lay them open to the charge of anti-Indian sentiments. Master Tara Singh told Chief Minister Sachar during an interview on June 21, 1955: "What we want is *Azadi* (independence). *The Sikhs have not Azadi*. We will fight for our *Azadi* with full force. *Even if we have to revolt, we will revolt to win our Azadi*." The statement speaks for itself.

The same redoubtable Masterjee threw out what was in effect a challenge to the Government of India in February, 1955. He said in a signed article published in the *Prabhat*, his own Urdu daily, that he had been negotiating with

the Government of Pakistan for the establishment of a Sikh colony at Kartarpur Ravi in Pakistan and very close to the Indian border. Passport regulations for movements between India and Pakistan were not to be applied to trips between Kartarpur Ravi on the one hand and India and Pakistan on the other. Even if the two States were ever at war, movements between the proposed colony and the warring States were not to be interfered with. The colony was to be owned and administered by the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee. Master Tara Singh promised at the same time to back the setting up of a Muslim zone in Sarhind, if the Pakistan Government cared to have one in that area. Giani Kartar Singh knocked at the doors of Pakistan bosses at Lahore and Karachi with the proposal but in vain. The plan did not materialise.

An Akali delegation paid a visit to Pakistan about the same time under the leadership of Giani Kartar Singh. Lahore gave a civic reception to the delegation. Indian and Pakistani flags were displayed in the place where the function took place. The Indian national flag was later replaced at the request of the guests, it is alleged, by the Akali flag.

Negotiations between the Akali Dal on the one hand and the Government of India on the other, as we have seen, had begun towards the end of 1955. The negotiations resulted in a compromise over the Punjabi Suba demand. The Government of India brushed aside the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission and accepted the principle of the Punjabi Suba, which, as noted above, is a Sikh State under another name. A Sikh friend of the present writer told him that if the Punjabi Suba ever becomes a reality, the name of Fate Singh Nagar, the venue of the Sikh conference in February, 1956, would be written in letters of gold in Sikh history.

The Hindus are not happy over the Akali-Government compromise. They cannot be. For one thing, the Punjabi Hindu is no less communal-minded than the Sikh. For another, and this is more important, the compromise is undemocratic. The Hindus, who are in a majority in the Punjab—they constitute more than 65% of the population—were not consulted in the matter. The negotiations were carried on and

* They did not know—nor do they perhaps even today and they may never—the secret of success of the 1955 Akali conference at Amritsar. A large number of free kitchens were opened to feed the thousands who collected at the conference. Free beds were provided to those who came from remote villages. The more fortunates were given new turbans or had their travelling expenses paid by the organisers. The Akali propaganda told the unsophisticated village folk that unless they attended the conference, their Gurudwaras would pass under Hindu control. Little wonder that the conference was a grand success so far as attendance was concerned.

the compromise was arrived at behind their back. The terms of the compromise were a closely guarded secret to the people at large. An important leader of the Maha Punjab Front had to go on hunger-strike—he had threatened a fast unto death—to get a copy of the Akali-Government agreement. Why this hush hush? Why this solicitude for the Akali Dal, which represents only a section of the Sikhs, who are not very much more than 30 per cent of the total population of the Punjab? The Government are, perhaps, not unconscious that in their efforts to appease an intransigent communal minority by accepting the demand for Khalistan in principle they have been guilty of an act of betrayal.

The Akali Dal joined the Congress after the above agreement. But there is a fly in the ointment. The Akali Chief Master Tara Singh has stubbornly refused to join the Congress. The Akali Dal has been allowed to retain its separate identity and has promised not to indulge in political activities.

The atmosphere in the Punjab is surcharged with communal passion and animosity today. It stinks. The current "Save Hindi" campaign has made the confusion worse confounded. The agitation has been rightly interpreted as symptomatic of Hindi chauvinism, a formidable foe of national solidarity.

The Punjabi Hindus in general and the promoters of the "Save Hindi" agitation in particular have set up a unique all-time record by disowning Punjabi, their own mother-tongue, the language they learn with their mother's milk. Almost every Punjabi Hindu speaks Punjabi. Not many know Hindi. Still fewer can read or write the Devanagari script. It should be noted, however, that not a negli-

gible proportion of the Sikhs is absolutely ignorant of the Gurumukhi script.

The Punjabi Hindus should bear in mind that the majority in a plural society has to disarm the fear and suspicion of a minority or minorities by gestures of sincere generosity even at a sacrifice, if necessary. The minority or minorities, on the other hand, must repose faith in the majority. But as luck would have it, generosity on the part of the Hindus and faith on the part of the Sikhs are both conspicuous by their absence in contemporary Punjab.

Communal organisations like the Akali Dal and the Jana Sangha have already gained considerable ground at the expense of a weak Congress, which, in the Punjab, has failed to provide the much-needed disinterested and inspiring leadership to the masses. To make matters worse, the Punjab State Congress is torn by internal dissensions and group rivalries. On top of it all, the Punjab has no leader of calibre today.

Petty minds work in narrow grooves. Communal organisations and leaders are, therefore, active in the Punjab. They have achieved a fair measure of success in their nefarious objectives and seem to be poised for a show-down. Communal leaders swear by their respective communities. Hardly anyone speaks for the Punjab, the common motherland of the Sikhs and the Punjabi Hindus. Enthusiasts cry themselves hoarse by shouting "Hindi-Russi Bhai Bhai," "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai" and the whole gamut of them but the Hindus and the Sikhs in the Punjab are not prepared to be "Bhai Bhai." This unpreparedness is one of the many paradoxes of contemporary Indian history.



DR. BRAJENDRANATH SEAL—HIS LIFE AND WORKS

(Continued from page 24)

Method' appeared in Sir P. C. Ray's *History of Hindu Chemistry* (Vol. II).

In 1920 Brajendranath retired from the service of the Calcutta University and accepted the post of the Vice-Chancellor of Mysore University. In 1921 the University of Calcutta conferred on him the Degree of D.Sc. (*Honoris Causa*) in recognition of his attainments in the field of scientific knowledge. From the year 1920 to 1930 he served both the University and the State of Mysore with uncommon ability and unremitted zeal. Impressed by his greatness and goodness, the then Maharaja of Mysore made him the Chairman of Mysore Constitutional Reforms Committee, Mysore State Aid to Industries Committee, and also appointed him an additional member of the Executive Council of the Mysore Government. He was also honoured by the Maharaja with the title of *Rajatantrapravina*. The British Government also knighted him in appreciation of his life-long services to the cause of education and culture, and also of constitutional reforms. During these years he delivered the inaugural address at the foundation day of Visva-Bharati, then a new international centre of learning founded by Rabindranath Tagore, the philosopher-poet of India. He also delivered very learned convocation addresses at the Universities of Mysore and Bombay. In 1924 the Registrar of the University of Mysore published his wonderful *Syllabus of Indian Philosophy*—a syllabus to write a volume or volumes adapted to which, or even to study the subject in accordance with which; one life-time may be found all too short. The addresses that he delivered at the death anniversary and the centenary celebrations of Rammohun Roy in 1924 and 1933 respectively, are as remarkable and magnificent as the personage whom they are meant to adore and honour. The members of the Indian Philosophical Congress, which celebrated its Silver

Jubilee in Calcutta in 1950, held a reception in his honour under the presidency of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and paid glowing tributes to Sir Brajendranath in appreciation of his eminent service to the cause of philosophical studies in India. In 1936 he presided over the Parliament of Religions which met in Calcutta in connection with the centenary celebration of Sri Ramakrishna, and delivered an illuminating and inspiring address on the latter's divine life and universal message for the modern world. The same year was published his previously composed philosophical poems under the title of "The Quest Eternal" and they were highly appreciated and applauded by philosophers and literatures alike. On the 3rd of December, 1938, Brajendranath's soul left this world non-eternal, and entered the realm of the Eternal. His death caused a void in the world of philosophy and literature which could not be filled so far, and might not be filled in future.

It is a matter of deep regret for us that proper and adequate arrangements have not yet been made to commemorate the life and work of Sir Brajendranath in a way worthy of him. We are, of course, grateful to the authorities of the Calcutta University for having recently changed the designation of its Professor of Mental and Moral Science after him into 'Acharyya Brajendranath Seal Professor of Mental and Moral Science.' The contribution made by the Reception Committee of the Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress in Calcutta in 1950, is not adequate for a worthy memorial for him. The publication of all his works with his auto-biography, which is by far the best memorial for a great philosopher like him, still remains an unrealized end and unfulfilled promise for the Memorial Committee. The sooner it is realized, the better for his countrymen and their honour and good name.



DANCE IN THE PAINTINGS OF KHASTGIR

By BIDHU DHAR JAYAL, I.A.S.

WHAT is most typical of the art of Sudhir Khastgir is the emphasis on dance and rhythm.

There is a balance in the compositions, the rhythm con-

veys a sense of repose even in its movements, the appropriate sense of colour heightening the pleasant effect. Looking at these paintings one does not have the feeling which some sculptures and paintings on this theme unfortunately often give, of the dancer in a precarious, uncomfortable pose as if the very next step or movement was going to make the figure topple over—the artist having caught it just before its fall. The eyes can rest on these paintings of Khastgir. A technical understanding of the subject of dance by the artist seems to be evident from Khastgir's works. The *mudras* are not distorted to suit the artist's purpose and



Kavaali (oils)

On a visit to his studio at the Lucknow Art College recently I was amazed at the large number of pictures, some under preparation, most of them showing men and women, old and young, in the ecstasy of the dance. There was a rich variety of dancers and dances. There was the picture of the musician of the slums with the harmonica and the men behind him bent with poverty and age and yet so alive dancing to the tune of the *Kavaali*. In another picture was shown a Baul—the wandering minstrel of Bengal—with one hand upraised, playing his simple stringed instrument and dancing to the melody of the folk music that the *Bauls* have so helped to perpetuate. Then there was a picture that gave the impression of a warbling brook, going on and on and on—a dancing figure with graceful swirling movements. Another picture depicted three maidens entering the stage, their cautious, nervous steps being led forward by the sheer joy of dance.

There is a great variety in these paintings. Khastgir has depicted a host of moods in dance, a variety of people engaged in this pleasant pursuit. Yet in the midst of this diversity there is an essential unity which makes these pic-



Baul couple (oils)



Dance ecstasy (oils)



Dancer, 1956

yet imagination adds to the grace of the movements, and the suppleness, beauty and power of the classical Indian dance are well brought out in these pictures.

Khastgir was a student at Santiniketan between 1925 and 1930. It was during this period that Tagore had started dancing classes at Santiniketan and composed his dance-drama *Nati-ki-Puja*, the production of which at Calcutta had created at once a storm of appreciation and criticism. Tagore was then busy doing in Bengal what Krishna Iyer had begun doing somewhat earlier in South India, reviving the great Indian art of dancing and taking it out from the confines of the temples and the stigma of being the monopoly of *Dev Dasis* to respectability and a truer understanding of its grace and depth. It was round about this period that Tagore also wrote his dance and



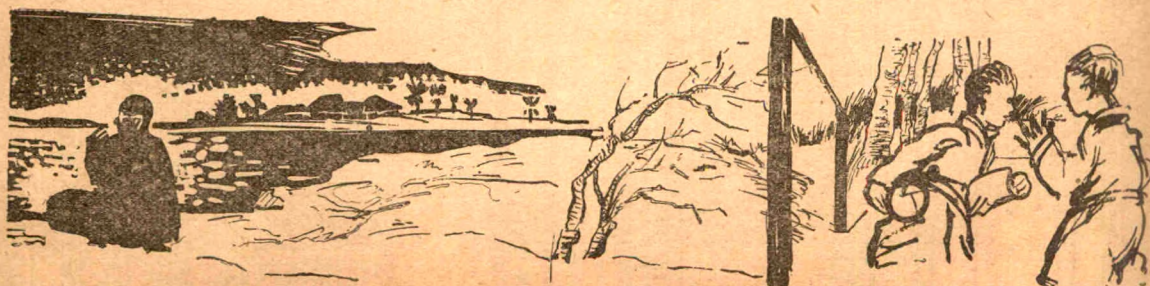
Entrance (outs)

music dramas *Tasher Desh* (The Kingdom of Cards), *Ritu Utsav* and *Chandalika*. All this affected young Khastgir just as it affected his guru Nandalal Bose whose painting masterpiece of this period *Nati-ki Puja* now adorns Raja P. N. Tagore's collection.

In 1943 Khastgir spent a summer in Almora watching the performances of Uday Shankar and his pupils. In 1944 he came in contact with Ashoka Rupadita, the German ballet dancer

who had come to India to study Indian dancing firsthand and had just then been released from an internment camp.

These influences as well as a deep study of Indian sculpture, in which is captured the graceful movement of the ancient dance form of India have affected Khastgir's art style profoundly and given him that urge for the creation of dance and its ecstasy in his paintings which is so very characteristic of his art.



GWALIOR

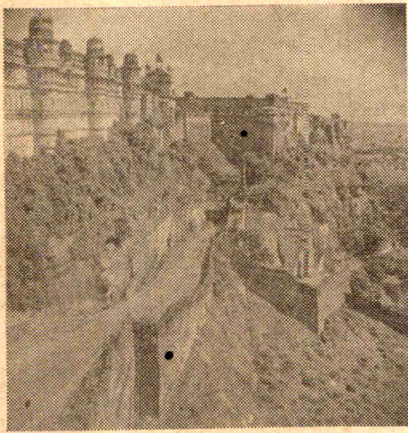
An Historic City of India

By MANIK LAL MUKHERJEE

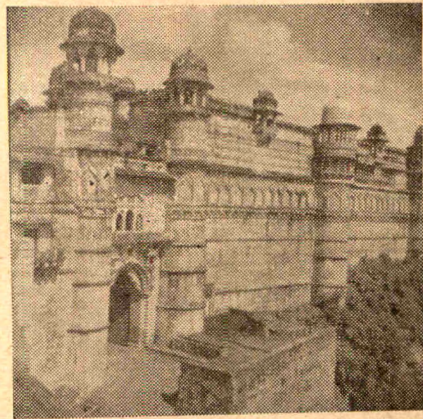
SITUATED in the heart of Central India Gwalior is a fine city with a network of nice motorable roadways and is full of historic interest which amply pays for the journey made. It is connected with all the Indian systems of railways from various sides of India. It is some 800 miles from

from Calcutta. The foreigner will find it suitable for him to travel from Delhi via Agra, Gwalior to Agra being a journey of some two hours or so.

Gwalior has left its indelible mark on the pages of Indian history and the massive stone



Gateway to Gwalior Fort



Inner view of Gwalior Fort



Statue at Chawk Bazar



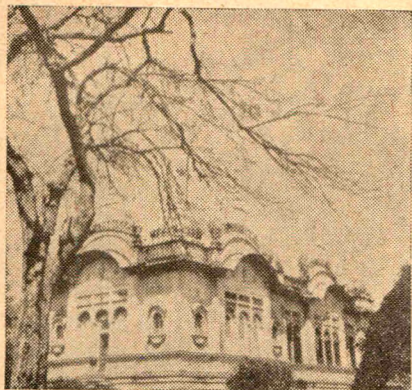
Statue at Indraganj

Calcutta and the journey covers more than one system of Indian railways, viz., the Eastern Railway, the Central Railways, etc. It takes some thirty to forty hours, inclusive of all stoppages, by Mail or Express to reach Gwalior

walls of the Gwalior Fort bear a testimony to same. The historic fort of Gwalior was built as early as the 11th century A.D.; early Jain temples and rock-cut images corroborate the story. Since 1410 A.D. the historic fort has been

playing a heroic part in the annals of India. It reached the height of its glory during the reign of the Peshwas.

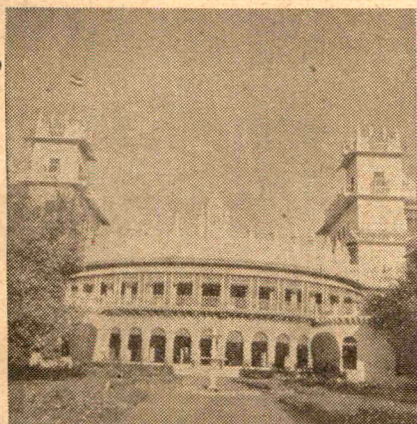
Palace, Jhansi Rani Memorial, the tomb of Md. Gaus and Tansen-ka Mokbara amongst others. The decorated temples built by the Sanatan



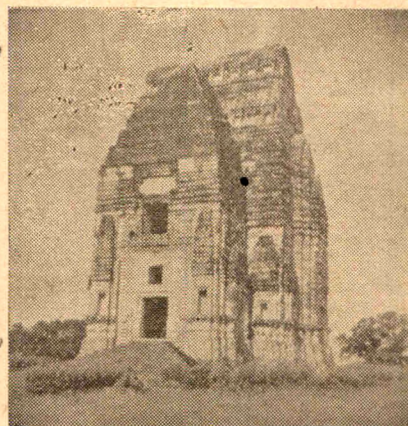
Ful Bag



Surya Kund (inside Fort)



Moti Mahal



Teli Temple

The Madhya Bharat roadways offer nice travel facilities to travellers on the well-built roads. The city of Gwalior is divided into three suburbs, namely, Gwalior, Morar and Laskar which combine to form a nice city indeed. The city boasts of a fine regulated water supply, electricity, the Gwalior High Court, Gajraja Medical College, Victoria College, Jiwaji Rao Intermediate College, Civil and Military Hospitals, the General Post Office at Chawk Bazar, the Central Bank of India with its branches in several parts of the city and the Madhya Bharat Chamber of Commerce and Industries.

Of the places of interest which the tourist must arrange to see are the Gwalior Fort, Ful Bag (Zoo Garden), Moti Mahal, Maharaja's

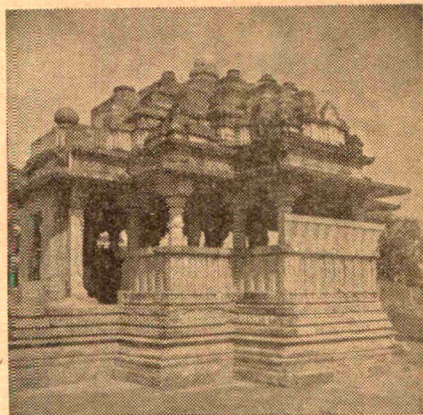
Dharma Mandal on Dharma Mandir Road and the Manrey-Mata-Mandir near the Gajraja Medical College on the Gwalior-Jhansi Road are really worth seeing. For conveyance the tourist can take a car, a tonga or an auto-rickshaw, the last being the cheapest, but the auto-rickshaws are not so numerous as in Delhi. The motorist will have really pleasant drives along the city highways.

To the eyes of the wondering tourist the massive Fort of Gwalior seems to lift up its head like a giant and stare at him wherever he finds himself. The Chawk Bazar looks very fine at candle-light with its central park where stands the statue of the late Maharaja Jiwaji Rao

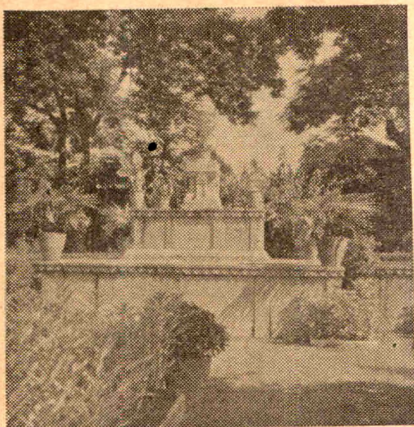
Scindia, ex-ruler of the native State of Gwalior. of parrots, *mainas* and other beautiful birds. The Gwalior High Court is a two-storied fine poured into my ears sweet melodious tunes in building in Laskar, three miles off the Railway the shades of the evening. The fine statue Station. standing near the Gwalior High Court with its



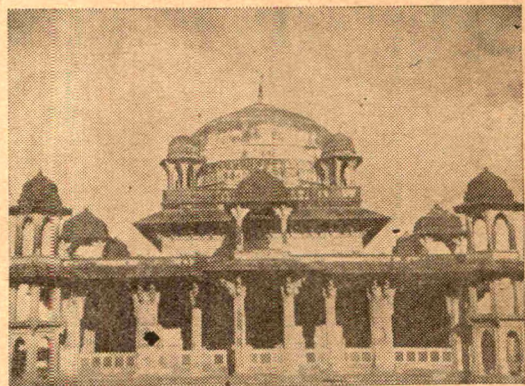
Sas Temple



Bahu Temple



Lachmi Bai Memorial



Tomb of Md. Gaus

As the tourist moves from the Railway Station towards the city he finds the Jhansi Rani Memorial, the Ful Bag with the Zoo, the Moti Mahal and the Secretariat with the Maharaja's Palace in the background.

Sitting on the marble bench in the Chattri adjacent to Moti Mahal, with the sight of the Gwalior Fort in front, I looked on, and the flights

inscription, "Every inch a king," erected in memory of its ex-ruler the late Madhorai Scindia is fine indeed,

For the snapshots I am grateful to Messrs Prakash Studio. The visit to Gwalior has left an indelible mark on my memory. The Gwalior Fort seems to say, "Kings may come and kings may go but I stand for ever."



THE GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS NATIONAL PARK

THE United States Government is improving one of its most beautiful natural show places for the recreation of all American and their millions of persons are, expected to enjoy the park following the completion of an improvement program now under way.



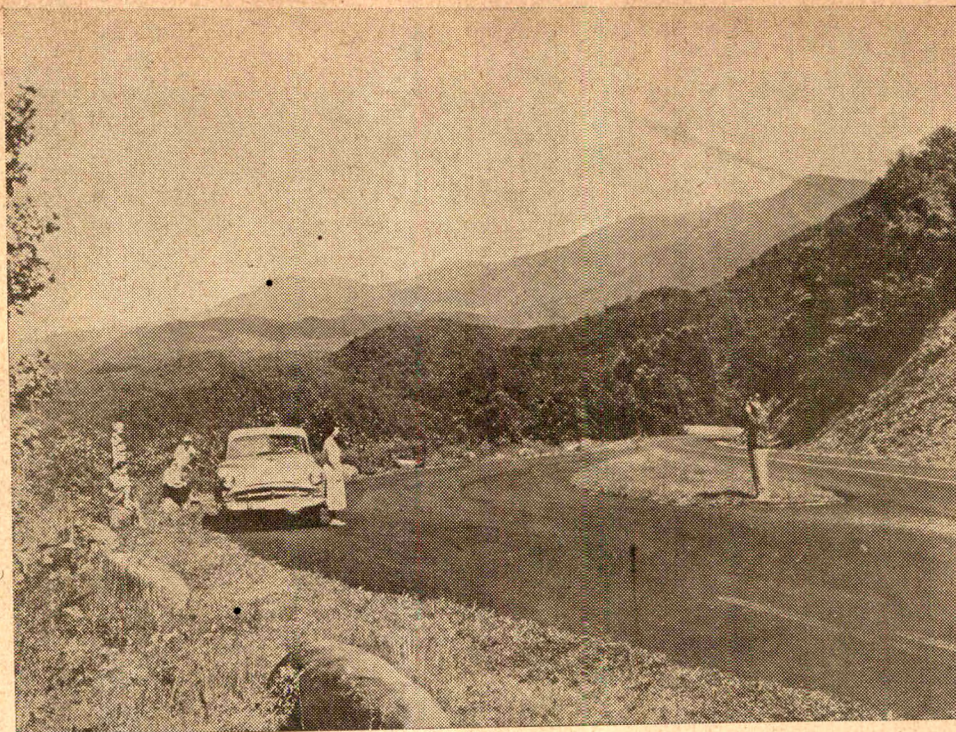
A Red Indian woman at Oconaluftee village here displays some of her headwork for sale

The U.S. National Parks Service, an agency of the Department of the Interior, administers the nation's 23,924,223 acres (9,682,133 hectares) of national parks, monuments, historic sites and memorials.

The Great Smoky Mountains National Park is a vast area of misty mountain wilderness in North Carolina and Tennessee, centrally located in the U.S. East. As the most heavily visited of all the national parks, it attracted more than 2,500,000 persons in 1955. The park is scheduled for a comprehensive program of improvement and development costing more than \$10 million. In addition to the improvements within the park—approximately \$51.6 million will be spent on highways and roads.

This will include the scenic Foothills Parkway, outside of but generally paralleling the park's northern boundary. Also included will be all but 25 miles (40 kilometers) of the Blue Ridge Parkway, which, with the immediately connecting "Skyline Drive" which runs the length of Shenandoah National Park in Virginia, reaches southwestward 548 miles (882 kilometers) into North Carolina and the Great Smokies. From Washington, the traveller enters the scenery-rich mountain parkway near Front Royal, Virginia, about 70 miles (113 kilometers) west of the national capital. The scenic road runs for the most part along or near the crest of the Blue Ridge Mountain chain with breath-taking

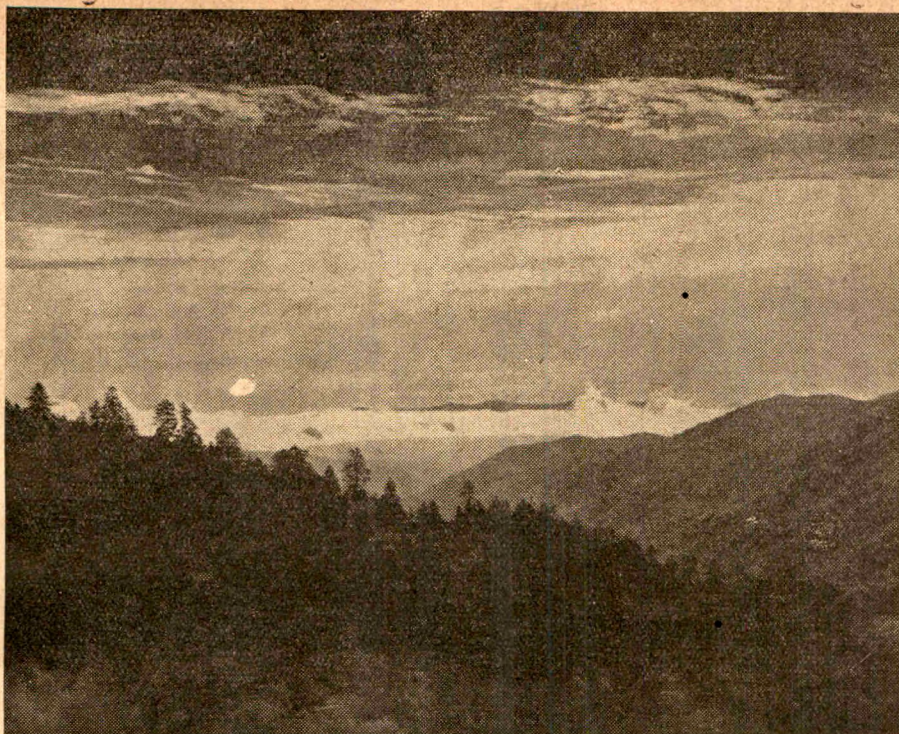
guests—the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. The park has drawn more visitors in recent years than any of the other parks in the nation's National Park System. Additional



A touring family pauses for a family picture amid mountain views in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park



This road is the principal traffic artery for tourists to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park



The heights of the mountain ridges tower above the Valley which is
Newfound Gap

vistas for the motorist every few moments. Improvement projects in most of the National Park System units will be completed in 1966, as the result of Congressional action and with the approval of President Eisenhower. The fiftieth anniversary of the Park Service occurs in 1966. The Great Smokies project, however, will be ready before the full program is complete.

Virgin forests cover more than 200,000 acres (81,000 hectares) of the park's total of more than 500,000 acres (202,000 hectares). The new plans will afford greater protection for the wilderness character of the Great Smokies and provide facilities for the more than four million visitors annually.

There will be greatly expanded camp grounds, improved and extended water and sewer systems, new park museums and visitor centers where travellers can relax and learn the story of the park from Forest Service staff members.

Half the nation's population lives within 500 miles of the Great Smokies, a fact that has aided the marvellous beauty of the park to

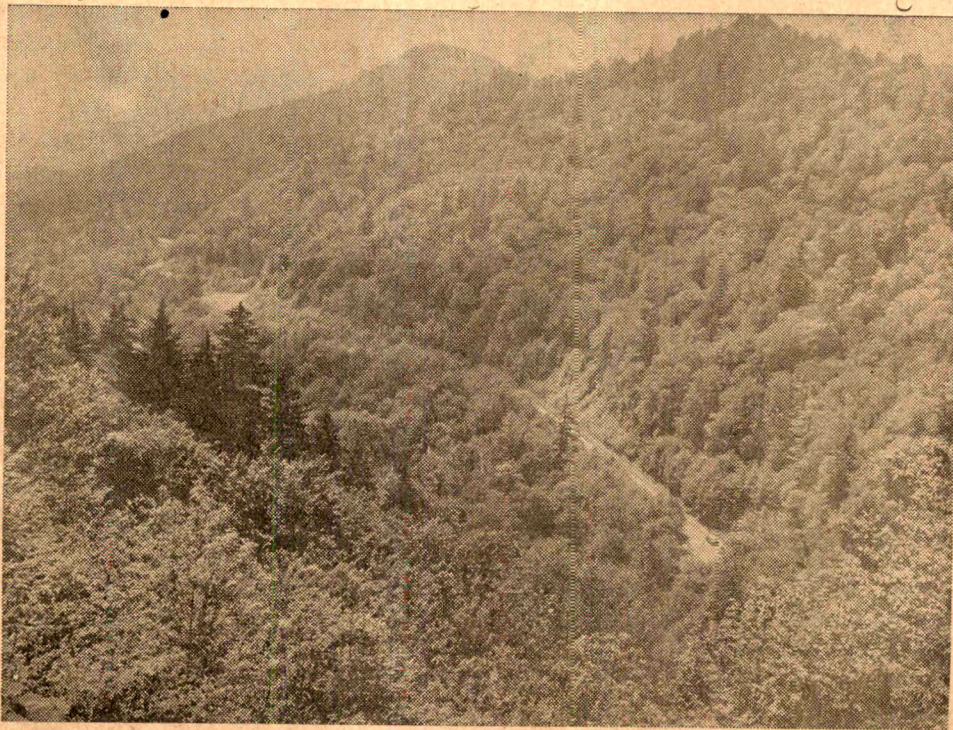
attract such great numbers of lovers of scenic beauty to the park. Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the National Park System, says that these factors face the Park Service with a major challenge to keep the people from literally "loving the park to death" within the next generation.

This same danger was foreseen 25 years ago, when the park was established. The decision was then made to concentrate all hotels, privately-owned camps and lodges, restaurants and craft shops outside the boundaries of the park. The wisdom of that decision has been justified by the sustained preservation of the wilderness character of the park, despite the annual increases of visitors. Meanwhile private enterprise has demonstrated that it can provide adequately for the needs of visitors in the communities bordering the 54-mile (87-kilometer) long by 19-mile (31-kilometer) wide reservation that is the park.

According to Director Wirth the millions of new visitors to the park will require an enlarged staff of forest rangers, naturalists and other park personnel.



Tourists may have pleasant rustic cabins with all essential facilities, or motel tourist accommodations



Mount Clingman's Dome, the highest peak in the Park

Cherokee Indians were the first known residents of the park area and their descendants still live in a scenically and agriculturally rich area at the park's southeast edge.

Included among new projects at the park for early completion are the construction of two new visitor centers, one in North Carolina near the pioneer farmstead at Oconaluftee, and one near the park headquarters close to Gatlinburg. A feature of the Oconaluftee visitor center will be a pioneer museum in which the story of the self-sufficiency of the pioneer mountain settlers will be reconstructed. Another farmstead unit will be established in the Cable Mill area with the log houses, barns and other structures left behind when the mountain people moved to new homes after selling their properties to the government following establishment of the park.

Developing is planned of several hundred new campground sites to augment the three large and well-developed camps and the temporary campgrounds in each district of the park.

Clingmen's Dome, 6,642-foot (2,025-meter) high mountain that provides the highest point in the park, will be topped with an observation tower to permit visitors an unsurpassed view of the Smokies. Reconstruction of the North Carolina portion of the transmountain highway (U.S. 441) between Newfound Gap and Kephart Prong will be undertaken and improvements will be made to the unit between the Little River and Little Tennessee river, a thrillingly scenic area not now served by adequate roads. A new park road between Fontana and Hazel Creek will open to visitors one of the most beautiful areas of the park, now almost inaccessible.

Construction of the Foothills Parkway, outside the park, will give broad spectacular views of the park and the Great Smokies range.

Completion of the Blue Ridge Parkway between Soco Gap and Oconaluftee will open a new scenic entrance to the park from North Carolina. Much of this work is nearly completed and will provide access to a new area for many park visitors.

Inside the park, extensive relocation and

construction of minor roads and trails is to be undertaken to permit visitors to reach wilderness areas after "hiking" only short distances. New ranger stations, checking stations and utility structures, with residences for permanent personnel, will be placed on sites which will not intrude on the natural beauty.

The Great Smoky Mountains represent some of the oldest uplands in the world and are crowned by an unbroken forest unmatched in eastern North America. More than 130 native tree species are known to grow in the area. Many of them are giants of their species. The deep blue haze rising from the mountain valleys to the summits of the lofty peaks gives the mountains their name—the Great Smokies.

The mountains, the most massive uplift in the U.S. East, run the entire length of the park. With the exception of Mount Mitchell, about 75 miles (121 kilometers) to the north-east along the Blue Ridge Parkway in North Carolina and 6,684 feet (2,038 meters) high, the highest peaks in eastern North America are included in the park. Sixteen peaks are over 6,000 feet (1,830 meters) in elevation and the main ridge does not drop below 5,000 feet (1,524 meters) for 36 miles (59 kilometers).

The mountain streams abounding in the area are bordered with rhododendron and laurel, flowering much of the year. In many areas the flame azalea grows profusely. Bold mountain summits and knifelike ridges have a dense covering of rhododendron and sand myrtle and in June the mountain laurel and rhododendron bloom in their natural state.

There are 600 miles (965 kilometers) of ideal trout streams in the park and persons desiring to fish need only secure North Carolina or Tennessee fishing licenses. A few of the streams, however, have been set aside for restocking and a fish hatchery is maintained in the park by the government. As in all national parks, hunting is prohibited. As a result bears, wildcats and many smaller animals and ruffed grouse and wild turkeys are comparatively tame.

The park is a paradise for hikers with many trails for both horseback parties and those on foot and is kept open the year around.—USIS



ON AILS

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S. (Lond.)

THE word *A-il*, or *A-eel* has been thus explained in Wilson's Glossary. It means "a bank or mound of earth forming a division between fields, a boundary mark, an embankment."

Ail-Bater means "a narrow pathway sufficient for cattle especially on the top of a boundary ridge or mound, whence it denotes a boundary of such a description; a low road [perhaps, from *Ail*, a goat or stag (Hindi), *bat*, a road]." In settlement records *ail* means raised boundary marks between fields.

In Bengal, especially in West Bengal, each and every one of the cultivated fields is separated from the surrounding fields by *ails* or raised boundary marks. The practice is universal. In areas or tracts where the surface of the land is undulating or sloping, even the fields within one set of boundary and belonging to the same owner, are often found divided into two or more parts by *ails*. This is done to conserve rain-water, and to prevent soil-erosion by running water; and sometimes for facility of irrigation. *Ails* are used as passages to and from the fields for men, cattle and plough; and for carrying their produce.

Ails are now generally found to be a foot, or a foot and a half broad. This has been our experience extending over 100 villages in parts of the districts of 24-Parganas, Hooghly, Buriwan, Birbhum, Murshidabad and Nadia. In some areas it is even less broad. It is said that formerly they were broader. Such opinion is almost universal.

Between *maths* or groups of cultivated fields, and often within the same *maths*, there are *go-paths* (passages for cattle), also called *go-vals* (in Birbhum), higher and broader than ordinary *ails*—broad enough to allow passage of cattle. Traditionally they should be broad enough to allow passage for two heads of cattle passing up and down side by side; and for a man with a load of straw.

Now-a-days *ails* are less broad; and *go-paths* reduced in breadth to such an extent that it is hardly possible for a single head of cattle, or even a man with a load to pass along it in comfort. The cart-tracks noticed in the Survey

of India maps in the earlier edition cannot be found in the locality.

The population increased by some 50 per cent between 1872 and 1931; and the rate of increase is greater now. The pressure of population on agricultural lands is very great; and cultivators, agricultural share-croppers have tried to increase the area under his cultivation by encroachments upon *ails* and *go-paths*. The mischief began long ago; and no one has cared to check it. Defective legislation and cadastral survey and settlement operations have perhaps hastened the process.

The Hooghly District Gazetteer at p. 149 quotes a report of Mr. Carstairs (1883) on this point. It runs thus:

"The *ails* or boundary ridges of fields used to be wide and suitable for the ryots' walking along to his fields and very useful for grazing cattle on. They are now little mud threads. High rents and measurement have done this. No ryot can afford to leave so much land uncultivated. He cuts in on one side, and his neighbour has to resist or cut in on the other. I have seen cases where a man encroached on an *ail* and the ryot holding the field on the other side objected. But things like this are very difficult to check, for the mischief is done by inches.

"In all these matters it is the interest (possibly not real, but immediate) of the zamindar to let the mischief go on. If a man cultivates part of a grazing ground, rent is demanded. If he appropriates part of a road, this is assessed. If he encroaches on the *ail*, he cultivates all the more, and it is included in his *jot*. He will be all the more content to pay high rates. The zamindar does not usually live in the village. Want of roads or grazing grounds there does not put him to personal inconvenience. He may be as good a man as John Gilpin, but with him, too, 'loss of pence' is the main consideration."

It was usual for the zamindars to charge rent for the area of the field actually cultivated excluding the surrounding *ails*. The indigenous system of measurement with ropes or

leather thongs excluded the pegs at the two ends in calculating the distances. It was less accurate.

After the Great Famine of 1770, when one-third of the population perished, competition was for *ryots*, among the zamindars; and not for land among the *ryots*. This continued for more than half a century till 1831. The Nadia fever and the Burdwan fever decimated the population of Western Bengal. It has been estimated that there was no growth of population in the Burdwan Division between 1812 and 1872. All these helped in an under-measurement of the area cultivated for which rent was payable by the *ryot*.

Everything changed with the increase of population; and the operation of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885. Cadastral survey of fields are undertaken under Chapter X of the Bengal Tenancy Act. The scale used for the preparation of settlement maps is 16 inches to a mile. On such a scale anything less than 10 ft. broad cannot be easily shown; for 10 ft. on such a scale is $\frac{1}{33}$ rd of an inch.

The Technical Rules and Instructions of the Settlement Department say:

"Boundary ditches which do not exceed 15 links* in breadth will be treated as boundary lines and will not be plotted separately." and

"Small water channels not exceeding 15 links in diameter should not be surveyed separately, but the middle of the channel should be taken as if it were an 'ail'."

Half the breadth of the surrounding *ails* were taken in as part of the enclosed field in survey operations and in calculating its area.

The consequences are (1) that the fields appear land-locked in settlement maps; (2) there is no record-of-rights as to passage over *ails*, or to carry irrigation water along them; and (3) the area of the field (for which rent has to be paid to the zamindar) appeared to have increased.

The mischief done was so great that Rai Bahadur Bijay Bihari Mukharji, who conducted the settlement operations of the Bir-

bhum District, went out of his way and recorded rights to carry irrigation water along the boundaries of the fields in the settlement maps in certain areas. But this is exceptional.

The zamindar may claim additional rent for the additional area occupied by the tenant. Although the area occupied and cultivated by the tenant remains the same, it appears inflated in the settlement records. To prevent injustice the Settlement Officers were instructed to follow the following rule in calculating the rent:

"The length of the pole being first settled, for the closeness of the cadastral measurement, 10 per cent, that is, 2 kattahs per bigha, will, as a rule, be a fair allowance. If the previous measurement appears to have been made with more than the usual accuracy, then 1 kattah may be considered generally fair, so as to reduce the survey area and the *jamabandi* area to a common standard for comparison.

"This deduction of 10 or 5 per cent is to be made from the present survey area. Care should be taken to refer to this deduction in the judgment and to assign reasons for it."

The Calcutta High Court in a case reported in the 40th volume of *Calcutta Weekly Notes* at p. 1022 noted that the contention is that the settlement officers measure every inch of the land including *ails* with absolute accuracy—whereas ordinary private measurement on behalf of zamindars usually omit the *ails*, and also the measurement is not accurate; and it held, "It is right in considering an additional area to reduce the settlement area by 10 per cent before comparing it with the previous area."

The question, we now propose to discuss, is, can we estimate the breadth of *ails* in former times, before slow encroachment by *ryots* reduced their breadth.

Colebrooke, following Cornwallis estimates, "one-third of Bengal and Bihar to be tilled, but this is exclusive of pasturage and lays or fallows."

He further states: "In Bengal, little more than 1 acre of tilled ground is available for every person."

"And now, after more than 150 years, with both the area under tillage, and population,

* 15 links=9.90 ft.

more than doubled, only .85 acre is available per head of agricultural population. The population in Bengal has increased more in proportion than the area under cultivation, with its increasing pressure on soil in consequence," writes the author of the note of Indian Land System, Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern, appended to the *Report of the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal*, Vol. II (see p. 230).

The average area per raiyati interest is 1.89 acre; and that for an under-raiyati interest is 0.64 acre. A measure of fragmentation of land may be guessed from the following table:

Percentage of families holding the raiyati and under-raiyati interests

1 interest	2 int.	3 int.	4 int.	5 int.	over 5 interests
£7.1	18.7	11.8	8.1	5.8	15.2

Further, even if a family has several acres, they are not held in a compact mass. It is usual to find it divided into 3 or 4 or 5 or more fields. Partition between co-sharers, and anxiety against crop-failure have led one to possess low-lying land in one field, highland in another field, land liable to periodical floods in some other field and so on. Fragmentation of land into plots held in widely separated areas acts as some sort of insurance against total crop-failure and its terrible consequence to the family of the cultivator.

When there was no pressure of population on agricultural lands, say a century and a half earlier, we assume that every holding of a cultivator to be divided into at least 2 plots on an average. From what we have been able to gather the number was certainly more than 2; it would now be nearer 3 on an average. From the *Survey and Settlement Reports of the Districts of Hooghly, Howrah, 24-Parganas and Midnapore*, we find the number of cadastral plots per square mile to be:

	No. per sq. mile
Hooghly	2,698
Howrah	2,248
24-Parganas	1,449
Midnapore	1,539

The average works out to 3.1 plots per acre.

Let us now make a little calculation. The

average area of a field surrounded by *ails* is (a) 0.5 acre, or (b) 0.33 acre. A perusal of cadastral survey maps shows the field to be of rectangular shapes generally. A visit to fields also shows them to be rectangles. The ratio of length to breadth for greater utility and convenience of ploughing is generally taken to be 2:1, though fields with greater proportions than that are often found. We shall make calculations for fields of length: breadth in the proportion of 2:1 and 3:1. Let "B" be the breadth of the field.

	Ratio:	
	2:1	3:1
The perimeter is	66	86
Area	26 ²	36 ²
Ratio of perimeter/area 3/6		2.7/6
When the area of the field is:		
(a) 0.5 acres=26 ²		=36 ²
(b) 0.33 " =26 ²		=36 ²
"B" is (a)	104ft.	85ft.
(b)	85ft.	52ft.

Taking 10 per cent to be the usual normal area (now added to the fields by the inclusion of half the area of surrounding *ails*), we get the area of the *ails* to be:

26 ²	36 ²
10	10

Let "h" be half the breadth of the *ails*; then the area of *ails* is:

a=66h	86h
and b=30h	40h
and "h" is (a) 3.5ft.	2.1ft.
(b) 2.8ft.	1.3ft.

And the breadth of the *ails* is between 2.6ft. and 7ft.

As the fields which are 3:1 in length and breadth are smaller in number, we prefer to give an weightage of 2 to fields which are 2:1 in length and breadth; and the weighted averages work out to:

- (a) 3 ft.
and (b) 2 ft. respectively.

The *ails* in former times were between 4 and 6 ft. breadth. The actual breadths would be a little less as many *go-paths*, which are now either included into the contiguous fields, or developed into village pathways or cart-tracks, are included in our calculations for the average

breadths of *ails*. How much less it would be plots are consolidated into fields of 2 acres each, hazardous to make a guess. the loss would be reduced to 3.6 per cent.

The *ails* are and have become a social necessity in view of the development of ideas of individual property. Many of the village disputes begin with the passage of cattle and men over such *ails*. They are also agricultural necessities for the reasons mentioned earlier.

But it is disastrous to let quite 10 per cent of fine cultivable land to be wasted in this fashion. The remedy lies in preventing further fragmentation, and consolidating plots into bigger fields. If plots are consolidated into fields of one acre each surrounded by *ails* as broad as 5 ft.; the proportion of land lost would be reduced from 10 per cent to 5.1 per cent; if the

The breadth of *ails* will differ in different parts of the country, even of the same district depending upon the nature of the soil and local configuration. This has got to be investigated.

We think a further reduction in the area and length of the *ails* may be effected by suitable legislation defining the rights of the general public and of the owners of contiguous fields over the *ails*; if necessary, different rights in different seasons; and also in defining the purposes for which *ails* and *go-paths* may be used, such as grazing, temporarily cutting them to let the flood water pass, the duty to close breaches caused voluntarily or involuntarily.

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SAGA OF INDIAN SCULPTURE: A REVIEW*

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

AFTER Lord Ronaldsay, sometime Governor of Bengal, no other Governor of Indian Provinces has taken any live interest in the study of Indian Art and the author of this sumptuous volume, the ex-Governor of the Uttar Pradesh, has won a unique position in our national life by this erudite tribute to the values of Indian sculpture. It is notorious that there is nobody in the ruling hierarchy at New Delhi, who could claim any credit as a connoisseur, student, or patron of Indian Art. This is a tragedy for Free India, as there is no live and personal interest in the great heritage of Indian Art on the part of the great gods at the Olympia at New Delhi, even now ringing with the direct patronage and connoisseurship of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. In England, in the world of politics, we had many connoisseurs and collectors of Art, and at least one practical practitioner of Art in Churchill who has published a volume of his own water-colours. In other parts of Asia, we have at least two instances of the heads of Government developing a personal interest in Art—in China, and in Indonesia. Dr. Soekarno, sometime President of the Republic of Indonesia, is a great connois-

seur and collector of Art, and his rich collection of paintings has been recently published in two sumptuous volumes from Peking. This appalling tragedy of the utter lack of personal passion for Indian Art on the part of the bureaucrats of Delhi drawing fat salaries (but refusing to buy any pictures in any of the many exhibitions there), has been sought to be palliated by a wise suggestion, a counsel of despair, by constituting a special Ministry of Fine Arts, as they have in France. And if an Indian Ministry of Fine Arts (now long overdue) is set up, we know of no better person to take charge of the portfolio than the distinguished ex-Governor of the Uttar Pradesh.

To turn to the pages of the volume before us, if it does not represent the "sparks from a Governor's anvil," it is the record of a distinguished Indian nationalist convinced of the

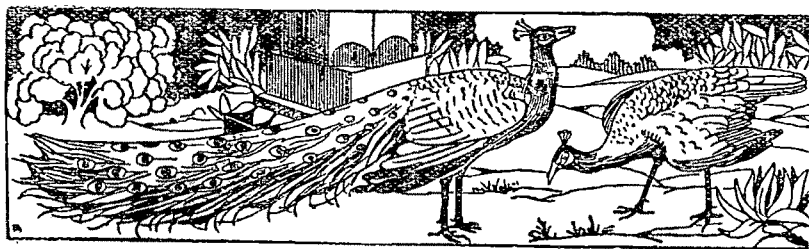
* *Saga of Indian Sculpture*: By K. M. Munshi. Illustrated with 185 half-tone blocks, mostly full-plates. Text 50 pp. First printed in May 1957. Published by the Bharatiya Bhavan, Bombay. Price Rs. 15.

high spiritual appeal of our greatest spiritual heritage, which is still very much neglected in our schools, colleges, and universities, and it is to be hoped that this volume will inspire our Vice-Chancellors to revise their syllabus of studies to find an important place for the study of Indian Fine Arts, now practically boycotted by our educational institutions. No one could pretend to know even of a fraction of India, the great continent of spiritual culture, without an intimate acquaintance with the strings of sculptural masterpieces, collected in the volume by Sri Munshi. The distinguished author is no mere superficial student of Indian philosophy, but an erudite exponent of the process by which Indian philosophy has found visual *applications* in Indian Art; which, the volume has skillfully demonstrated, is Applied Philosophy in a brilliant series of graphic forms, which make the abstruse principles of philosophy accessible to the common man. We have space only for one quotation from the author's brilliant opening essay on the 'Origin and Purpose of Indian Art':

"I only write about Indian Art as one who enjoys its beauty and senses its greatness. At the same time, I have found the genius of India reflected with greater power nowhere else than in its philosophy, literature and sculpture. And nowhere except in sculpture has it been expressed with such unbroken continuity to display the ageless spirit of the Indian culture. . . . India did not look at life in compartments, nor did it recognize the domains of art, religion, philosophy and mystic experience as separate. Our forefathers viewed existence as a whole: matter, life, mind and spirit, each involved in the other, each inte-

grated with the other in an harmonious pattern. . . . Both the literary and plastic arts of India, have for their aim, the fulfilment of one or other of the four fundamental values of *purusharthas*, so that it might be brought into a homogeneous pattern with the rest to secure the integration of the human personality. In the scheme of things, nothing is omitted. Even sin has a place as no more than an obstacle to be overcome in one's journey towards the goal. . . . Art is the creative expression of the fundamental values of a culture and should be viewed as one continuous process in the stream of time. If Indian sculptures are viewed in this way, it should not be difficult to learn the direction of the æsthetic urge as it is bodied forth from time to time. As I listen to the æsthetic harmony of Indian sculpture, I hear, in spite of varying conditions and changing factors, one eternal refrain: the search for a richness of the inner self seeking a co-ordinated fulfilment of our human urges."

A word about the illustrations: The large number of illustrations (186), practically covers all branches of the subject, except Nepal. Many of the blocks have turned out successful, though some are not satisfactorily reproduced. Many new illustrations have been published for the first time, *e.g.*, specimens of the Kanauj School, Somnath School, and relief sculptures from Abhneri. The specimens are not always dated, and the sources of the photographs are not always given. The Notes are not adequate and they could be made fuller in a second edition. There is no doubt that the author has made a valuable contribution to the study of Indian Art. The book is very cheaply priced and should find its way in every school and college in India.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

STUDIES IN THE ORIGINS OF BUDDHISM: By Govind Chandra Pande. University of Allahabad, 1957. Pp. 690. Price not mentioned.

The problem of the original teachings of Buddhism has been pointedly set in recent years by Mrs. Rhys Davids who first drew the attention of scholars to the want of a uniform set of doctrines in the Pali canon. The discussion of this problem has been very far advanced in this present work. Although the book is admittedly confined for the most part to the doctrinal aspect of Buddhism, the author's claim (Preface, p. v) that it consists of "a group of organically connected historical studies relating to the origins" of this faith is fully justified by facts. The work consists of three Parts: Part I, after a preliminary discussion of the chronology of the Buddhist canon in its various versions (Ch. I), lays down (Ch. II) five criteria for tracing the stratification of the canonical works. This is followed (Chs. III-VII) by a detailed analysis of three works of the Pali Khuddaka Nikaya and the complete works of the four other Nikayas so as to distinguish between their early and late portions. Part II (Ch. VIII) begins with an able review of the whole development of Vedic religious ideas with special reference to the influence of the heterodox *munis* and *sramanas* upon their later phase as reflected in the *Upanishads*. Then comes (Ch. IX) a discussion of the influence of social change, of popular religion, and of Brahmanical asceticism upon the fortunes of Jainism and Buddhism. This leads to an examination of the various philosophical and religious currents of thought at the epoch of the rise of Jainism and Buddhism along with a reconstruction of the original doctrines of Jainism. A review of the Buddha's

career with a psychological interpretation of its leading incidents and a statement of its authentic facts forms the subject-matter of Ch. X. Part III is occupied (Chs. XI-XII) with a discussion of certain fundamental doctrines of Buddhism with a view to distinguish their original significance, as well as the examination (Chs. XIV-XV) of certain problems bearing on the relation between early Buddhism and its rivals and forerunners, and the subsequent rise of Buddhist schisms.

The work bears throughout the evidence of a thorough and exhaustive study of all the important sources (original as well as derivative), and what is more, of the combination of well-digested erudition with sound judgment. On a point of minor criticism we may mention that the author's summary (p. 312) misses the most characteristic political ideas of the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina thinkers at the epoch of the rise of Buddhism. These are fully set forth in the reviewer's work *A History of Indian Political Ideas* (now in course of publication by the Oxford University Press). On the whole, the present book, we think, will remain a standard work on the subject for a considerable time to come. Its value is enhanced by three important appendices, a full bibliography, and a good index.

U. N. GHOSHAL

GANDHIAN TECHNIQUE AND TRADITION: By R. N. Bose. Published by the Research Division, All-India Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.

The author, who is the Professor of Industrial Law in the All-India Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management, Calcutta, makes an attempt "not only to recall Gandhiji's great services in seeking to strike a mean be-

two apparently conflicting interests, but also to co-relate the lessons he taught to the needs of the present. His intimate knowledge of the industrial relations of the problems of capital and labour no less than his considerable grasp of the Gandhian principles have materially contributed to the success he has achieved in his objective. The different aspects of the Gandhian technique and tradition in solving the problems of the modern industrial society have been presented in a simple language and will be read by many with profit and interest.

The Gandhian approach to social and economic problems is being steadily pushed to the background in Free India. The tempo of industrialisation is on the increase. Gandhian behest to the contrary notwithstanding, Free India seems to have abandoned the ideal of political and economic decentralisation. Time is not yet ripe to say who is or are in the wrong—the Father of the Nation or those on whom his mantle has fallen.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

THE ECONOMICS OF SIR JOHN STEUART: By Dr. S. R. Sen. Published on behalf of the London School of Economics and Political Science (University of London) by G. Bell and Sons Ltd., London, W.C. 2. To be had of Orient Longmans Private Ltd., Calcutta-13. Published in 1957. Pp. vii + 207. Price 25s.

Sir James Steuart (1712-1780) was the author of the first comprehensive treatise on economics in English. His work entitled *An Enquiry into the Principles of Political Economy* was published in 1767—about ten years before the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. Though Smith heavily drew upon the work of Steuart, the latter was not given any credit either by Smith or by the later economists and economic historians. Referring to Smith's indebtedness to Steuart, Karl Marx wrote: "Adam Smith registered the results of Steuart's investigations as dead facts. Adam Smith applied the Scotch saying that 'mony mickles mak a muckle' even to his spiritual wealth, and therefore concealed with petty care the source to which he owed the little out of which he tried to make so much." This quotation notwithstanding its excessively critical tone about Smith, indicated in a way Steuart's greatness as an economic thinker. Steuart was, Dr. Sen notes, "one of the first to introduce a rigorous scientific methodology, deductive as well as inductive, into economic enquiries, and a pioneer

theoretician who not only made considerable original contributions in the fields of population, exchange, money, public finance and agricultural economics, but was also one of the first to develop the economics of planning and the evolutionist and institutional approach in social enquiry." Yet, strange as it may appear, Steuart was completely forgotten almost immediately upon the publication of Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. While he received some recognition from the continental economists none, with the sole exception of Karl Marx, was able to appreciate the true import of Steuart's chief contribution—his economics of social control.

Dr. Sen, who is now Economic and Statistical Adviser, Ministry of Food and Agriculture in the Government of India, in this scholarly contribution comes out with a fervent plea for restoring Steuart to his proper position in the history of economic thought. He discusses the various aspects of Steuart's economic thought and indicates their resemblance to some of the writings of modern economists, such as Keynes and Lerner. "Had not the brilliance of Adam Smith and the *laissez-faire* spirit of the nineteenth-century combined to cast him into oblivion, it is quite possible that the school of thought which Malthus, List and Keynes took so long to build up might have been more rapidly developed . . .," he says.

Dr. Sen's study is thorough, lucid and objective. He does not hesitate to point out the inadequacies of Steuart's theoretical formulations as well as the strong points. The picture of Steuart as an economist, as has been presented in the volume, is a very convincing one and one cannot but wonder how both economists and economic historians in general could overlook the contribution of Steuart. The indifference of his contemporaries might be explained by the fact that Steuart's philosophy led him to propound what may loosely be termed a planned economy in an age dominated by the spirit of "free enterprise". The historians' indifference, as Dr. Sen remarks, is not so easily explained.

Indians have an additional reason to be interested in Sir James Steuart, because he was in a way the first Economic Adviser to the Government of India. His paper entitled *The Principles of Money Applied to the Present State of the Coin of Bengal*, published in July, 1772, in response to a request from the East India Company for advice on the solution of the prevalent currency disturbances, was, in fact, the first authoritative study of Indian economic

problems ever made and was the source book for several subsequent studies. Dr. Sen devotes a separate chapter to a discussion of Steuart's writings on the currency situation in Bengal, and notes that while Steuart's advice had not been accepted at the time, the broad principles he had laid down in conjunction with Sir Phillip Francis had tended to guide the currency policy of India for the next one hundred years. The book is undoubtedly a valuable addition to the literature on the history of economic thought.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

CREATURES OF DESTINY: *By Sachindra Muzumdar. Jaico Publishing House. Pp. 142. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a collection of short stories, sixteen in number, by Sachindra Muzumdar. The stories are well-written and grip the attention of the reader from the beginning. He has experimented with many forms of narration, that of Kipling, Tagore and Somerset Maugham; and has moderately succeeded in the attempt. The stories touch many points and foibles of our complex and sophisticated life; and are well worth a careful perusal.

J. M. DATTA

A HANDBOOK OF INDIAN ECONOMICS, Vol. I: *By Subrata Gupta, M.A. Published by Sevabrata Gupta of Gupta Brothers, 52-A, Kalabagan Lane, Calcutta-33. Pages 314. Price Rs. 4.*

This is a study of the current economic problems of India including the problems of planning and economic growth. The subjects dealt in this volume are divided into twenty-one chapters, viz., Natural Resources, the Social System, Population Problem, National Income and Problems of Agriculture, Irrigation, Community Development Projects and National Extension Service, Agricultural Finance, Co-operative Movement, Land Reforms, Food Policy, Economic Planning—its Tools and Techniques, Reviews of the First and Second Five-Year Plans, Unemployment, Industrial Policy and Nationalisation of Industries, Foreign Capital, Industrial Finance and Small-Scale and Cottage Industries.

Since the attainment of Independence, Indian economy is undergoing revolutionary changes requiring constant and careful study by students of Economics. India, primarily an agricultural country with small-scale and cottage

industries, has embarked upon a wide and thorough industrialization on a planned way with a view to convert the economy into a socialistic pattern. But private and free enterprises are not disturbed or banned, they are being regulated and controlled to suit the formation of a socialistic society. The treatment of the subjects although specially meant for students will help a general reader. The author has collected materials from authentic and authoritative sources and used them to the best advantage. We have no doubt the book will be useful to readers and students.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

CHOR KI PREMIKA: *By R. Krishnamurti "Kalki". Atmaram and Sons, Delhi-6. Pp. 211. Price Rs. 4.*

The author is a doyen of presentday novelists in Tamil. The book, under review, is a Hindi rendering by Shri Somasundaram, of his *Kalavanin Kadali*. It is a moving story of an innocent, good boy, whose life is shipwrecked as a result of certain social forces, over which he has no control. The woman whom he loves so ardently in his adolescence, but whom he cannot marry because of money being the monarch of society, is also a victim of society. But her sufferings transmute her into a saint. The beloved of the "society-made" thief becomes the beloved of God! The publishers are to be congratulated on giving to the Hindi-reading public such masterpieces from the modern South Indian literatures.

G. M.

GUJARATI

NANDINI: *By Jayendrao Bhagwanlal Durkal, M.A., D.O.C., Ahmedabad. Published by the Astika Sahitya Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Cloth-bound jacket, with a block and autograph of the writer. Printed at the Mayur Printing, Ahmedabad. 1951. Pp. 368. Price Rs. 5.*

Prof. Durkal is by nature and instinct, conservative, say, orthodox. His scholarship is utilised invariably towards pointing out what good exists in the past and what evil is being brought in the present time, in our social, religious, and domestic life and habits. He is a vigorous defender of the old. Fifty-one articles embodied in this volume bear on Creator and Creation, Culture, Society, Language and Lite-

rature, Animals, and miscellaneous topics like a Rag, Fire Crackers, Fire Works, Buds, &c. In spite of the author's conservative bent of mind, the reader will find in the work, much that is entertaining, informative, interesting and beneficial.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Nagarjuna Konda: By Vijaytunga. Buddhist Series. Illustrated. Pp. 26. Price As. 6.

Lumbini: By J. Vijaytunga. Buddhist Series. Illustrated. Pp. 16. Price As. 4.

Bodh-Gaya: By Vijaytunga. Buddhist Series. Illustrated. Pp. 19. As. 4.

The Dancing Foot: By Mulk Raj Anand. The reputed author in his inimitable language first writes the Introduction and then deals with

Rajasthan; Ghumar Dance; Himachal Pradesh; Pangi Dance; Kerala: Kaikattikali Dance; Manipur: Ras; Gujarat: Garba and Ras; Maharashtra: Koli Dance; Punjab: Bhangra and Giddha and with the dances peculiar to Assam, Kashmir and Madhya Pradesh. The book presents 12 superb tri-colour plates and a number of line-drawings. Crown size. Pp. 36 + 12 full-page coloured plates. Price Rs. 1-8, 3sh. 6d., 50 cents.

Tunga-Bhadra Project: Illustrated. Pp. 12 + 1 map. Price As. 4.

Life-lines of the Nation: India on the March Series. Illustrated. Pp. 19. Price As. 2.

All the above books are published by and can be had from The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8.

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Indian Periodicals

Buddhism and the Arts of Ceylon

Jayaweera Karruppu, Minister of Culture, Ceylon, observes in *The Indian Review* :

Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy's dictum that "all India can offer to the world proceeds from her philosophy" may as well be applied to Ceylon, for all she has to show the world as her cultural, literary and artistic achievements and all she is rightly proud of, have come into existence and grown solely due to the benign influence of Buddhism. Though the Aryans who settled in this fair Island in the 5th century before Christ—whether as followers of the banished Prince Vijaya or as sea-faring merchants—were from those parts of India where a civilisation of a high order had developed, no evidence of any cultural activities of merit prior to the establishment of Buddhism can be found. Perhaps, these early Aryans were entirely occupied with their material problems, which were inevitable in their difficult task of consolidating their power and position in a new land. It may also be possible that the early settlers were either warriors or tradesmen, with just a few Brahmins, so that the class which took to cultural pursuits was not numerically strong in ancient Ceylon. Whatever the reason may be, the achievements of these Aryans during their first two centuries in the Island do not appear to have been very impressive in spite of the fact that one of their rulers, Pandukabhaya, not only founded the city of Anuradhapura, but also managed its affairs through an efficient administrative system.

The arrival of Mahinda with the message of Buddhism from his illustrious father, Asoka, marked the beginning of the cultural development of Ceylon. Even though an attempt is made by some to show that Buddhism was rather puritanical about arts, the evidence available not only from India and Ceylon but also from practically every Buddhist country in the world leaves no doubt that no religion in the world has inspired as much artistic effort as the teachings of the Buddha. Buddhism has exploited all that is serene and beautiful in human achievements to bring home to the people the doctrines of love, non-violence and selflessness.

The need for impressive monuments, which

indicate the success of the new missionary religion, seems to have given a fillip to the progress of architecture. Gigantic Chaityas, wherein were enshrined the ashes of the Buddha and Arhants, were the earliest Buddhist monuments. In Ceylon the first Chaitya, namely, the Thuparama, was built under the direct supervision of Arhant Mahinda himself. There is no doubt that expert advice was available to the early Sinhalese builders from India. There are records which show that Indian artisans who had achieved a fair degree of perfection during the Maurya regime were sent to Ceylon, quite likely, for the erection of religious buildings. Besides, the Buddhist monks themselves were great builders and artists. Being adherents to a liberal religious system and engaged in the task of winning converts over to it, they encouraged every form of art which contributed towards the edification of both the followers and the non-believers. There is no doubt that the Buddhist monks realised the value of visual aids to religious education almost at the beginning of their missionary career. The missionary zeal of these Buddhist monks coupled with the enthusiasm of the new converts of Ceylon resulted in not only impressive Chaityas and Monasteries but also in the exquisite works of sculpture and painting which to this day, remain the most valuable of her cultural treasures.

Within five hundred years of the introduction of Buddhism, Chaityas rose in various parts of the Island. Nearly 175 miles from Anuradhapura, as the crow flies, a provincial ruler, Ilanaga, built in the 2nd century before Christ the Tissamaharama Chaitya which was, in all probability, the earliest Chaitya of that magnitude to be built anywhere in the Buddhist world. This was followed by larger Chaityas in Anuradhapura itself. The great King Dutugemunu built, besides a number of smaller Chaityas, the Ruwanweli Seya which has recently been restored. Two of the largest Chaityas in Anuradhapura, namely, the Abhayagiriya and the Jetavana, were constructed by Valagamba and Mahasena. Of these the Abhayagiriya was enlarged by Gajabahu in the 2nd century A.C. so that it was the largest Chaitya in Ceylon and was larger than the third pyramid of Gizeh. Perhaps,

the greatest of the architectural masterpieces of the early Buddhists of Ceylon was the Loha Mahapasada or the Brazen Palace of which only one thousand six hundred stone pillars now remain to be seen. The monastery, dedicated to the Sangha by Dutugemunu, had nine storeys going up to a height of 150 feet. The Mahavamsa describes it as having a thousand rooms with delicately carved doors and windows. Covered with brazen tiles this glistening skyscraper of the 2nd Century B.C. was a peerless edifice to the glory of the Buddha. Equally interesting from the point of view of architecture was the so-called canopy built over such Chaityas as the Thuparama and the Lankarama. The rock columns round the Chaityas suggest that it was not merely a roof but a mansion to house the Chaityas. Such a structure, at an age earlier than the Buddhist caves at Karle, would have been unique in Buddhist Architecture. One may even wonder whether Chaityaprasadas, which are described in the Ramayana as peculiar to Lanka, were not such buildings.

The growth of architecture led to the rise in importance of both sculpture and painting. The stone columns and boulders used for buildings were carved with delicate decorative motifs. The friezes of lions and dwarfs on the tenons of the columns round the Thuparama, the friezes of elephants adorning the Wahalkadas or cornices of the Ruwanweli Seya, the guard-stones at the entrance to monasteries and shrines and the moon-stones are among the most beautiful pieces of sculpture in Ceylon. Though these have been used purely for decorative purposes and hence have no religious significance, the predilection of the Buddhist artist to make his work satisfying not only to the eye but also to the mind has not prevented them from being made symbolic representations of the lofty truths of Buddhism. All these beautiful works of art which adorned the places of worship were the direct result of the interest of the Buddhist Kings of Ceylon to make every shrine and monastery a veritable centre of art. No efforts have been spared to make every building artistically perfect. So great was the respect inspired in the mind of the Buddhist towards the Sangha that every gift to the Sangha was made a highly finished object of art. So it may not be surprising that even the lavatory stones of the great monasteries of Anuradhapura were carved with the most exquisite designs.

The early Buddhist sculptor did not confine himself to decorative motifs. Two pieces of sculpture depicting the dream of Maya and the

miracle of Savatthi, besides the figures of Bodhisattvas, indicate that an attempt was made to illustrate incidents from the Buddha's life and Buddhist themes for the benefit of the devotees. At no stage did the Buddhist artist forget that his efforts in the creation of his products was for the purpose of educating the masses rather than satisfying his own artistic urge.

The Buddhist sculptor in Ceylon excelled in the art of statuary. Working on a somewhat rare variety of crystalline lime-stone, he carved not only figures of gods, goddesses and his royal patrons but also the image of the Buddha which was introduced into Ceylon at an early age both as an object of veneration and a symbol of meditation as a result of Mahayanist influences. The statue of the Buddha, which, as Count Harmann Keyserling says, was always to be "the absolutely perfect embodiment of spirituality in the visible domain" gave the sculptor the urge to project his keenest aesthetic sense to his work. With meticulous care, the sculptor sought to create in the image of the Buddha the vividest manifestation of that all-embracing loving-kindness for which the great teacher stood. From Kandarodai in the Jaffna Peninsula to Tissamaharama in the South these statues stand as a living memorial to the religious fervour and the artistic skill of their creators. The most famous among these are the Buddha statue on the Outer Circular Road in Anuradhapura and the Toluwila Buddha. The former is recognised by a consensus of critical opinion to be one of the most serene representations of the Buddha. Equally well known is the gigantic Buddha statue at Aukana. Hewn out of the living rock and measuring 42 feet, this standing figure of the Buddha with His hand raised in blessing looks upon the life-giving water of Kalawewa and the smiling paddy fields below. It has impressed both the layman and the critic not only by its artistic excellence but also by its cultural significance as a symbolic representation of the pattern of Sinhalese culture; the Buddha watches and blesses the peasant who works for his livelihood in his fields. By far the most remarkable work of the Sinhalese sculptor was the stone gallery at Galvihare in Polonnaruwa. The last scene in the life of the Buddha, with its heartrending atmosphere, is captured and depicted with masterly skill; the Buddha lies majestically on his death-bed while his trusted attendant, Ananda, weeps in sorrow. There are numerous statues of the Buddha—most of them buried deep in the woods—which speak of a highly developed art. Not far away from Maligawela in the Uva Province are the fragments

of a Buddha Statue which, measuring over 10 feet across the chest, would have been one of the largest Buddha statues in the world. To the Sinhalese sculptor the creation of a Buddha statue has been the fulfilment of his artistic ambitions. He represented the Buddha in various mudras: as a preacher, as a friend of the world offering safety to humanity, as the most compassionate of all beings, as a guide through the miseries of life and above all as a serene religious personality to meditate on whose countenance was in itself bliss. The art of statuary had survived to this day. The Sinhalese sculptor even today devotes his energy and his time to the perfection of the Buddha statues which are a *sine qua non* in a Buddhist shrine.

In addition to the statues carved out of rock and moulded with clay there were from about the 5th Century Buddhist statues in bronze and other metals. The finest bronze statue to be cast in Ceylon is the life-size figure of Tara which is now in the British Museum. Besides proving the existence of the ancient tradition of metal casting in Ceylon, this statue shows the development of the art of metal statuary, the early stages of which are represented by the bronze Buddha figures unearthed at Badulla and Toluwila.

It was in the realm of painting that the influence of Buddhism was more strongly felt. Used as a medium of instructing the adherent, the best works of painting in Ceylon, with the sole exception of Sigiriya frescoes, are religious in content and narrative in purpose. The paintings in the relic chambers of the Kanakaka Dagaba at Mihintale and the Mahiyangane Chaitya, besides the accounts of the paintings in the relic chamber of Ruwanweli Seva found in the Mahavamsa and Thupavamsa, give a very clear idea of the use to which painting has been put by the Buddhists of Ceylon. In the 5th Century Fa Hian who visited Ceylon was impressed by the paintings representing the 550 Jatakas which were seen on both sides of the road through which the royal procession taking the Tooth Relic to the Abhayagiriya passed. The Buddhist shrines have had their walls painted with scenes from Buddha's life and Jataka tales. Some of the most beautiful specimens of such mural paintings are yet to be found in varying degrees of preservation at Situlpahuwa, Tiwanka Pilimage and Yapahuwa and at the rock temples of Dimbulagala, Danibulla and Degaldoruwa. Right through the centuries the development of this art into what is today called "Sittara Art" is traceable.

Varying in finesse and artistic value according to the competence of the artist, these paintings are executed in a technique entirely indigenous and superbly suited for the purpose for which they are used. This form of art has found expression everywhere in the Island, and even today no temple is complete unless its walls are painted with stories from the Jatakas or the Buddha's life. An artist with a reputation is generally employed to execute this work. Artists enjoying international recognition such as George Keyt and Nandalal Bose besides clever "Sittaras" like Hugh Mendis and Sarlis have been commissioned to paint the walls of some of our modern shrines.

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William Blake

1757-1827

R. L. Megroz brings out in an article in *The Aryan Path* the "rare magic" which William Blake, poet, creative visionary, artist and craftsman, had at his command:

Even in a whole book one would probably fail to include just and adequate criticism of the meanings and the influence today (which is the sum of the meanings we can find) of William Blake. In a brief article here, it is perhaps most useful to note what appear to be the essential truths about the great creative craftsman, visionary artist, poet and revolutionary critic of society during the Industrial Revolution.

He was born in London and died in London. He lived and worked in London nearly all his life, and never left his country, even to visit Rome, as many of his artistic contemporaries and friends did. Some of these were loyal and helpful friends, but his most devoted friend was his wife, whom he married in 1782; an uneducated girl, Catherine Boucher, whom he taught much, even to paint like himself on occasion, and to help in preparing his copper-plates and coloured illustrations. They lived in hard-working poverty, but in spite of a critical awareness of what was going on in the world and not infrequent indignation and anger, Blake's imagination was concentrated on another world that fused a conscious judgment of day-to-day appearances with the dramatic imagery of dream: in effect he created a visionary reality that offered a contrast to the false values of contemporary society.

Admired by a few, Blake was not successful in the worldly sense; nevertheless those who wherein contact with him as friends admired not only his astonishing achievements but the radiance of the man whose happiness was not destroyed by adversity.

Nowadays a good library will offer you a bewildering number and variety of books on Blake, but for steering a way through a great diversity of opinions—sometimes perhaps too adulatory, and often inconsistent with others—there remains the still indispensable first biography, published in 1863, the "Life" by Alexander Gilchrist and Gilchrist's widow, with contributions by D. G. Rossetti and William Rossetti. In the 1906 and subsequent editions annotated by W. Graham Robertson, this editor sums up the best opinions of half a century ago in an admirable Introduction, and refers to a reading of the biography thus:

"For us, who look down the years and see the Poet-Painter a dim and giant figure, clothed with the mantle of dreams and moving in Vision 'above the light of the Morning Star,' it is good to learn from one in touch with those who had seen him and spoken with him as he lived his beautiful, happy life, a man amongst men."

Robertson anticipated some of the wisest of later comments, and though the terminology to express our thought may have become less simple, Robertson's statement reminds us of many keys to Blake.

Since Blake's career began as a practical engraver (in the academic sense he was "uneducated") "his life amongst men" comes before the more tremendous aspect of this visionary genius. Moreover, when he was troubled as to how he could publish his wonderfully illustrated *Songs of Innocence* and *Songs of Experience*, lacking the money to have them printed, he actually invented a method by which he could write the text by hand and paint the decorations and engrave both together on plates. He printed from these plates himself in various colours—a laborious process which resulted in the loveliest combination of text and illumination by the same author ever made. The *Songs* were to prove the chief and earliest vehicle of his poetic fame, though the number of copies was so small that they were almost not published at all, and were rescued later, as were many Blake paintings, by the luckiest of circumstances for posterity.

According to Blake, the invention of his original method of printing text and pictures together was seen in a vision during sleep, when the figure of his dead brother Robert came to him and solved his problem. As opposed to the loose rhythmic prose and frequent incoherence of the Prophetic Books, in which usually only his decorative illustrations had a recognizable form, there are wonderful lyrics of a technical perfection as well as an imaginative power seldom equalled in poetry. It is a rare magic that can give you both a song and a profound metaphysical kind of poem in the same few verses, as we have in the famous "Tiger, tiger, burning bright, in the forests of the night." Yet it is essential Blake, the creation of a man that stupid or wicked fools denounced as a madman. Blake's wonderful craftsmanship at its best required severe intellectual control, though it is true that some of his drawing and much of the text of the Prophetic Books, as well as his miscellaneous jottings, are either like careless

notes or incoherent with urgently crowding ideas. The fact that much critical study in this century has made the obscure Prophetic Books comprehensible, mainly by tracing the meanings Blake attached to various names and other symbols, indicates that there was a logical meaning for each vision, and also that the fundamental ideas all belong to the grand visionary whole of Blake's thought. His incoherence was a fault none the less, though due to passionate feeling and haste—a failure of the artist unable to control powerful inspiration.

Contradicting a common on the "fancy" in his pictures as being "in the other world, or the World of Spirit," Blake wrote to a friend that this was not his intention, for "Whilst living in This World [I] wish to follow the Nature of it." Besides Michelangelo's power, his naturalism also appealed to Blake, on whose drawings of ancient themes, such as the Creation, the influence of the great Italian painter is frankly revealed. But what astonishes, even today, is Blake's frequent transmutation of a characteristic theme of Michelangelo, such as the image of the Deity stretching down to touch Adam into life, which in Blake became the Biblical Elohim's creation of an Adam whose human body is being evolved out of the serpent form coiled around it above chaos, and under the Deity's hand. But it is less the hand than the face of the Deity, and also that of emerging Man, which express Blake's intuition. There is radiant anguish and foreknowledge in the Creator's, and the fear and nobility of dawning consciousness in the human creature, whose mien seems to reflect something of the Creator's grandeur. In many pictures for universal themes, as in the illustrations to the Book of Job, Blake unites what we may conveniently term spiritual knowledge with natural forms that belong to the familiar world of appearances. Instead of trying to escape this world he penetrated like a seer to realities which most religions, especially in the East, have taught are veiled by the world of phenomena.

Such reflections bring us to the verge of subjects requiring far too much space. Besides, Blake maintains a duality of vision throughout. He hated physical science and materialistic philosophy, but lovingly sought truth in natural forms, and most pungently condemned society,

not so much for greed as for blindness to the remediable evils of degrading want and the brutal enslavement of children. As for religion, Blake's was a combination of elements from the Orient and the Western world, most remarkable in a self-taught artist-craftsman and poet who lived from 1757 to 1827 when the Industrial Revolution first developed to change a world which, if any better now, owes the fact largely to practical, creative visionaries like Blake—and how few there are!

A book could be compiled of Blake's proverbs and many other aphoristic statements, which are so endlessly diverse that it is difficult to choose a concluding quotation that is as characteristic of Blake as any other could be. I find the following among many in *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* where he describes a vision of Isaiah and Ezekiel:

"If the doors of perception were cleansed, everything would appear to man as it is, infinite."

"For man has closed himself up, till he sees all things thro' narrow chinks of his cavern."

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Albert Camus

Albert Camus, the noted French writer to whom the Nobel Prize for literature has just been awarded, is one of the youngest authors to receive this prize, being only forty-four. But he has been famous already for something like twenty years. He sprung to fame as far back as 1937 with a volume of incisive essays called *Noëes*. This collection was first published in Algeria, and two years later in Metropolitan France by the well-known publishing house of Gallimard, one of whose directors he now is.

He has written essays, novels, plays, and short stories, the most notable of which are the following: Essays—*Noëes* (1939); *Le Mythe de Sisyphe* (1942); *Lettres à un Ami Alsacien* (1945); *L'Homme Revolte* (1952); Novels—*L'Etranger* (1942), *La Peste* (1947); Theatre—*Le Malentendu* 1944; *Caligula* (1944); *L'Etat de Siege* (1948); *Les Justes* (1949); Short stories—*L'Exil et le Royaume* (1957).

Born in Algeria into a very modest working class family, his childhood was spent in one of the poor quarters of Algiers. In his early youth he was a member of the communist party but his sense of revolt was quickly aroused and his adhesion was short-lived. He entered the political arena through journalism, first in Algeria and later in Paris. In 1937 he fiercely championed the cause of Republican Spain and this was the first of the many stands he was to take in favour of liberty and justice in the name of human dignity, which roused him later against the Hitlerian regime and against Stalinism.

During the war despite very fragile health, he was a militant in the Resistance movement and was one of the founders and for some years the leading contributor to the newspaper *Combat*. His voice was raised in the great political debates which divided conscience both during and after the war. Not that he believes that a writer should always be intervening in contemporary politics. He has said that such a course will wear him out and prevent him from thinking. The writer, he declares, "should create if he can, and that first of all, especially if what he creates does not recoil before the problems of his own times"; but "in exceptional

circumstances" he should "permit no ambiguity about which side he has chosen." He should refuse, above all, to "dilute the effectiveness of his choice by shrewd hair-splitting or prudent reservation, and should leave no doubt as to his personal intention to defend freedom." It is in this uncompromising spirit that he took the side of the insurgents in the Hungarian revolt.

This rigour, he thinks, should apply even more forcibly to Leftist intellectuals, among whom he reckons himself. In the contemporary world, as he puts it, conformism has fastened on the Left; "It is true that the Right is not brilliant," he said in a recent interview, "but the Left is in full decadence, a prisoner of words, bogged down in its vocabulary, capable of no other than stereotyped answers, failing consistently to measure up to the reality from which it asserts nevertheless that it derives its laws." "The role of the intellectual," he adds, "lies in pointing out that the king is naked when he is naked, and not in describing ecstatically his imaginary robes."

He follows his own dictum in prescribing a solution to the Algerian problem. He regards himself as an Algerian Frenchman and he does not approve the terrorism of the Algerian guerillas. Since his early beginnings as a journalist in Algeria, he has always taken a liberal stand. In a series of articles published last year in *L'Express*, and also more recently, he defined his position. He advocated the end of the status then in force in Algeria, a Round Table conference that would include all the representatives of Algerian parties and groups, and the discussion of the possibility of an autonomous, federated Algeria, which would preserve the liberties of the two peoples who inhabit the country.

Although already an established writer and one of the foremost among his contemporaries, and recognized as one of the greatest artist-moralists of our times, Camus is still developing. With regard to him there is still in the public mind an expectancy, the wish that he should still add to the artistic brilliance he has shown and the power of his thought and produce in the future works which will be fully equal to his most outstanding successes. And the collection

of short stories published this year does not indicate any falling off.

He has always been evolving. For the first five years or so of his literary career Camus showed himself as a pronounced pessimist, almost a nihilist, oppressed with a sense of the unending conflict of man with reason and ultimately with the moral order. In *Noëes* he wrote, "A stone warmed up by the sun or a cypress which the sky lays bare in its full growth, furnishes the limits of the only world in which reason possesses any sense—Nature without man." This phase continues in *Caligula*, *Le Malentendu* and *L'Etranger*. In all of them man is shown convinced of the absurdity of the world. In *L'Etranger*, however, a new vein revealed itself, a streak of Voltairean irony infused with pathos.

In this phase Camus found the mainstay of his lyricism in his praise of the life of the senses, but, however preoccupied he might be with the absurdity of the world, neither in his exposition nor in his style did he ever show himself as anything but a believer in order and clarity, and he gave a rational form to a

philosophy which was obsessed with the incoherent and the irrational. He found in his classical style an antidote to the "disgust for life," and saw in art a counter-destiny for man.

But from 1942 onwards Camus began to move towards a humanistic position. Participation in the Resistance was for him an influence towards this end. By taking risks for a cause, Camus evolved towards a philosophy which recognized the eternal values of the conscience above the contingencies of history. In his *Lettres à un Ami Allemand* he stated that man ought to set himself against moral nihilism and take the part of justice even against the gods. In *La Peste* this tendency reached its culmination. *L'Homme révolté* shows Camus as the champion of what might be called secular humanism, which rejects any form of violence on man. He thus becomes an advocate of reforms rather than of revolutions, and he shows himself disinclined to sacrifice any part of the liberty and happiness which man enjoys today in the expectation of an ideal future.—*News from France*, October 1957.

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Unforgettable India

EXCERPTS OF AN ARTICLE WRITTEN BY
CHINESE PLAYWRIGHT TSAO YU

The famous Chinese playwright Tsao Yu, who visited India in 1956, has written an article in the *Pekin People's Daily* entitled "Unforgettable India." Excerpts from the article read:

In the two thousand years of contact between China and India, we have not heard a single battle cry. Envoys of peace visited each other's country continuously in search of knowledge, culture and a prosperous life. History never recorded two more amicable and harmonious neighbours.

It is impossible for any of us who has visited India to forget the Indian people's affection towards us. In every Indian city we visited, many Indian friends invited us to stay with them and to talk with their wives and children. At many evening parties, poets recited to us poems they had written in praise of our friendship. And how fascinating were the Indian music and dance! In big cities and little towns, musicians and dances would invariably carry us into a fairyland of happiness.

In Hindi, the words "sugar" and "China" are very close in pronunciation. Our Indian friends laughingly told us that to them the thought of Chinese was always accompanied by a feeling of sweetness. It is the same with us Chinese. When we think of our Indian friends, we experience a feeling of placidity and cordiality.

In villages and small towns we could feel all the more the ocean-deep affection of the Indian people towards the Chinese people. On our tour of various Indian cities by train, we were greeted at every start by crowds of people, men and women, young and old with garlands of flowers, with fragrant scents and enchanting songs. One early morning, we were not yet quite awaked when our train pulled into a station. We heard the knocking of many gentle hands on the compartment door. As we got off the train, we were faced with a large crowd of people, with shining eyes, smiling at us in the half-light of dawn. The welcomers presented gifts to us and anointed us with perfumed ointment. Each of us was offered a cup of hot coffee. Singing, laughing and chatting, there were a boundless feeling of happiness and cordial friendship. The whistle sounded. And we suddenly realised that the five minutes' stop had passed in the twinkling of an eye. We bade good-bye to the crowd, among whom friendship sparkled like a flame. But in our excitement we forgot to ask the name of the town. As the

train pulled further away, our eyes were full of tears. We had left our heart with the town. Though we did not know its name, we knew it was India. It was the affection that millions of Indians cherished for visitors from New China.

Every minute of our stay in India was so precious that we wished we could bring back all the knowledge and wisdom of India to share with our kinsfolk and friends. Every place in India is so beautiful, every place is like a dreamland.

The construction carried out by the Indian people made us proud for India. The peace-loving and musical Indian people are making gigantic strides forward on the road to industrialization. Many fine poems, articles and newsletters had been written by Chinese writers and poets on their unforgettable impression of India after they visited that country. The writer, Yen Wen-chin, has recently finished his work for Chinese children entitled *India, We Shall Never Forget You!*

How happy we are that we have by our side such a great neighbour, India, who has stood up and has boundless faith in the cause of peace. When I think of our friendship, I think to hear the singing of a sea of people. The singing, full of confidence and joy, comes over the Himalayas to mingle in a great chorus "Hindi Chini bhai bhai."—*China Today*, October 15, 1957.

Boom on the Book Market THE WEST GERMAN BOOK PRODUCTION OF 1956

Dk Frankfurt: As it is the case with almost all branches of industry in West Germany, thus the publishing houses could also register a noticeable increase in their production again during the last year. Regarding the number of the titles of the books thrown on the market in 1956, there is no doubt that there is a boom in literature. The Exchange Association of the (West) German bookselling trade has together with the great Frankfurt Book Fair again submitted its annual review *Books and Bookselling Trade in Statistical Figures* which allows the supposition that the slogan "he who brings much, brings something to everyone" can also be applied to the book-industry. That this method is not completely without effect was after all proved by the great numbers of visitors crowding the Frankfurt exhibition halls of the Book Fair although it was not possible to buy

books there. After all, the demand cannot easily be met with in this cultural field. One can also read in the review of the Exchange Association—as two institutions investigating into public opinion have found out—that between 35 and 47 percent of the people who have been interrogated do not own a single book. In many cases this is due to their incomes, and it can be gathered from a survey that the average published price per book has risen from 6.84 marks in 1951 to 9.18 marks in 1956. But on the other hand, some larger publishing houses have extended the production of cheap

pocket-books in such a way that it is now possible to get the *Odyssey* or the *Divine Comedy* for the price of three packets of cigarettes.

GERMANY AT THE FOURTH PLACE AS CONCERNS FIGURES

In 1956, the publishing houses of the German Federal Republic and West Berlin have brought 17,215 different titles on the market, among which there were after all 13,307 books having been published for the first time. This concerns as well books as booklets and pamph-



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lets which have been edited in a greater or smaller number of copies. By that they have not only surpassed their post-war record of 1955—then it was possible to count 16,660 titles—but at the same time they have also kept their place on the international ranking-list where the Federal Republic is fourth. Thus they reached a little more than half the amount of the titles which were edited by the publishing houses of the Soviet Union in 1955 and probably reached again in 1956. Japan and Great Britain have produced more publications still than West Germany. The Exchange Association has in this connection ascertained how the titles of the books compare to the number of the inhabitants, and here the Federal Republic is at the thirteenth place as she had 33 book titles to 100,000 inhabitants, whereas there were more in smaller countries, 69 in Denmark, 53 in Austria. The United States of America with its great amount of inhabitants is with 8 per 100,000 at the last place but one among the countries selected.

The participation of the various publishing houses in the book production of 1956 has not been ascertained yet, but as compared to 1955 there should not be very remarkable changes, and the picture at that time was that out of 1,935 publishing houses a third edited a single book in the course of one year. Only 20 (1.1 per cent) proved—according to the amount of publications—the great publishing houses as they sold 100 to 400 titles during that one year. Consequently the turnover of these publishing houses showed figures of seven digits. Well, to what kind of books did the German publishers pay their special attention in 1956? To polite literature, politics, science? Certain changes can be noticed when comprising the figures of 1955. The increase of publications in the field of religion and theology is most obvious. In 1956, with 1,246 titles there were 230 more than in 1955. There is also a rise in the number of titles in the field of technique, industry and trade, and natural science, if, however, not so marked. On the other hand there was a decrease to be noticed in polite literature (1956: 2,689 titles), school-books (1956: 1,999 titles), and youth periodicals (1956: 1,336 titles). There were also less books published about formative art and handicraft in 1956 than in the previous year; however, it can be assumed that the publishers will draw their

conclusions for the next years at the latest from the markedly strong rush especially on these publications and on the picture prints as well at the Frankfurt Book Fair of his year. Details about the share of the scientific descriptions for the general public such as *Gods, Graves, and Scientists* (Götter, Gräber und Gelehrte) or *The Bible as History* (Und die Bibel hat doch recht) in the book production of 1956 cannot be gathered from the survey of the Exchange Association; judging, however, by the exhibitions in the shop-windows of the booksellers and the books exhibited at the Fair, they must still be of great interest for the publishers and probably for the buyers, too.

MORE TRANSLATIONS THAN IN 1955

There were 1,543 translations into German among the 17,215 titles having been published in 1956, that is 42 more than in 1955. Most of the translations were in the field of polite literature (668), youth periodicals (217), and religion and theology (169). Most of the translations (403) were from English, 356 originated in America, 317 were books of French authors, 47 books (3.1 per cent) were translated from Russians. But polite literature having been specially examined showed a decrease of translations from the American and English as compared to 1955, whereas it was almost static with the French. Opposed to this the books of Russian and Spanish origin showed an increase.

Together with the number of the books having been published in Federal Republic in 1956, foreign trade in the book-market has also increased. As compared to 1955, the export of books of the Federal Republic rose by 16.2 per cent in 1956. The total amount of the books exported was 51.921 million marks. The main buyers were Switzerland, Austria, the Saar district that was no part of Germany at that time, and the U.S.A. Book imports on the other hand did not rise quite so much. As compared to 1955, imports rose by 2.6 per cent and brought books worth 32.895 million marks into the Federal Republic. Here the main suppliers were Switzerland, Austria, Great Britain, and the western neighbours of the Federal Republic. —*Deutsche Korrespondents*, October 22, 1957.

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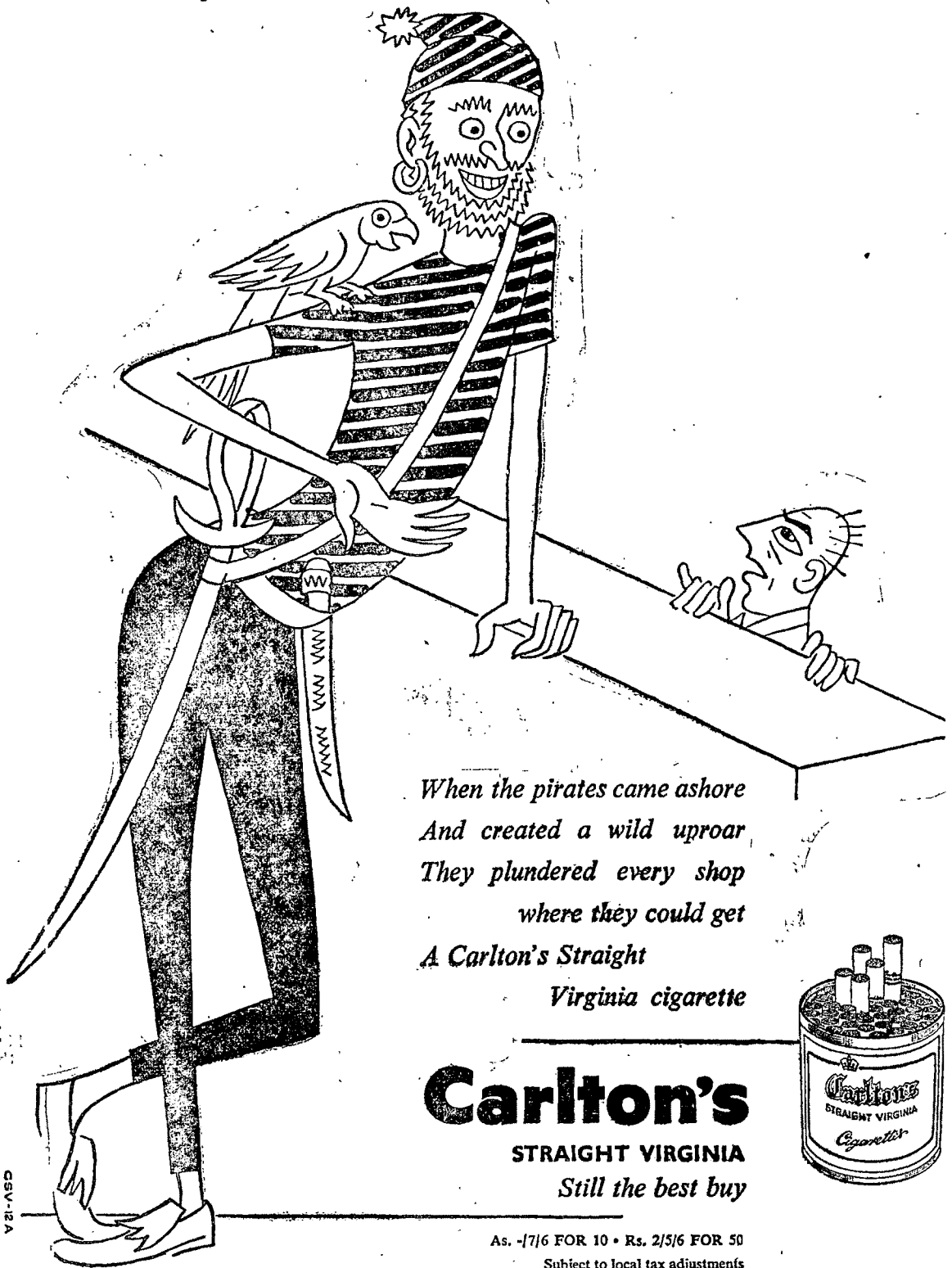
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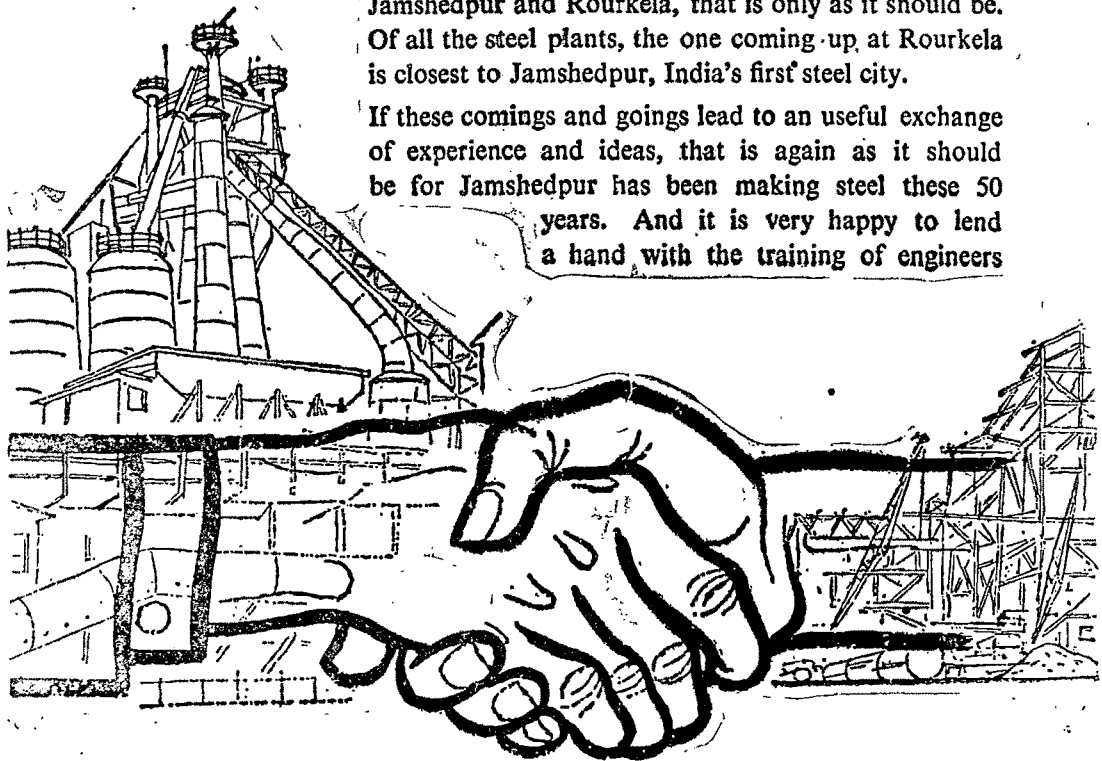
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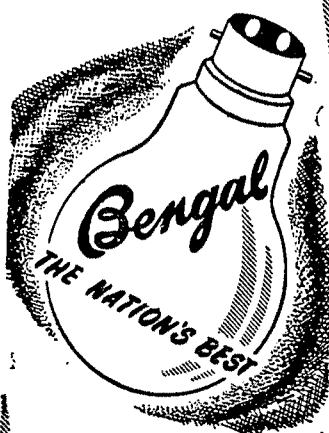
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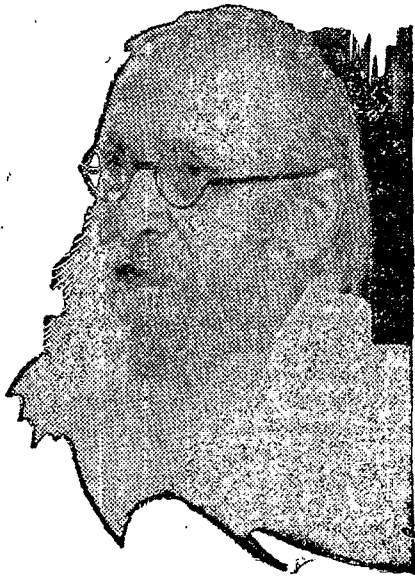
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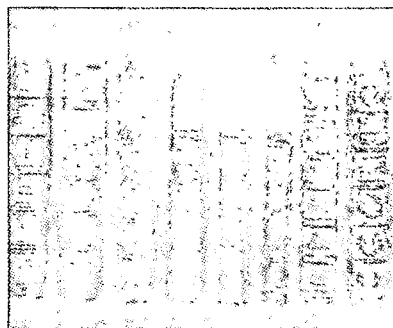
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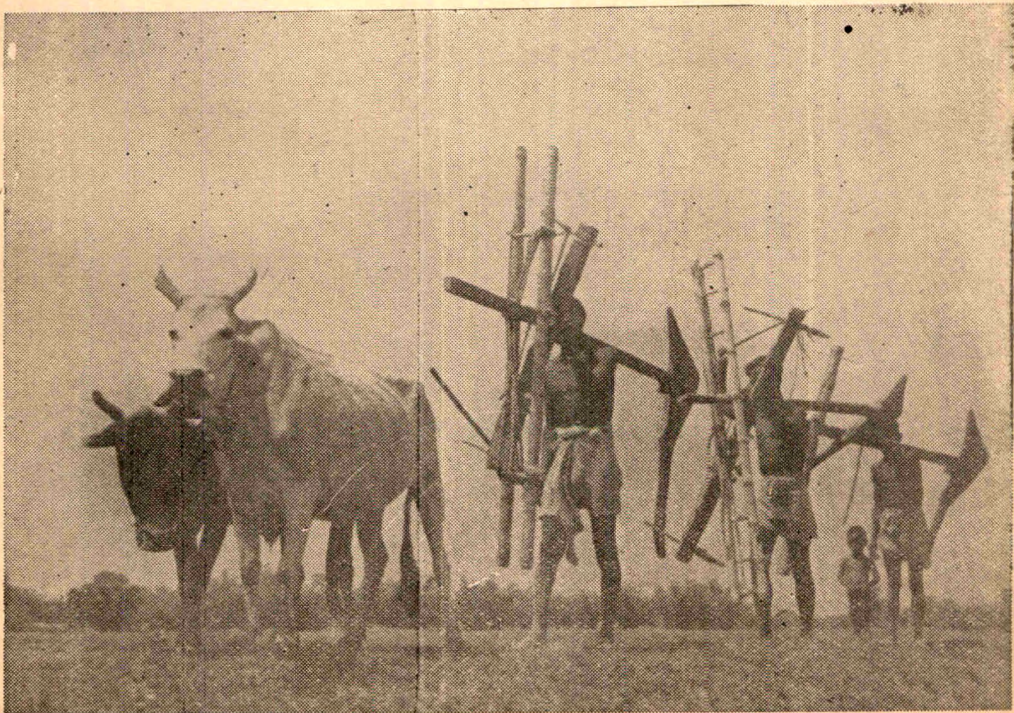
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THE MODERN REVIEW

FEBRUARY



1958

VOL. CIII, No. 2

WHOLE No. 614

NOTES

The 63rd Congress Session

The sixty-third session of the Indian National Congress at Pragjyotishpur was remarkable for two events only. First was the Presidential procession headed by sixty-three elephants on January 14 and the second was the intervention of Pandit Nehru in the debate on the language resolution draft before the Subject Committee on January 16th. Beyond these we find little in the reports, that have been splashed on the pages of the daily press, that may be termed either inspiring or even thought-provoking.

A cynic remarked that the elephant procession was meant to bring home to the Indian people the truth of the old Hindustani proverb about the likeness of the elephant's teeth to the statements of the great, "one set for use, another for show."

We confess that this year's Presidential address seems to be even more unrealistic than last year's. The *Statesman's* special correspondent summarises the highlights of the speech in the following terms:

"Pragjyotishpur, Jan. 18.— Mr. Dhebar, presiding over the annual session of the Indian National Congress here today, for the fourth consecutive year, said that the last General Election results showed that the country wanted the Congress to go ahead with its programme of socio-economic reconstruction on the basis of the Second Five-Year Plan.

"If there was general agreement between the Party and the people, the Congress President added, the people did not fail to ventilate their grievances against the Congress by voting against it in certain areas.

"The Party had to assimilate the election

lessons and strengthen itself where it had gone weak. Kerala was a big rent in its armour and it had to redeem its prestige and position there with the people.

"He referred to the Party's promises made in the last election manifesto and discussed what they could do, to accelerate their fulfilment. Congressmen had pledged themselves to the goal of a democratic Socialist co-operative commonwealth. There was no room for gradations in social status in democracy. Casteism, communalism, provincialism and all similar sect-ridden influences had got to be rooted out if the plant of Indian democracy was to flourish."

In detail, we find he has dealt with the Assam movement for an oil-refinery in that State, the Naga problem, the Save Hindi agitation, the D.M.K. riots in the South, World Peace problems, the Kashmir problem, Goa, the Language problem, and so on and so forth. But there does not seem to be any emphasis on the most vital problems, that of corruption in high places, the lowering of moral values all over the country, and the consequent hopeless downward march of the nation as a whole and the Congress in particular.

We had great hopes of the President. He is an ardent disciple of Gandhiji and a worker. We thought that he would trim the lamp that Gandhiji had lit, so that the light of Truth would dispel the forces of Darkness that are overwhelming the Congress of today.

Has he forgotten that his preceptor was an All-India man in the truest sense of the word? Otherwise why is he so averse to the opinions of those whose voices are not in accord with that of the flatterers of Nehru and his satellites? Does he realize that the Indian National Congress is now like the "Holy Roman Empire"?

Foreign Investments in India

Answering a question as to the total amount of private foreign investment in India, the Union Finance Minister stated in the Lok Sabha (in its winter session) that the total foreign business investments as at the end of June 1948 were Rs. 287.57 crores, as on 31st December 1953 were Rs. 415.73 crores and on 31st December, 1955, they stood at Rs. 477.97 crores. The recent survey published by the Reserve Bank indicates that India's total liabilities and assets at the end of 1955 amounted to Rs. 766.3 crores and Rs. 1251.8 crores respectively, indicating a net creditor position of Rs. 485.5 crores. This net creditor position was wholly due to the official sector, which had a net creditor position of Rs. 960.8 crores, the non-official sector showing a net debtor position to the extent of Rs. 475.3 crores.

The country-wise details show that India was a net creditor with respect to both the United Kingdom and Pakistan to the extent of Rs. 408.5 crores and Rs. 269.5 crores respectively. India is a net debtor to the USA for Rs. 104.7 crores and also to many other countries. Foreign investments in India have been classified as direct investments, portfolio investments and miscellaneous obligations. Where foreign investments are accompanied by control and direction of the enterprises by foreign investors, such investments are regarded as direct investments. The branches of foreign companies, the ownership and direction of which are wholly in the hands of foreign owners are examples of direct investments.

According to the classification made by the Reserve Bank in this connection, the portfolio investments comprise ordinary shares held by non-residents as well as preference shares and debentures held by all non-residents. Miscellaneous obligations represent loans and advances, including inter-company or inter-branch balances, and liabilities to non-residents in respect of life and non-life policies. The combined total of direct and portfolio investments is regarded as business investments.

The total liabilities, according to the survey made by the Reserve Bank, of business enterprises as at the end of 1955 aggregated Rs. 522 crores of which business investments

amounted to Rs. 481 crores. The latter was predominantly in the form of branch investments and equity holdings while creditor capital amounted to only about 3 per cent of the total. The bulk of the investments was of the direct category, portfolio obligations being less than 15 per cent of the total. The foreign branches have largely invested their capital in trading, utilities, transport and plantations. The direct-controlled joint-stock companies and their subsidiaries have concentrated their investments mainly in the manufacturing concerns.

In comparison with the survey made in 1953, the foreign-held business investments in India showed an increase of Rs. 61 crores during the two years and stood at Rs. 481 crores on 31st December 1955. The most disquieting feature is that during 1954-55, the tea companies resorted to revaluation of their fixed assets to an unusual extent and as a result, the foreign investments in this sector were written up by as much as Rs. 20 crores. The revaluation of the fixed assets in the other industries, however, appears to be of a small order to the extent of not more than Rs. 2 crores at the most. In recent years there has been a large-scale flight of capital out of the country from tea estate investments. Most of the gardens are now superannuated and exhausted, the tea bushes having outlived the normal span of existence. But these gardens have now been revalued or strictly speaking over-valued by revaluation by the foreign-owned concerns and these superannuated gardens are now being sold to Indian owners at much exorbitant prices. The result is that these gardens have become uneconomic and unproductive. The authorities in this country should take proper steps to stop such flight of capital. The capital from tea estates is being diverted to the tea estates in East Africa which in recent years has become a formidable rival to the Indian tea.

The amounts of foreign investments in different industries in India are as follows: Manufacturing Rs. 163.3 crores; Trading Rs. 102.3 crores; Utilities and Transport Rs. 53.1 crores; Mining Rs. 9.6 crores; Banking Rs. 20.2 crores; Other financial institutions Rs. 19.1 crores; Plantation Rs. 81.2 crores and Miscellaneous Rs. 25 crores.

Adjusting for valuation changes which have been made during the last two years, the net change in the foreign business investment would be of the order of Rs. 39 crores as against the unadjusted figure of Rs. 61 crores. In petroleum trading industry there has been a net capital inflow for 54.2 crores during the period 1948 to 1955. During this period, the net capital inflow in the petroleum manufacturing industry has been to the extent of Rs. 27.4 crores. In manufacturing industries, the inflow of foreign capital amounted to Rs. 64 crores; in utilities and transport Rs. 21.8 crores; in plantations Rs. 35 crores; in financial institutions Rs. 12.2 crores. In mining industry there has been a net capital inflow between 1948 and 1955 to the extent of Rs. 1.2 crores against an outflow of capital for Rs. 3.1 crores. In trading concerns, Rs. 16.3 crores have been repatriated out of the country.

A country-wise breakdown of the change in business investments during the years 1948 to 1955 reveals that the industrially advanced countries have added substantially to their Indian investments. Four industrial countries, namely, the United Kingdom, the USA, Western Germany and Switzerland increased their investments by nearly Rs. 175 crores. In addition, resources provided by the IBRD to private companies amounted to about Rs. 3 crores. The other countries have reduced their investments by Rs. 7 crores. Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma are among the countries which have reduced their investments during the period. The United Kingdom maintained its position as the leading investor of capital during 1954-55. Its capital investment between 1954 to 1955 was of the order of Rs. 45 crores. Adjusting for the revaluation of assets, the increase in the U.K. investments during 1954-55 was around Rs. 23/24 crores. There was a considerable stepping up of the rate of investment from the USA from the average of Rs. 3.4 crores between 1948 to 1953 to Rs. 4.9 crores between 1954-55. The U.S. investment during 1954-55 was mainly in petroleum industries. The investments of West Germany have also showed a marked increase, although her investments still now are not very significant.

A considerable part of the investments in the old companies was concentrated in the petroleum trading companies. The manufactur-

ing investments (other than petroleum) in the old companies at Rs. 5.5 crores were also somewhat larger than in new companies. The average annual rate of capital inflow would be of Rs. 20 crores during 1954-55, as against Rs. 25 crores during the period between 1948 to 1953. Taking into account the loans and advances obtained by the companies, the foreign investments in the non-banking business enterprises in India during 1954-55 would be of the order of Rs. 40 crores. Britain continues to occupy the predominant position amongst the creditor countries of India. Liabilities to the United Kingdom at the end of 1955 exceeded Rs. 400 crores or 77 per cent of the total foreign business liabilities of India. The USA accounted for some Rs. 45 crores of capital a large part of which was invested in petroleum activities. The remaining countries taken as a whole provided Rs. 74 crores of which nearly one-half represented financial liabilities. Though India emerged as a net creditor country at the end of 1955 it is very likely that by the end of 1957 it has already become a net debtor country on account of the large reduction in the country's sterling assets and substantial additions to its liabilities to the USA, the IMF and the IBRD. Switzerland has a net investment of business capital in India to the extent of Rs. 7.4 crores of which direct investments amount to Rs. 4.2 crores and the portfolio investments stand at Rs. 2.4 crores. The capital investment of West Germany in the business enterprises of India amount to Rs. 2.6 crores, of which the direct investments are only 60 lakhs and portfolio investments stand at Rs. 2 crores.

In 1956, Rs. 223.68 lakhs of foreign capital were invested in India. Of this amount, the capital from the United Kingdom was the largest being Rs. 1.34 crores. The USA invested Rs. 13.33 lakh, West Germany Rs. 14.67 lakh; Switzerland Rs. 9.27 lakh; Belgium Rs. 1.40 lakh; British East Africa Rs. 50.41 lakh and Others Rs. 44 thousand. The investment figure for the British East Africa is perhaps of a repatriation of Indian capital there rather than a foreign investment from that country. Industry-wise, the investment of foreign capital in 1956 was as follows: Iron and Steel products Rs. 53.78 lakh; Automobiles Rs. 44.63 lakh; Machinery and

machine tools Rs. 8.40 lakh; Building and building materials Rs. 4.74 lakh; Heavy chemicals Rs. 22.63 lakh; Cotton Rs. 49.45 lakh; Cotton goods Rs. 16.76 lakh; and Others Rs. 15.09 lakh. In the trading concerns of machinery and machine tools Rs. 5.84 lakh have been invested.

European Common Market

The European Common Market which came into being on January 1, 1958, had been the subject of study by G.A.T.T. about its impact on world trade. The European Economic Community, commonly known as the Common Market, consists of six countries of Western Europe—France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxemburg and the Netherlands. The Community aims to bring about, by means of the establishment of a common market and the progressive harmonizing of the economic policies of the member States, the all-round development of economic activity throughout the Community, constant and balanced development, growing stability, the most rapid improvement of living standards, and closer ties among the countries which it unites. The Treaty provides for: (a) the abolition by member States of quota and tariff restrictions on imports and exports, and also of all other measures having a similar effect; (b) the adoption of a common customs tariff and trade policy towards third countries; (c) the elimination of all barriers to the free circulation of persons, services and capital among member States; (d) the adoption of a common policy in the domain of agriculture; (e) the adoption of a common policy in the domain of transport; (f) the establishment of a system ensuring fair competitive conditions in the common market; (g) the application of procedures making it possible to harmonize the economic policies of member States and eliminate discrepancies in payment balances; (h) the harmonizing of the national legislation of member States to the extent necessary for the operation of common market; (i) the establishment of a European Social Fund with the aim of improving employment possibilities for workers and contributing towards raising their living standards; (j) the creation of a European Investment Bank to facilitate the economic development of the Community through the creation of new resources; and (k) the association of

overseas countries and territories in order to increase exchange and joint efforts directed towards economic and social development.

The basis of the Community shall be a customs union covering all trade and providing for the abolition among member States of import and export tariffs and other imposts having a similar purpose, and also, the adoption of a common tariff toward third countries. In their relations with each other the member States shall refrain from the adoption of new import and export tariffs and similar imposts, nor shall they increase tariffs and imposts applied in their trading relations with each other. Import tariffs operating among member States shall be progressively abolished by them during the transitional period in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Treaty. The Treaty provides for the adoption of a common tariff on the basis of reciprocity and mutual advantage. The establishment of common tariffs will secure a reduction of tariffs below the limits of the general level fixed under the customs union agreement.

Quantitative restrictions on imports and also any measures having similar consequences are forbidden among member States. Member States shall refrain from adopting new quantitative restrictions or measures having an equivalent effect upon other member States. The member States shall progressively reconstruct national monopolies of a commercial character in such a way that by the expiry of the transitional period all discriminations between citizens of member States in regard to terms of sale and supply will have been eliminated.

There shall be established a European Investment Bank endowed with juridical character. The members of the European Investment Bank shall be the member States. The Bank shall facilitate, by furnishing loans and securities without a profit motive, to finance the following projects in all sectors of the economy: (a) projects envisaging improvement of under-developed areas; (b) projects aiming to modernize or convert enterprises or create new development resulting from the progressive establishment of the common market; and (c) projects of common interest for several member States which by virtue of their extent and nature cannot be entirely financed from the various financial resources of the individual member States.

The Assembly and the Council will be two most important institutions of the Community. The Assembly shall compose of representatives of the peoples of the States united within the Community. It shall exercise the powers of decision and supervision granted to it by the Treaty. The Assembly shall consist of delegates which the Parliaments are called upon to designate from their midst in accordance with procedures set forth by each member State. The number of these delegates is fixed as follows: Belgium—14, Germany—36, France—36, Italy—36, Luxembourg—6, and Netherlands—14. The Assembly shall work out plans with a view to enabling elections by direct, universal suffrage to take place in accordance with a uniform procedure in all the member States.

The Council shall guarantee co-ordination of the general economic policies of the member States and is invested with powers of decision. The Council shall be composed of representatives of the member States. Each Government shall delegate to it one of their members. The Presidency shall be exercised in rotation by each member of the Council for a six-month period and in alphabetic order of the member States. The Council shall meet when convoked by the President, upon the latter's initiative or of one of its members, or of the Commission. There shall be a Commission to ensure the functioning and development of the Common Market. The Commission shall supervise the application of the provisions of the present Treaty as well as the measures taken by the institutions under the Treaty. It is empowered to make its own determination and participate in forming decisions of the Council and of the Assembly in accordance with the conditions laid down in the present Treaty.

West Germany today has become an exporter of capital and its continued favourable balance of payments position has thrown the economy of the European Payments Union out of gear. The main point is that while West Germany has increased her exports several times in recent years, she has imposed strict control over her imports. The result is that she being the producer of capital goods vitally needed for the industrial development of most of the countries, her superiority as an exporter has been maintained. This point was raised at the last session of the General Agreement on

Tariff and Trade at the Geneva conference held in the last week of November 1957. At that conference of the GATT, a move backed by Britain and the United States to have West Germany remove certain import restrictions was narrowly defeated. Australia, Canada and other nations of the sterling and dollar areas joined Britain and the USA in recommending that West Germany reconsider her commercial policy with regard to quantitative restrictions enforced on about 36 per cent of German imports. The issue was raised when a majority of GATT's 37 members in a working party had declared that West Germany's continued import restrictions—originally imposed for balance of payments reasons—were unjustified and that plans for removing them did not go far enough.

India is much concerned over the formation of the European Common Market. In 1955 about 30 per cent of India's total trade deficits were with West Germany and in 1956, the trade deficits to that extent also persisted. On account of higher import of capital goods from West Germany, India is a debtor to that country and has been suffering from continued imbalance in trade. From India's point of view, the main achievement of the GATT conference has been that while avoiding any firm commitment on the validity of the projected Customs Union, it has secured reasonable assurances from the six contracting countries—France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg. These assurances are that whatever arrangements the six contracting countries will make under the Rome Treaty (to set up the European Common Market) will be in conformity with the general principles of and specific commitments under GATT. Thus, although the Rome Treaty has come into force with effect from 1st January of this year, all tariff arrangements made under it will be subject to scrutiny by the inter-session committee of GATT due to meet early in April.

The Geneva conference also decided to keep open the question of associating with the common market the African territories of the six contracting countries. In effect therefore the European Common Market scheme will extend to certain parts of Africa and that will lead to the exploitation of raw materials of these territories of Africa. This is of greater importance to India because the inhibiting impact of the

European Common Market on exports from countries like India will be magnified manifold, should the African territories on the six contracting parties be considered part of the Common Market. The inclusion of the African territories will provide a threat to the export of India's jute and textile goods.

Another decision taken by the GATT at Geneva is to appoint a commission of three of world's top economists to report on the causes and remedies of some recent trends in the world trade. This is of special interest to India and other Afro-Asian countries because recent studies by GATT show that while exports by highly industrialized countries of the West have increased rapidly, those from underdeveloped countries have not. Within the GATT there is controversy over the causes of this situation and its correctives. Hence the need is to secure an impartial verdict from economists of international repute. The GATT conference recognises that the establishment of the common market necessarily involves the granting of privileged treatment to some trading partners to the detriment of others. In this connection the events of recent years indicate that such arrangements do not necessarily result in serious diversion of trade. The diversionary effect of such arrangements upon the channels of trade is strongest during periods of declining activity or falling prices and values, but is smaller, even negligible, during periods of continued buoyancy in business conditions. It is however hoped that the adverse effects of inevitable discrimination during the transitional period would be kept to a minimum. The GATT expects that the common market scheme after the transitional period will positively contribute to maintain and even to accelerate an uninterrupted growth of production in the six countries as a whole.

A review of the trade position of the Common Market countries made by the GATT secretariat reveals that these six participating countries are predominantly exporters of manufactured goods, mainly to one another and the rest of West Europe and also to the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa. The sterling area countries including India are their best customers. But as regards their imports, the interesting feature is that about 75 per cent of their imports of primary products are con-

centrated within themselves. That is, for the requirements of their primary products they are not required to import to any considerable extent from outside the common market area.

The formation of the European Common Market is certainly against the basis of the Havana Trade Charter which aims at bringing about a condition of free and multilateral trade arrangement among the countries of the world. The common market scheme is a great retreat from that conception. It is the economic counterpart of the political alliance like NATO and SEATO. It is significant that all the members of the European Common Market are members of NATO. In practice therefore the activities of the six countries in their trade pattern will be dominated by the aggressive military policy of NATO. The NATO is an agency of political manoeuvre by the USA and in the ultimate analysis the common market scheme is the economic counterpart of that politically aggressive outlook. The common market scheme will push the two Europes further away and the hope of the future reunion of Germany is also put into jeopardy. West Germany is steadily being pulled into the vortex of power politics of the USA and Britain and it is more than certain that there has played the American initiative behind the formation of such an economic block of power politics. The monopolistic concerns of West Germany will no doubt benefit much from this common market scheme and they also exerted their influence in forming such an economic alliance.

West Germany today occupies a leading position among the trading nations of the world. Its volume of trade is now next only to that of the USA and the U.K. In 1956, the total imports of West Germany from the whole world amounted to DM 27,964 million. The imports from India was just 0.67 per cent of the total, that is, only of DM 189.2 million. India's adverse balance of trade with West Germany amounted to Rs. 75 crores during 1956-57. The adverse trade balance was of the order of Rs. 45.4 crores in 1955-56 and Rs. 25.5 crores in the year before that. In 1958-59, the adverse trade balance of India in her trade with West Germany is estimated to be much higher.

The Chairman of the GATT observes that the formation of the European Common Market

will begin a new period in the history of world trade. The general tendency towards the expansion of trade which has been a feature since the end of the war will get a set-back and the common market scheme will bring about a slowing down in the rate of expansion of world trade. One of the main causes of such slowing down is that the exports of non-industrialised countries as a whole have failed to keep up with the general rate of trade expansion. The trade between the industrial and non-industrial areas of the world is progressively declining and the formation of common market will further support this declining trend by building up customs barrier. The value of exports of non-industrialised countries to industrialised countries was 24 per cent of the total world trade in 1956 as against 28 per cent in 1950 and 30 per cent in 1937.

National Productivity Council

The Government of India announced on January 10 its decision to set up an autonomous National Productivity Council (NPC) for initiating a countrywide productivity drive for increasing the national wealth, per capita income and production per unit of capital invested. The Council, to consist of not more than sixty members, would have on it representatives of the national organisations and confederations of employer and labour, Government and other interests, such as consumers, technicians, consultants, small industries and scholars. Mr. Manubhai Shah, Union Minister for Industry, would be the President of the Council. Representation of Government, employers and labourers would be equal. The Governing Body of the Council, elected from amongst its members, would also have similar representation. The Council would launch the movement for the increase of productivity in all spheres of national production and would encourage the establishment of local, regional and industry-wise productivity councils through which productivity services would be made available.

The National Productivity Council would conduct its activities following the principles recommended by the Productivity Seminar held at New Delhi on November 1 and 2, 1957. These principles are: "For increasing the national

wealth and per capita income, and for improving the standard of living, people must first be made aware of the significance of higher productivity as the means of achieving these objectives. It is, therefore, necessary to create among labour, management and the general public attitudes receptive to the idea of productivity, thus ensuring a favourable climate of opinion, which would facilitate the introduction and application of modern techniques—social and technical—for increasing productivity. In a campaign for productivity full co-operation of the employers, labour, Government and all other interests is indispensable. For ensuring this co-operation, it is considered necessary to enunciate the following principles upon which the productivity campaign should be based.

"(i) In the productivity drive the objective should be to increase production and improve quality by improved techniques, which aim at efficient and proper utilisation of the available resources of men, machines, materials, power and capital, raise the standard of living of the people, and improve the working conditions and welfare of labour, taking into account the social implications of these changes. The movement does not seek the intensification of labour's burden through increasing work-loads and speed-up.

"(ii) Increased productivity in a growing economy will ultimately help in increasing employment by stimulating development of industry. The Government, employers and the labour should take specific measures to obviate the possibility of any unemployment.

"(iii) Benefits of productivity increase should be equitably distributed among capital, labour and consumers, and these should lead to the renewal and expansion of plant, machinery and equipment.

"(iv) Productivity drive may eventually be launched in all the spheres of nation's economy. It is of importance to achieve integrated improvement in productivity in all activities of the nation. In the field of industries it would cover the large-scale industries as well as the medium, small-scale and light industries in the public and the private sectors.

"(v) Increase of productivity cannot be achieved without the fullest co-operation between management and labour. In order to

carry through the productivity programme effectively it is necessary to create a climate for increased productivity through encouragement of joint consultations, participation of labour in management, and promotion of mutual understanding between management and labour, in each industry and in each individual enterprise."

Congress and the Language Issue

The Gauhati session of the Indian National Congress was dominated by the official language issue. After a prolonged debate the following resolution was passed:

"The Congress regrets that, following the publication of the report of the Official Language Commission, which is under the consideration of a committee appointed by Parliament, controversies have arisen and even the basis as laid down in the Constitution has sometimes been challenged. It is clear that in spite of these controversies, there is a very wide measure of general agreement which is sometimes forgotten in the heat of controversy. The Congress has every hope that the Parliamentary Committee will arrive at decisions which are generally and widely accepted.

"The general principles in regard to the use of languages have been laid down, not only in the Constitution, but in a number of resolutions passed by the Working Committee on May 17, 1953, and April 5, 1954, and in the A.-I.C.C. resolution of June 3, 1956. This Congress approves of and confirms these broad principles. The implementation of the Constitutional provisions should be governed by the principles contained in the Congress resolutions and the approach should be flexible and practical and made by general consensus of opinion. Provision may be made for the use of the English language after the fixed period (1965) in the manner provided in Article 343(3) of the Constitution.

"All the languages of India, as mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, are national languages which should be equally encouraged. With the development of all these languages, education and administrative and other work will be progressively carried on in them.

"It is necessary, however, that there should be a strong link between these languages. Such

a link cannot be a foreign language, however, important this may be. It can only be an Indian language, as is laid down in the Constitution.

"English, as a world language of great importance, and as a language which has long been in use in India for official and other purposes, will necessarily continue to occupy an important place. The study of other foreign languages will also be necessary to facilitate India's contacts with other countries of the world. In particular, the use of English will be necessary for higher scientific and technical purposes. In regard to technical and scientific terms every effort should be made to develop similar terms in all the Indian languages and to approximate them to international terminology.

"As stated in the Constitution, the official language for all-India purposes will have to be Hindi, but the transition to Hindi for such purposes would necessarily be gradual.

"The Congress trusts that further decisions in regard to the use of languages in India will be taken by general consensus of opinion even as the decisions embodied in the Constitution were taken, and should be adaptable to changing conditions."

There was no disagreement among Congress members about the desirability of replacing English by Hindi. Speakers were, however, sharply divided over the date from which English should be replaced. It was in response to their pressure that the draft resolution was amended to add that provision may be made for the retention of English beyond 1965. The resolution, as passed and quoted above, is very vague and is thus capable of contradictory interpretation. If it should seek to convey the idea that the transition to Hindi would be done in 1965 then we cannot very much commend the wisdom of its framers.

We give below the views of two of India's leading newspapers, both of which are known for their moderate tone, on the Congress resolution on the official language issue:

The *Hindu* of Madras writes: "The resolution adopted by the Congress Subjects Committee at Pragjyotishpur is disappointing and unsatisfactory. This is not surprising in view of the complex of emotions revealed by the

leaders of the Congress Party in their recent utterances. They seem to equate patriotism with allegiance to Hindi and to proceed on the assumption that English is a foreign language which it would be beneath our national dignity to accept as our official language. They are prepared to ignore the many inconveniences that would ensue as the result of replacing it by the admittedly undeveloped language that Hindi is and to see the country suffer, at a critical period in our history, the terrible and entirely avoidable waste of time, labour and money entailed by the translation of administrative and legal terms and scientific nomenclature into Hindi. Some specimens of translation that we have seen are absolutely unacceptable and would be merely amusing were it not for the tragic confusion that is sure to result. Supporters of Hindi continue to harp on the fact that in its various dialectal forms it is spoken by 42 per cent of the population. They have no answer to the argument that even this percentage, which represents a minority of the people of India, is concentrated in three States, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, whereas there is a more even and uniform distribution—in all the States of India—of those who not only speak but write and understand English. The English language has been for a long period the language of administration and has, whatever Hindi sponsors may say, in the main justified itself. To the people in non-Hindi States, particularly in South India, it is Hindi that is the foreign tongue, not English. The Congress resolution and those who spoke in its support want facts to fit into their pre-conceived theories. They seem to be out of touch with popular opinion, especially in South India, and hence their unwillingness to shed party slogans and shibboleths."

Referring to that portion of the resolution where the Congress reiterates that the all-India official language have to be Hindi the *Hindu* writes:

"It would have been far better if the leaders at Pragjyotishpur had listened to the advice tendered by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to keep the whole question open, recommending the scrapping, if necessary, of the whole of Part XVII of the Constitution dealing with languages. These very leaders have now and then

promoted and supported amendments to the Constitution with far less justification. The language issue calls for calm and objective rethinking and that is possible only if we allay the fears and suspicions of non-Hindi India by removing out of the way the existing constitutional impediments that were set up—we must reiterate—as the inevitable result of voting at a Congress Party meeting. At that meeting, the majority in favour of Hindi was only one (and that on a re-count after a tie) but as the Congress members who dominated the Constituent Assembly had to obey the Party's directive, Hindi was proclaimed as the official language in spite of the misgivings and anxieties in the minds of the non-Hindi people. They are now awake and fully alive to the risks involved in replacing English by such an inadequate language as is Hindi now. Their leaders must use the time that has been gained by the amendment to the original Congress resolution in organising public opinion on such an effective scale that the *status quo* in regard to English is continued."

The *Hitavada* published from Madhya Pradesh, writes:

"A close scrutiny of the terms of the resolution will show that in the form in which it has been adopted, it is not likely to produce a powerful impression on dissident opinion in the South. It is well for legislators at the Centre to realise that there is a substantial body of opinion in the South represented by the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, which is opposed to the adoption of Hindi at any time."

"The vexing character of the situation in the South," the *Hitavada* adds, "is that the Tamil spoken by the Brahmin is based on Sanskrit while the Tamil spoken by the non-Brahmin is based purely on the Dravidian languages. There are Raghu Viras in the reverse gear in the South who are keen on pruning out every Sanskrit derivative word from the Tamil language. As the non-Brahmins represent the overwhelming majority of the population, they regard the attempt to impose Hindi in 1965 as an attempt to bring by the back door Brahminical influence because the Brahmin represents the Sanskrit civilisation. It is, therefore, necessary for the Government of India to take note of the strength of sentiment in the South

on the subject. A mere declaration of easy transition from English to Hindi is not sufficient because narrow linguists are growing like mushrooms in the Indo-Gangetic plain and the Parliament of 1965 may not consist of persons with the required kind of tolerance. Today, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru holds the affections of the people, and it may be truly said that no single ruler since Emperor Asoka has wielded such influence and commanded respect as he. In his life-time, we should like to see this problem settled."

While the *Hitavada* considers that Hindi in Devanagiri script should be the official language it suggests 1990 as the date from which to effect the changeover from English.

Regional Languages and States

India has been free for over a decade now. Yet the foreign stamp on our administrative machinery is more prominent than ever. The use of ties in Government offices has reached beyond all proportions. In some offices promotions to higher posts have been made subject to wearing full pants. This may seem strange in an independent India, but nevertheless true.

Except in a few States no effort has been made to make the language of the people the language of administration, while in the wake of independence some of the more far-sighted officers and ministers made an effort to effect a transition from English to the local language, the work was not pursued after the transfer of those officers. In West Bengal, for example, some laudable work was made by Shri Sukumar Sen. The work was, however, completely forgotten with his transfer to the Election Commission. The States which have made commendable progress in this direction are Madras, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. Latest reports indicate that the State Government in Madras has now accelerated the pace of transition from English to the local language (Tamil) for administrative purposes.

A *Press Trust of India* report from Madras, says:

"Madras, January 7.—About 90 units of the several State Government departments in the city have switched over to Tamil for correspondence internally and with the public.

"These include 17 units of the Electricity

Department, three of the Food Production Department, six of the Public Works Department, and a few of the Revenue and Education Departments.

"Government offices in the mofussil numbering 1,922 have also started implementing this change-over from January 14. These offices have been supplied with copies of the glossary of administrative terms prepared by the Government. This glossary will be reviewed every three months with a view to incorporating suitable suggestions.

"An expert translation committee of six is to be constituted to translate into Tamil all the forms and codes in the order of their administrative importance," a spokesman of the Government stated today.

The Madras Government is to be complimented for this bold step. It is, however, disappointing to find the West Bengal Government idle on the matter.

Problems of Transition from English

While there are differences over the time when English could be replaced by an Indian language in the Centre, there is virtually no disagreement over the fact that the local (regional) languages should be adopted for administrative and educational purposes in the States. While effecting this transition the Governments in all the States are likely to face a number of similar problems arising from the need to coin new words in the respective regional languages. If a common principle could be adopted by all the States in this regard, the task of inter-State communication would be made easier.

In our view an All-India Committee should immediately be formed with competent representatives from all the States who would be drawn from literary, academic and administrative circles. This Committee would study the position in all the States and could on the basis of those observations recommend a uniform glossary of terms which could be adopted by all the States with minor modifications as and when necessary. The Committee would undoubtedly find it wise to retain the greater majority of the English terms which have become part of the popular vocabulary and thereby could avoid the absurdities of the West Bengal Committee which

made itself a laughing stock of all by its efforts to coin new terms even for such commonly understood words as 'police,' 'office,' 'press,' 'budget,' 'circular,' 'diary,' 'gazette,' etc., etc. The chief criterion in the selection of terms should be, as the foremost Bengali novelist Bankimchandra said long ago, its intelligibility to the majority. If an English term is familiar with the people, there should be no objection to its retention. We have already retained thousands of them: 'school,' 'college,' 'shirt,' 'pant,' 'blade,' 'chair,' 'table,' 'tram,' 'bus,' 'dock,' 'rail,' 'engine,' and so on. This should not be embarrassing because the leading languages of the world have attained their present pre-eminence only through liberal incorporation of foreign terms.

Imparting education through the mother-tongue would require the translation of many text-books on history, geography, economics, politics, sociology and other natural and social sciences. Most of the Indian languages have no terms to convey all the leading ideas of these subjects. In this case also the evolving of a common principle on the retention and translation of terms would be greatly beneficial. As in the administrative sphere, in the educational sphere also it would be found wiser to retain many of the English and foreign terms for which no suitable words are available in the regional languages. It should be seriously considered whether the scientific terms and numerals should not be taken over in toto. This would be an additional help to students who would be reading scientific treatises in a language other than his mother-tongue.

This task should be taken up right now so that all translations are made on the basis of standardised terms. As is well known, knowledge depends to a large extent upon exact definition and unless terms are standardized definition becomes increasingly difficult.

The Union and State Ministries for Education would do well to pay some attention to this subject.

Armaments and Humanity

There has been so much futile talk about disarmament that people now have grown indifferent to these discussions. But disarmament

is nonetheless a vital necessity—for all. If the world continues to live very long in the state of present tension with the West—armed to the teeth—accosted by the armed Soviet Union—we might have to witness colossal destruction even if there is no war. The following news-item is a pointer to the future if the nations in the meanwhile fail to agree on complete disarmament:

"Moscow, January 12.—Airmen who make regular flights in aircraft carrying atom or hydrogen bombs are liable to sudden fits or madness which could lead to the extermination of hundreds of thousands of human lives, according to a Soviet psychiatrist, *Tass* reported today.

"The psychiatrist, Prof. Vassily Blanshchikov, said; 'This danger is all the more real as often no warning sign permits the detection of the approach of a fit of madness, because in most cases it is a question of men considered as perfectly normal.'

"The psychiatrist said the only way of avoiding such a risk was the forbidding of such fights."

Factors that tend to produce such mental derangement are, according to Prof. Blanshchikov, "continuous stress, mental or physical fatigue and other factors which weaken the nervous system and the body as a whole. Many of these are the inevitable corollary of the pilots' difficult and strenuous work. Especially significant is the fact that the airmen are continually subjected to the effects of frequent changes in atmospheric pressure and of highly rarefied air. This affects such major functions of the body as blood circulation and respiration and has a considerable effect on higher nervous activity."

This means that, war or no war, there would be the risk of atomic bombing so long as atom bombs exist and that no country is safe from the threat. Paradoxically enough, in a time of peace it is the possessor country that runs the greatest risk in so far as the slightest error on the part of anyone concerned in the process of manufacture and transport of nuclear weapons—a possibility now stated to be very real and thus all the more threatening—would result in the destruction of hundreds of thousands of human lives. All these lead to the imperative need for immediate disarmament.

Salvation or Destruction

One of the most distinguished names amongst the military men of the U.S.A., is that of General Omar N. Bradley's. We reproduce from the *World Around Press*, the following extracts from his speech on November 8, at St. Alban's School, Washington:

"The central problem of our time—as I view it—is now to employ human intelligence for the salvation of mankind. For we have defiled our intellect by the creation of such scientific instruments of destruction that we are now in a desperate danger of destroying ourselves. Our plight is critical and with each effort we have made to relieve by further scientific advance, we have succeeded only in aggravating our peril.

"We reason that no Government, no single group of men—indeed, not even one wilful individual—would be so foolhardy, so reckless, as to precipitate a war which would most surely end in mutual destruction. This reasoning may have the benefit of logic. But even logic sometimes goes away. How can we assume that reason will prevail in a crisis when there is ordinarily so little reason among men.

"Have we already gone too far in this search for peace through the accumulation of peril? I believe there is a way out. And I believe it because I have acquired in my lifetime a decent respect for human intelligence.

"It may be that the problems of accommodation in a world split by rival ideologies are more difficult than those with which we have struggled in the construction of ballistics missiles. But I believe too, that if we apply to these human problems the energy, creativity, and the perseverance we have devoted to science, even problems of accommodation will yield to reason.

"Admittedly, the problem of peaceful accommodation in the world is infinitely more difficult than the conquest of space, infinitely more complex than a trip to the moon. But if we will only come to the realization that it must be worked out—whatever it may mean even to such sacred traditions as absolute national sovereignty—I believe that we can, somehow, somewhere, and perhaps through some as yet undiscovered world thinker and leader find a workable solution.

"If I am sometimes discouraged, it is not by the magnitude of the problem, but by our colossal indifference to it. I am unable to understand why—if we are willing to trust in reason as a restraint on the use of ready-made, ready-to-fire bombs—we do not make greater, more diligent and more imaginative use of reason and human intelligence in seeking an accord and compromise which will make it possible for mankind to control the atom and banish it as an instrument of war.

"This is the real and most strenuous challenge to man's intellect today. By comparison with it, the conquest of space is of small significance. Until we learn how to live together, until we rid ourselves of the strife that mocks our pretensions of civilization, our adventures in science, instead of producing human progress will continue to crowd it with greater peril. If enough of us believe in the ability of intelligent human beings to get together on some basis of a just accord, we might somehow, somewhere and under some auspices make a start on it.

"Time is running against us with the speed of a Sputnik."

The Soviet Seven-Year Plan

The Soviet Government in a decree in September, 1957, announced that the new Seven-Year Plan spread over the period 1959-65 would be worked out. This decision was remarkable not only because it made a departure from the principle, followed since 1928, of using five-year periods for planning the development of the national economy; it was also significant that the proposed plan was to begin from 1959—two years before the completion of the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1956-60).

The decision to draw up a new plan in the midst of a current one was an indirect admission of the unrealistic character of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. "The excessive demands made by the plan," writes G. A. Vvedensky in the *Bulletin* of the Institute for the Study of the USSR, "are indicated not only by the actual production figures, which are lagging behind the planned targets, but also by the failure to present any more specific plans, although the later had been promised."

Premier Bulganin had stated in his report to the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in early 1956 that the

detailed plan would be drawn up later on following the directives of the Congress. This promise could not be kept. Thereafter, the central committee of the Communist Party decided in December, 1956, that the detailed working out of the Sixth Five-Year Plan would be completed and would be submitted to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR by the first half of 1957 for examination and ratification. However, this date also could not be observed, neither could the Plan be submitted to the Supreme Soviet. The repeated failure on the part of the Soviet Government to keep to the schedule indicated the unrealistic nature of the directives of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. This was also given by the fact that planned targets for the first year (1956) had earlier been reduced for some branches of Soviet industry.

The newly announced Seven-Year Plan—the working out of which was scheduled to be completed by the end of June, 1958—was also oriented to developing the heavy industries.

G. A. Vvedensky writes: "Not by chance is the new plan to cover the period 1959-65. Soviet long-term plan fixes production for the first and final years of the period in question, but not for the intermediate years. Thus, the Sixth Five-Year Plan gave the planned indices for 1956 and 1960; the new plan will give the initial figures for 1959 and the final figures for 1965. The artificially chosen period of the new plan will thus have more chance of concealing the failure of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, both inside and outside the USSR, since it will reflect production targets not coinciding in period with those of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The new plan will have figures for 1959 not contained in the directives of the Sixth Five-Year Plan while, on the other hand, the final year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1960) will, as an intermediate year, be absent from the new plan."

The difficulties experienced by the Soviet planners should convince those of our countrymen who are always fond of making ignorant and abstract references to the USSR in order to serve their narrow political ends by discrediting their fellow countrymen (some of whom are men of great competence, integrity and full of love for their countrymen), that in no part of the world, Communist part included, progress is achieved by magic without failure or sacrifice.

1957 in retrospect

Mr. Robert G. Whalen, reviewing the developments in 1957, writes in the *New York Times* International Edition, "The sound that epitomised 1957 was the faint beep-beep which on an October evening first came eerily down from space. The sight was that of earth's first man-made satellite streaking across starlit skies."

The two Sputniks indicated great Soviet superiority in rocketry and missileery and thus shattered one of the "bedrock assumptions of the Western security system" that the United States would always be ahead of the Russians in weapons and this would deter any Soviet assault on the Western coalition, Mr. Whalen writes. The result was a "shudder of dismay through the North Atlantic Alliance" and a regenerated "pressure for a round of East-West Diplomacy."

The failure of the Americans in their effort to launch an artificial satellite brought home the magnitude of the Soviet achievements. The confusion in the Western camp was profound. In this background the heads of Nato States met in Paris. There were clearly wide differences of approach revealed in that summit conference. The success of the conference in rallying the members in their alliance, Mr. Whalen says, "remains in doubt."

In 1957, Khrushchev emerged more forcefully as the voice of Communism. His voice was heard nearly a dozen times more than Stalin's ever had been. However, there were also indications of grave ideological and political differences in the USSR. The Western camp was not very stable for that. England and France were still nursing their mortification at the U.S. denunciation of the Suez adventure. In addition there were also the crises of colonialism in general in which Great Britain, France, Greece, Turkey and, relatively indirectly, the U.S. Governments were also involved.

"More serious than any of these Western troubles," Mr. Whalen writes, "was the steady erosion of American prestige. Before the advent of the Sputniks the erosion was most apparent in the Middle East."

In the U.S.A. itself the year closed with an uneasiness about the possibility of continued Eisenhower leadership because of the President's

renewed illness. The other most important aspect of American domestic scene was the progress in de-segregation.

"Enter 1958"

The New York Times writes:

"The year 1958 may prove to be one of the most critical in the history of modern man. The Soviet leap into space has produced a profound alteration in the psychological—if not the actual—balance of power between the East and West. The months ahead may reveal whether that change will result in a new equilibrium between the two great power blocs, or a slow deterioration of the Western position with consequences that no one can foretell.

"Dispatches from *New York Times* correspondents (and in the case of Peiping from *Reuters*) in capitals throughout the world reflected varying moods at the year's end depending on whether the nations were in the Communist, Western or neutralist groups.

"In the *Communist* countries—particularly in Russia—the mood was one of elation and confidence. In some of the satellites, however, the elation was tempered by the fact that political independence and economic prosperity still seemed as far away as ever.

"In *Western* countries, the general feeling was one of apprehension and concern. The mood varied between countries such as the United States, where the chief reaction was a determination to catch up with Russia and smaller Western nations who saw an urgent need for a negotiated settlement with Moscow.

"In the *neutralist* countries, the dominant mood seemed to be renewed determination to stay clear of the two great power groups, coupled with the fear that neutrality was becoming increasingly difficult in the stepped-up arms race."

The Asian-African Conference

A conference attended by representatives from forty-four countries of Asia and Africa was held in Cairo, capital city of Egypt, from December 26, 1957 to January 1, 1958. The conference, in which more than five hundred delegates took part and which was covered by more than one hundred press correspondents, was a non-official one in the sense that the

delegates did not represent their respective governments. Nevertheless, it marked a great step towards Asian-African solidarity and understanding and was regarded as such by its supporters and opponents alike. Despite its non-official character, however, the conference was actively supported by a number of governments of Asia and Africa. The opening of the conference was watched with great interest by Egyptian Cabinet ministers and ambassadors of other countries stationed in Cairo.

The conference was a very important event of 1957. It discussed various problems—economic, political and social—confronting the peoples of Asia and Africa and a number of resolutions were adopted on these. The conference endorsed India's stand on Goa, Indonesia's stand on West Irian and China's stand on Formosa. Another notable event of the conference was the declaration by the representative from the Soviet Union that the Soviet Government was prepared to offer economic aid without any strings to any country in Asia and Africa.

While the conference was widely publicised in foreign press, the coverage by Indian press was rather scanty. The reason is hard to explain. Even the Portuguese press with its rigid censorship gave wide publicity to the conference (omitting, however, the statement on Goa). The Western press, as usual, tried to belittle its importance by describing it as a Russian show.

Opening the conference Mr. El Sayed Anwar el Sudat, said:

"Free Egypt sees in your meeting on her soil another aspect of freedom. We have all witnessed one history of imperialism and exploitation and are partners in one struggle and one future. There is no better proof of this strong unity which ties us together than the severe trial through which Egypt passed a year ago when three countries conspired to invade her and destroy her freedom. The peoples of Asia and Africa rose at that decisive moment to support Egypt and expressed their support through all means in their power. It was then that those who were attacking Port Said felt that they were not attacking a single city but attacking two big continents; the aggressors felt that they were not attacking the homes of peaceful citizens but were attacking a sublime symbol of justice and freedom which 1,000

million people were determined to protect. The hands of the aggressors trembled and their hearts sank while the spirit of Egypt on the firing line soared high. When aggression receded and victory dawned it was not a victory for Egypt alone but a victory on behalf of you all.

"Egypt, in expressing her gratitude and in welcoming you today, knows only too well that the only way to repay this debt is for her to become an effective force working for the liberation of all peoples from imperialism and the protection of all peoples from any danger similar to that to which she was exposed.

"Dear brethren,—More than two years ago the Bandung Conference was held and attended by representatives of 29 independent governments to declare to the world that the tide of history had turned and that Asia and Africa, which had been an open country or a forest through which wild alien beasts roamed, had become a free, highly-esteemed force which had a decisive role to play in the future of the whole international community.

"The Bandung Conference was also held to prove to the sons of Asia and Africa that their solidarity and the strength which they gained when they met together were of the greatest importance. Today this peoples' conference meets to salute and continue the Bandung spirit, on the one hand, and to be another step forward, on the other hand. Because our conference is a peoples' conference it was able to include not only the countries which international law recognise as one independent unit but also all peoples which are recognised by the established fact, history and humanity and the peoples which are still suffering under the yoke of imperialism in one form or another. In fact, these latter peoples will receive the utmost attention of the conference because they represent the sick part of the body of Asia and Africa which deserves the greatest possible attention because a body cannot live with one good whole and one sick part.

"The Bandung Conference was not, therefore, a sudden phenomenon. It was the natural result of a moral development which led African and Asian peoples to awaken to deal with problems affecting their existence and to shoulder the responsibilities of their liberation. This awakening would have not had a historic signi-

ficance had it not been in turn a starting point for a new historic progress, the outlines of which were drawn up at Bandung. It will be up to the Cairo conference to extract the best possible positive results in the political, economic, social and cultural fields.

"Here we shall inevitably be faced by some difficult problems. But these problems can be easily overcome if we start by overcoming the first difficulty, which exists in ourselves; this difficulty is to estimate things correctly. We have to visualise the problems facing us in their true light, avoiding exaggeration, which makes solutions difficult to achieve, but at the same time avoiding any underestimation, as this will make solutions less valuable and less daring. In short, we should avoid misinterpretations which lead to miscalculations.

"Dear brethren,—There is no doubt that each country has its special problems which it understands best. But there is also no doubt that we can extend to one another a hand of assistance, experience and advice to overcome these problems. Here it becomes clear that each one of us should take two things into consideration: giving attention to his own problems and to the problems of others. Then we have the common problems which interest us all. Our private and common problems should be discussed side by side. We should, therefore, always look for a meeting point which we should develop and strengthen.

"These are not all our responsibilities at the conference. In addition to our responsibilities towards our countries and our responsibilities, towards our continents we have also our responsibilities towards the world as one unit.

"We cannot live in security in a world threatened with war. We cannot enjoy our resources in a world where there is robbery. We cannot build producing weapons of destruction and devastation. We cannot raise the standard of living of our peoples, attend to our sick and deal with epidemics in a world which is competing in finding means of killing. Gone for ever is the time when the destinies of war and peace were decided in few European capitals. It is we who decide this today. Our word has great weight in the international field. We have only to remember our great numbers, our resources, our

vast area and our strategic positions to see that war will be impossible if we are determined to maintain peace. But our determination must not be passive. It must be turned into positive action for peace."

France and North Africa

The New York Times of January 19 has the following comment to make on the situation in the North African French colony of Algeria and its neighbours. French obstinacy is still aggravating the situation as the report indicates. Colonialism dies hard indeed!

"Algeria's neighbors—Tunisia to the east, Morocco to the west—are not officially involved in the Algerian rebellion against French rule. Actually the Tunisians and the Moroccans have given Algeria's Arabs both moral and material support. Despite a 100-mile-long electrified barbed wire barrier on the Tunisian border, French intelligence estimates that about 1,000 weapons cross into Algeria each month—more than enough to offset rebel losses from French military operations.

"Last week-end between 200 and 300 Algerian rebels attacked a French patrol in Algeria two miles from the Tunisian border. Fourteen French soldiers were killed, five were missing. The French charged that the Algerians had crossed from Tunisia to attack the patrol and had withdrawn back to Tunisia with the five French captives. Paris protested strongly to Tunis and demanded the immediate release of the prisoners.

"Last Monday Tunis rejected the protest. The Government of President Habib Bourguiba denied that there had been 'any infiltration by the belligerents into Tunisian territory' or that there were any French prisoners in Tunisia. French Premier Felix Gaillard sent two personal envoys—one of them a French general—to deliver a protest and a warning to M. Bourguiba. The Tunisian President refused to receive the general on the ground that his presence constituted a virtual military threat.

"The French were incensed. French officials regarded the incident as confirmation of their suspicions that recent American and British arms aid to Tunisia was reaching the Algerian rebels. Premier Gaillard's office charged that Tunis had shown 'a deliberately

unfriendly attitude.' There was talk of a breach in diplomatic relations.

"Whatever happens in the next few days, it is clear that while the Algerian war continues, French relations with Tunisia and with Morocco as well will be strained."

The Antics at Ankara

Mr. Firoz Khan Noon seems to have found a kindred soul in the old associate of King Feisal I. We are not surprised at the ebullitions of Firoz Khan Noon but it is queer that an old hand at politics like Nuri-es-Said should join in this incongruous and ridiculous cavorting. Pacts also make strange bed-fellows, it seems:

"Ankara, Jan. 27.—Mr. Firoz Khan Noon, Prime Minister of Pakistan, and the leader of the Iraqi delegation, Mr. Nuri-es-Said, today raised the Kashmir issue in the Baghdad Pact Ministerial Council meeting.

"Mr. Noon also criticized 'neutralist' countries and said, 'Of all the threats to which the Baghdad Pact area is subjected, the most invidious is from the so-called neutralists.

"The part which they are playing in supporting subversion and in providing pseudo-moral basis for it constitutes a serious threat. It is time we recognized this danger and took active steps to meet it.

"The people of the Baghdad Pact countries are quite bewildered when they find that some of these so-called neutralists are recipients of large-scale aid not only from Communist countries but also from Western countries whose policies they are constantly attacking."

"Unless differentiation could be made between friends and neutralists, distinction between friends and foes was in grave danger of being blurred.

"Mr. Noon continued: 'There can be no objection to a nation following under certain circumstances a policy of neutrality so long as it is genuine neutrality. In certain quarters, however, neutrality is regarded as meaning hostility to one side and friendship with the other, irrespective of precepts or practices.

"N.A.T.O., Baghdad Pact and S.E.A.-T.O. are dubbed as aggressive military alliances but not a word is said about the Warsaw Pact and the massive armaments which it disposes. The building of Communist bases in the Middle

East and injection of vast stores of arms is described as contribution to world peace, but the supply of minute quantities of purely defensive weapons under strict guarantees by the U.S.A. and the U.K. is a threat to peace. This attitude of the mind harms not only the free world but also endangers those whom it is supposed to protect.

"Mr. Noon hoped that the efforts of Dr. Graham would prove fruitful and a solution of the Kashmir problem would be found.

"Mr. Nuri-es-Said in his speech described the Kashmir issue 'as an unresolved problem which is disturbing peace and stability in the area.'

"Iraq believed that there should be no deviation from the principles of the U.N. Charter in settling the question. Such a settlement should be compatible with the rights of the people of Kashmir for self-determination and freedom. 'We believe the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council on the Kashmir question will lead to a speedy solution of the problem'."

Pakistan and Rule of Law

The recent developments in Pakistan would be viewed with great concern by democrats everywhere. Pakistan is a State where, as in the Union of South Africa, discrimination is being practised legally. Under the law as it stands, a non-Muslim, be he a Hindu, Christian, Jain, Parsi or Buddhist, cannot be the Head of the State. There are several additional handicaps specifically placed upon the non-Muslims. Even in the application of this discriminating law, further discrimination has been done against the Hindus, apart from the calculated political moves leading to communal disturbances resulting in the loss of life and property to the non-Muslims. The Pakistani policy of deliberately driving out the Hindus has led to the exodus of nearly six million Hindus from East Pakistan into India. It has naturally not been easy for the Government or the people in India to make suitable arrangements for the physical, economic and cultural rehabilitation of this vast number. This has meant a human misery and degradation on a scale which, perhaps, has no parallel in history. This policy goes directly against the United Nations Decla-

ration of Human Rights and falls in the category of genocide.

On January 11, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Firoze Khan Noon, made another declaration of policy which, perhaps, is also unprecedented in history. On January 11, Mr. Noon candidly declared to the Press representatives gathered in Karachi, the capital city of Pakistan, that he had issued directions for the arrest of all Indian citizens in Eastern Pakistan and for their detention in concentration camps to be employed as forced labour for building mud roads. This was a fantastic announcement; nevertheless it was confirmed in another news on the following day. Soon the Government of Pakistan saw the un wisdom of such frankness and accordingly the statement was modified (not by the Prime Minister Noon) to say that only Indians without a valid passport would be so arrested and put in concentration camps.

Even in the modified form the statement of the Pakistan Government is fantastic, to say the least. History shows that war was declared for far less reasons. Pakistan disregarded the history and geography and even good neighbourly relations. In practice, however, the Government's measures have by no means been restricted to Indians without passports—but have included *all Indians* in Pakistan and even *Hindu citizens* of Pakistan. A reign of terror is now raging in East Pakistan with the military razing Hindu houses and business, and people fleeing in all directions.

The conduct of the Government of Pakistan is a clear violation of the rule of law. The democratic forces in Pakistan have tried hard to curb these fascistic tendencies on the part of the Central Government, but have so far failed—specially because West Pakistan elements predominate in the administration and the forces. In the whole affair the role played by the President Iskander Mirza is quite evident. The President, being a constitutional head, cannot under the Constitution meddle in the politics of the country. That, however, has not deterred him from making statements—outside the Parliament—deprecating the various laws framed by the Parliament even under his own Presidentship. On December 22, for example, he told a meeting of the Bar Association in Karachi that the law passed by Pakistan

Parliament deciding upon a common electorate for all religious communities (replacing the reactionary separate electorate for Hindus and Muslims) had been a retrograde step. Such an action is certainly unusual on the part of an elected constitutional head of a democracy.

The political history of partition on a religious basis has too much coloured international opinion for it to take a proper view of the happenings in Pakistan. That to a large extent accounts for the fact that while the international public opinion has waxed angry over the fate of a few East German or Hungarian refugees, it has practically kept silent over the fate of the millions of Hindus suffering in Pakistan, or, in India, as refugees from Pakistan. It is high time that the Government of India made some efforts in acquainting the world public with the facts of the situation.

Bureaucracy in India

The weekly newspaper *Vigil* has, in an editorial article, admirably shown how bureaucracy has been growing in India at the expense of popular welfare. Referring to the Ministry of Refugee Rehabilitation, the *Vigil* writes:

"Half a dozen zonal commissioners will from now on be giving a new brisk look to the business of refugee rehabilitation in West Bengal. Somebody high up in New Delhi got hold of the bright idea that refugee rehabilitation needed urgently a good amount of high-grade bureaucratic blood transfusion. This brings us face to face with Parkinson, an almost legendary name, to which Pandit Nehru referred sometime ago by illustrating the law of self-propagation of the higher bureaucratic species. Parkinson's Law is the climax of the bureaucratic universe which exists and flourishes in almost every country without any very great regard for the needs and interests of people at large. This law so-called after Parkinson explains with remarkable acuteness how a bureaucratic administrative machine expands more and more according to its own inner pressures, independent of the amount of work it has to do. In other words, first to quote a typical instance of Parkinson's Law in operation, over a twenty-year period the number of officers and subordinate staff in the British Admiralty increased many times while the size of the British Navy

and the number of ships were reduced during the same period. The lesson to be kept in mind is that bureaucracy is self-creative, self-expanding and self-perpetuating. As India has always been a paradise for bureaucrats and now that a self-styled Welfare State must have all the symbols and tokens of welfare being spread out from above, Parkinson's Law is having here a perpetual field-day. This, of course, is an old story and if any warning was needed it could be easily found in Tagore's famous parable on educating a parrot. The king, anxious to provide the best education to the parrot, spends a lot on having a golden cage, volumes of dreary books and a large body of retinue, supervisors and so on. If in the scrimmage, the parrot itself was forgotten and left to die uncared for, that exactly foreshadowed the course and consequence of Parkinson's Law in operation in our modern bureaucratic administration. That Pandit Nehru is more or less aware of this hardly gives any satisfaction either to the taxpayer or to those in whose supposed interests more and more additions are being made to the Central and State Civil Lists."

"The Ministry of Rehabilitation is not the only sinner in this respect," continues the *Vigil*, "but this has, by and large, under its jurisdiction, the most fantastically expensive and elaborate organisation. The Central Rehabilitation Ministry has its own large team of officers at the secretariat level, and at the State level in West Bengal, the number of officers with a very long list of varied designations, assignments, postings, etc., gives initially an impression of tremendous work in progress. In this context the appointment of half a dozen zonal commissioners produces rather a feeling of anticlimax. In addition to the State Minister, and Deputy Minister for Rehabilitation, there is a full-fledged secretariat team—Secretaries, Directors of Camps, Rehabilitation Commissioner and various other officers to look after financial and educational affairs connected with the refugees. There are, besides, District Rehabilitation Officers and below them a fairly long chain of subordinates to work in different localities."

Discrimination in Government Offices

One of the chief reasons for the grave discontent among government servants is the wide

discrimination between government servants even within the same rank. The *Statesman* in an editorial article has referred to the iniquity of allowing a lower scale of pay to State Government servants than that to a Central Government servant of equivalent rank and qualification. There are further instances of discrimination even in the same office. Thus in the office of the Accountant-General, West Bengal, clerks required to possess the same qualifications and doing equivalent jobs suffers discrimination when they have to go out of Calcutta. For example, the clerks belonging to the Local Audit Department draw the same pay and allowances as in other departments of the Accountant-General's Office while they remain in Calcutta. But when they have to go to mofussil, as they have to on account of official duty, they are treated on a completely different footing than the clerks in other departments though the former do not enjoy any special benefits or facilities in mofussil. This discrimination entails a sacrifice to an individual clerk of the Local Audit ranging from one hundred rupees per month to more. Departmental representation has been ineffective to remove this unjust discrimination. Naturally there is widespread discontent and backbiting in the department to avoid going out of Calcutta and efficiency has been the chief casualty.

U.S. Aid for India

The *New York Times* had the following report in its January 19 issue regarding the recent U.S. aid offer to India:

"The combination of India's political importance in Asia and its serious economic plight have made it a target of sharp East-West competition in the cold war. Since 1951, when India launched her First Five-Year Plan to boost agricultural production, the United States has given New Delhi almost \$1 billion in aid in the form of loans, grants, farm surpluses and technical assistance. In recent months, however, two factors have raised urgently the question of additional U.S. aid to India.

"One was the stepped-up Soviet economic offensive in the Afro-Asian world. Moscow has been especially interested in wooing India and has extended credits to New Delhi totaling \$270,000,000—and has promised more.

"The other was the threatened collapse of India's Second Five-Year Plan, launched in 1956 with the aim of giving the country an industrial base and raising per capita annual income by \$10 to \$69.51. The plan envisaged expenditures of \$15 billion to be raised through heavy taxation, deficit spending, public borrowing and foreign aid. India, however, was gambling on a number of assumptions, including an increase in Indian savings and the stability of world prices to meet the plan's goals.

"The assumptions proved faulty and last summer the plan was drastically cut back, with many projects halted in the blueprint stage. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said that unless India could raise \$1.4 billion by 1961, the hard-core essentials of the Second Five-Year Plan could not be realized.

"Last week the United States moved to meet New Delhi's financial plight—and the Soviet challenge. On Thursday the State Department announced U.S. 'willingness' to aid India with an additional \$225,000,000 loan, plus 1,000,000 tons of grain valued at \$65,000,000. India would pay for the grain in rupees, 80 per cent of which would be turned back to India in the form of U.S. loans."

New Year's Hopes

Although we are not very sanguine about the fulfilment of official forecasts, the following news report seems to hold out some hopes about the lessening of the strain on the consumer and tax-payer. But then, so long as there is reckless spending and feckless planning there will even be new demands on the life's blood of the helpless Indian people:

"New Delhi, January 5.—Although the position about the availability of steel will remain difficult in 1958, the new year is expected to herald a substantial increase in the country's production of pig-iron.

"By early next month, the expansion programme of the Indian Iron and Steel Company is likely to be completed, creating an additional capacity of 1,200 tons of pig-iron per day.

"The completion of the more ambitious expansion programme of the Tata Iron and Steel Company will follow in June or July. It will create an additional daily capacity of 3,000 tons.

"According to firm estimates, therefore, as a result of these developments, the country's pig-iron production this year will be 600,000 to 700,000 tons more than the present output.

"Besides, one blast furnace each at Rourkela and Bhilai, in the public sector, will go into action towards the end of the year. That will contribute some further quantities of pig-iron.

"This is bound to reduce somewhat the drain on the country's foreign exchange resources. At present the import of iron and steel amounts to Rs. 120 crores annually. Increased supplies of indigenous pig-iron will considerably lower this figure.

"However, the full impact of the expansion programme in the private sector will be felt towards the middle of 1959. By then the three plants in the public sector will also have made sufficient progress and steel rolling mills will be in action.

"It can therefore be safely assumed that during 1959 India will be in a position to export iron and steel worth at least Rs. 50 crores besides saving double that amount on imports.

"Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari is now touring the public sector steel projects and is expected to return to Delhi on Tuesday. Although no longer directly in charge of the subject, the Finance Minister's interest in the progress of the steel projects has by no means diminished."

Kerala's Education Bill

The following news reports tend to throw some strange lights on the bill in question which seems to be a *fait accompli*. However, the ominous forebodings might not be so bad in the actual working:

"Ernakulam, January 5.—The Catholic Union of India, socio-religious organization representing the five million Catholic Christians in the country, has repudiated the Portuguese claim that 'the future of Christianity in India or the East is bound up with the continued dominion of Portugal over Goa.'

"The Managing Committee of the Union, which concluded a two-day session here today, in a resolution on Goa, emphatically asserted that Christianity in India needed no aid of any foreign or colonial power for its existence or progress. On the other hand, it claimed for the people of Goa their natural right to 'self-determination'.

"Another resolution viewed with 'great concern' the passing of the Kerala Education Bill. The committee was 'alarmed' at the consequences such legislation might have on the future of private educational institutions in this country.

"The committee, after taking into consideration the 'great strides' made by Communism in India as shown in the recent general elections, and the fact of its getting increasing hold both of the intelligentsia and the working class, suggested that leaders of all communities in India who believed in God, freedom and democratic values, should form a non-political organization to combat Communism in the spiritual and ideological fields.

"Ernakulam, Jan. 5.—The Archbishop of Ernakulam, the Most Rev Dr. Joseph Parecattil, said here today that the Kerala Education Bill was not a matter only affecting the Catholics of the State but would have its repercussions in other States also. It was therefore essential that people of other States also should study this question carefully and expose the 'overbearing fallacies of the Bill'.

"The Archbishop was inaugurating the Catholic conference of India, held as an adjunct to the meetings here of the managing committee of the Catholic Union of India.

"He said that 'the State machinery in Kerala has begun to move in the line of indoctrination' and it had become a matter of 'life and death'. Therefore they should have an efficient bureau to do intensive propaganda in defence of the Christian doctrine and to counteract such of the criticisms as were not in keeping with Catholic principles."

French Aid for Plan

New Delhi, Jan. 23.—India and France today signed an agreement for closer economic and technical co-operation.

The agreement is an outcome of the negotiation undertaken by Mr. Nehru with French officials in Paris in 1956-57.

Under the agreement, the French Government will facilitate the financing of the manufacture and delivery by French suppliers during the next 12 months of capital goods worth up to a total of 25 billion francs (about Rs. 28 crores). A tentative list of the goods to be supplied has been classified according to priority and annexed to the agreement.

INDIA AT THE UNITED NATIONS

By PRAFULLA C. MUKERJI*

In 1957, India had been connected with several resolutions in the United Nations.

KASHMIR

The most important of them is, of course, the resolution introduced by Pakistan in the Security Council with regard to Kashmir. The essence of the original resolution was to the effect that India had neglected to abide by the directives of the Security Council and that now she as well as Pakistan be required to withdraw their troops from Kashmir and prepare the field for a plebiscite to be held under the supervision of the United Nations, to determine whether the majority of the people of Kashmir would want to be a part of India or Pakistan. There was a heated debate which was led by the United Kingdom on behalf of Pakistan. Mr. Krishna Menon made an impassioned and rather a lengthy plea. But the cards were already stacked against him. An atmosphere had been created in the Security Council to the effect that India was trying to ferret out all kinds of excuses to avoid a plebiscite and that she was sabotaging the principle of self-determination which is a cardinal principle of the Charter of the United Nations. Some went so far as to accuse India of colonialism. This type of atmosphere surely hurts the prestige of India. The Soviet Union saved India from an embarrassing situation. Mr. Sobelov the Soviet representative emphatically declared that his delegation would oppose any such resolution. Hence, no vote was taken on this and a milder resolution was introduced, saying that Dr. Graham of the United States be requested to go to India and Pakistan and negotiate for withdrawal of Indian and Paki-

stani troops from Kashmir. This resolution was passed without a negative vote. The Soviet Union abstained. It is obvious that the question of Kashmir will plague India as long as the conflict between the U.S. and the Soviet Union will last. Perhaps, no argument would convince one who does not want to be convinced. One cannot help having a peculiar feeling when he hears the representative of the United Kingdom pleading so eloquently in the Security Council for the principle of self-determination in Kashmir and at the same time opposing with equal vehemence in the General Assembly of the United Nations the same principle of self-determination in Cyprus and Algeria. However, some of us who have followed the proceedings of the United Nations closely, feel that the debates conducted by the representative of India, particularly on the Kashmir issue, had been unnecessarily lengthy, often taxing the patience of members, some of whom are usually friends of India. It is no reflection on Mr. Krishna Menon. He is very able, sincere, hard-working and often brilliant. But many felt that a great deal of unnecessary details could have been avoided, emphasising only on the convincing objections. Introduction of almost unrelated or distantly related subjects in the debate, involving some of the Asian nations, helped to irritate them and did not advance the cause of India. The main emphasis could have been on the following arguments:

1. Kashmir acceded to India legally and India accepted also legally in accordance with the provisions of the British Parliament Act of Transference.

2. The Prime Minister of India exceeded his constitutional authority in acquiescing to a plebiscite. That authority rests on Indian Parliament and Kashmir Assembly.

3. Pakistan is invader and aggressor.

4. Security Council has failed to take any action to remedy India's complaint.

* Metallurgist, now retired. Lived in the United States for 50 years. Left India in 1906, after the Partition of Bengal. Worked with U. S. Steel Corporation for 40 years. Worked for one year as Assistant Technical Director of Magnitogorsk Steel Works in the Soviet Union. Travelled extensively in Europe and Asia. His articles have been published from time to time in *The Modern Review* and other periodicals in India.

5. India is a secular State and not a parochial one and hence cannot allow—cannot afford—a plebiscite on religious grounds. It will jeopardise India's security. India has many religious minorities throughout the country. A plebiscite on religious grounds will have disastrous effect on them. India cannot risk another blood-bath like the one which followed the partition of India on religious basis. Religious issues were injected in Indian politics not by India but by the United Kingdom in the form of Morley-Minto Reform which introduced communal representation in the Indian Legislative bodies. Lord Morley characterised this reform as sowing Dragons' Teeth which would grow and harass India for generations to come.

6. If Kashmir is ever ready and is willing to hold a plebiscite on political and economic grounds and not on religious basis and all foreign influences are entirely withdrawn, Indian Parliament and Kashmir Assembly then may be persuaded to sanction such a solution. Until then it is India's moral and legal obligation to provide Kashmir as well as other Indian States adequate security and protection.

DISARMAMENT

The twelfth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations began on September 17, 1957 and came to an end on December 14. The subcommittee appointed by the eleventh session of the Assembly met at London for many months to come to an understanding with regard to some limitation in armaments. The subcommittee consisted of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Canada on one side and the Soviet Union on the other. As was feared, they could not come to any agreement. The first four powers submitted a resolution which provided for cessation of nuclear arms tests only on condition that the production of all fissionable materials for military use be also stopped. It also provided for a reduction in conventional armaments and forces. The Soviet Union also introduced a separate resolution which called for an unconditional cessation of all nuclear tests. It also called for destruction of all nuclear stock piles and considerable reduction in conventional armaments and forces.

Another important feature of the Soviet proposal was the withdrawal of all troops and military bases from foreign soil. The four-power resolution was adopted, with a request that the subcommittee continue its deliberations on the basis of the resolution. The Soviet proposals were rejected, whereupon the Soviet Union withdrew from the subcommittee, suggesting that they will be willing to negotiate with the United States. India introduced a resolution asking for enlargement of the subcommittee by three more members from non-committed countries. The argument was that since the two power-blocks could not agree on any workable action, perhaps the non-committed members would be able to find a common formula acceptable to both sides. The argument though valid was not acceptable to the Western block and hence was rejected. Perhaps, through negotiation the two big powers may find a solution.

CHINA

India sponsored a resolution asking the General Assembly to consider whether China should not be admitted as a member of the United Nations. The resolution was referred to the Political Committee, where a sharp debate took place. A counter-resolution was introduced by the United States to the effect that the questions of mainland China's admission and unseating of Nationalist China should not be discussed at the present session of the General Assembly. India's resolution received support from the Soviet bloc and most of the Asian-African nations. The United States' resolution was passed by over two-thirds majority. So the question of China's admission still remains unsolved.

SOUTH AFRICA

India and Pakistan sponsored a resolution regretting the ill-treatment of peoples of African and Indian origin by the Government of South Africa by enacting unjust and inhuman laws and asking the South African Government to negotiate with the parties concerned to remove their grievances in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. As was to be expected the U. K. and many of the Western powers opposed the resolution but thanks to the solidarity of the Asian-

African nations and strong support from the Soviet bloc and many of the South and Central American nations the resolution was passed by more than two-thirds majority. Whether it will be implemented by any action by South African Government, remains to be seen. South Africa has been conspicuous by its absence from the sessions of the Assembly since the late General Smuts went back from the United Nations, saying that he came back like a whipped dog.

WEST IRIAN (NEW GUINEA) AND INDONESIA

India took active part in supporting the Indonesian claim for West Irian. The resolution did not really advocate the transfer of West Irian from the Netherlands to Indonesia. It only recommended that the question of West Irian be settled by negotiation between the Netherlands and Indonesia. Here again Australia which holds a mandate over the eastern half of New Guinea, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands led the opposition. In spite of the support from practically all the Asian-African nations and the Soviet bloc, the resolution received only forty-five votes and failed to carry two-thirds majority necessary to win.

ALGERIA

India together with twenty-one other Asian-African nations sponsored a resolution on behalf of Algeria. The resolution regretted that the situation in Algeria continued to cause much suffering and loss of human lives. It also recognized that the principle of self-determination was applicable to the people of Algeria and called for negotiations for the purpose of arriving at a solution in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The opposition was led by France and the United Kingdom with support from most of the Western nations including North and South America and also Nationalist China. The Asian-African nations, the Soviet bloc and Greece supported the resolution. Neither side could win a majority. A substitute resolution was introduced by some of the South American countries and Spain. This also failed to be passed. Finally, India and a few other countries introduced a very moderate resolution, suggesting mediation from Morocco and Tunisia and expressing hopes of an early settlement in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the

United Nations. The resolution was passed without any dissenting vote. France abstained.

CYPRUS

Greece introduced a resolution expressing concern that no progress had been made towards the solution of the problems of Cyprus and that the situation was fraught with danger. It hoped that further negotiations and discussions would be undertaken in a spirit of co-operation with a view to applying the right of self-determination to the people of Cyprus. This resolution was vehemently opposed by the United Kingdom and Turkey and other colonial powers. Though supported by the Soviet bloc, some of the South American nations and a few of the Asian-African nations, the resolution failed to be passed with a two-thirds majority. The United States abstained. That is understandable. Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom belong to NATO and the United States did not want to offend any one of them. But for some inexplicable reason India and some other Asian-African nations also abstained. There were twenty-seven abstentions. If they had voted in favour the resolution would have been passed. Certainly it is to the best interest of the Asian-African nations to reduce the number of colonial possessions. In this case undoubtedly they have acted against their own interest and against the interest of all oppressed peoples. They should have remembered that it was from this crown colony of Cyprus as a base that the United Kingdom and France launched their attack on Egypt and Suez Canal. It is to be hoped that some member would raise this question in the Parliament for clarification of India's vote.

PANCH SHILA

The most hopeful sign in the United Nations is the gradual emergence of the Asian-African powers of the Bandung Conference as a moral force in the deliberations of vital issues. This was particularly noticeable during the debates on Disarmament, China, South Africa, New Guinea, Algeria and lastly on Peaceful Co-existence. At the last meeting of the General Assembly, India, Sweden and Yugoslavia sponsored a resolution in the form of a Declaration, concerning the peaceful co-existence of States. Of course, the inspiration is from Panch Shila

and the Bandung Conference. The draft resolution is as follows:

"Considering the urgency and the importance of strengthening international peace and of developing peaceful and neighbourly relations among States, irrespective of their divergences or the relative stages and nature of their political, economic and social development,

"Recalling that among the fundamental objectives of the Charter are the maintenance of international peace and security and friendly co-operation among States,

"Realizing the need to promote these objectives and to develop peaceful and tolerant relations among States, in conformity with the Charter, based on—

- (1) Mutual respect and benefit,
- (2) Non-aggression,
- (3) Respect for each other's sovereignty,
- (4) Equality and territorial integrity, and
- (5) Non-intervention in one another's internal affairs, and to fulfil the purposes and principles of the Charter,

"Recognizing the need to broaden international co-operation, to reduce tensions, and to settle differences and disputes among States by peaceful means,

"Calls upon all States to make every effort to strengthen international peace and develop friendly and co-operative relations and settle disputes by peaceful means as enjoined in the Charter and as set forth in this resolution."

Mr. Krishna Menon in a lengthy speech supported the resolution, saying that these five principles are the corner-stones of India's foreign policy. Mr. Jarring of Sweden, one of the sponsors, said that these principles had gained popularity in Asia. They appeared in the agreement of April 29, 1954, between India and

China. Prime Minister Nehru has referred to Panch Shila or the five principles on different occasions. At the Asian-African Conference of Bandung in 1955 the twenty-nine participating States adopted a programme consisting of ten points which include the five principles. He pointed out that during the visit of the Swedish Prime Minister to Moscow in 1956, the joint statement issued by the Prime Ministers of Sweden and the Soviet Union, contained these five principles.

Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge of the United States in supporting the resolution, said:

"It seems fitting to begin our discussion of this subject with a tribute to the delegation of India, whose initiative, along with that of Sweden and Yugoslavia has considerably brightened the outlook. The United States welcomes the draft resolution and warmly supports it."

He criticised the Soviet Union for stifling free expression and free election. In this connection he paid tribute to India's democratic free election. There 121 million people registered their opinion as to who should constitute the Parliament of India. He finished by saying:

"We have often fallen far short of our goal, but that is no reason to despair. Just as twelve years ago the founding of the United Nations expressed the hopes of men and women throughout the world, so today we have the duty to express those hopes again and to show that we intend to be faithful to them. The draft resolution offered by India, Sweden and Yugoslavia is such an expression. It is a worthy vehicle for our hopes. We should adopt it, and not only should we adopt it, but we should do so unanimously and with sincerity and then we should all set about carrying it out."

The resolution was adopted without a dissenting vote. And thus Panch Shila and the spirit of Bandung triumphed.

Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.



RURAL EDUCATION AND RURAL UNIVERSITY

By PROF. A. C. BANERJI

I

RURAL EDUCATION

ALMOST everyone in India will agree that there should be widely distributed population in India and that the villages should be prosperous, economically stable, culturally rich and largely self-supporting so that young people will find greater interest and get more opportunities in utilising their natural gifts and taking initiative in various enterprises.

Indian history tells us that about 200 years ago there was wide distribution of cultural life throughout the villages. It is noteworthy that the great cultural literature of India mostly originated in villages. It is unfortunate that literature of the same type and standard cannot be produced by the villages of today. Let us analyse the causes for the steady decline of cultural tradition of present-day villages. One of the main causes is that those who are in power are steadily despoiling the villages. The life-blood of the villages is being steadily sucked by urban society and even by those in authority in the shape of interest on debts, taxes and rents. The nation gets its food and texture from the villages and creates its wealth by exploiting them so that most of the villages are left with mere mud huts, scanty garments and simple tools for work. Moreover, there is unfortunately lack of integrity, on many occasions, on the part of interested persons from urban areas in their dealings with the simple village folk. The second cause for the decline of progress and prosperity in the village is the absence of scientific mind and the lack of open and inquiring spirit. Rural mind in India is unfortunately locked in the rigid frame of customs and traditions with the inevitable result that the mind loses its vigour and vitality. On the other hand, if the scientific spirit gets an opportunity of spreading widely in rural areas, it will completely invigorate and revitalise the villages. In addition of being a progressive

factor such a vitalising force will have a stabilising influence. Hence, it is very necessary that the villagers should develop the habit of free and critical enquiry.

There is a third cause which impedes the progress and prosperity of the villages. It is the absence of any clear idea of what a good village should be. As a basis for material welfare of the village it should be economically prosperous. Modern technical methods should be adopted for efficient farming. Food production in the village can be immensely increased by this method and much of the village population can be spared for other useful works besides agriculture. In order that villages may be self-supporting to a large extent it is necessary that each village or a group of villages within a small region should have a wide range of economic activities. In this way much of the industry of the country will be widely distributed and located in villages and small towns. Although America has established vast centralised industries, yet there are many thousands of thriving small industries in rural areas of America. It is noteworthy that over half the business of America is done by small- and medium-sized firms. There is no reason why small- and medium-sized industries should not equally flourish and be widespread in India.

It is very necessary for every village to have good all-weather roads. Every village should be supplied with cheap electric power. There should be adequate supply of water under pressure either from streams or tubewells. On a co-operative basis it should not be difficult to have refrigerator plants to preserve perishable fruits and vegetables. In the long run, in spite of initial cost, a refrigerating system will be much more economical as large quantities of fruits and vegetables will be spared and prevented from perishing. By and by cheap processes for temperature control and humidity control may be introduced, and much of the inconveniences due to summer and humid heat may be avoided. But these economic and

hygienic advantages would be of no avail unless not be bound down by traditional systems and corresponding development of character and should teach modern agricultural methods. The culture proceeds side by side. For recreation secrets of good agricultural processes are being traditional games, music and dances of India continuously revealed to the world by researches. may easily be developed.

Much has been said about basic education secondary schools should have well-proportioned and its programme has been clearly defined. and all-round education. Elementary Geography, This type of education should enable the Geology and also Astronomy should be taught children to get a glimpse of the main issues and to give the pupil an insight into the physical interests of living. But we should not make environments. It is also necessary that they spinning and weaving the fetish of basic education should have general knowledge of the history of their locality, of India and of the world. They over-emphasis in this scheme for producing should have some idea about local and national cloth and fabric. It is true that clothing like Governments. Some knowledge of good literature would help them to develop their mind. food and shelter is one of the three basic human needs. It is, perhaps, as well that the child Some knowledge of mathematics would be gets familiar with an economic process which necessary to meet their practical needs. Their would guide its whole life. Or, perhaps, it will education should be such as would help in be still better if the child develop a more distributed interest and a more varied attention to cultivating good habits and correct attitude of various processes of rural life. mind and spirit in them. Open-mindedness, honesty, love of freedom and the habit of

The programme for rural secondary education or post-basic education has been less clearly worked out. In the field of rural secondary education greatest benefit can be achieved if it be possible to make each rural secondary school a residential unit. Each school should have about 200 pupils and possess about 50 acres of land. About 20 acres of land should be utilised for school buildings, hostels, playgrounds, workshops and small industries and the remaining portion should be utilised for agriculture, fruit growing, dairy, pasture, etc. The buildings and streets should be planned properly and built on the lines of a modern village.

Half the working time of each student should be devoted to study and half to farming, building, carpentry, cabinet-making, house-keeping, weaving, street-cleaning and other useful village work. It would also be desirable if one or more modern industries for manufacturing goods for sale are also included in the programme. As far as possible the secondary village schools should be self-supporting.

If the school industries are well-planned or well-managed it will go a long way towards making the village self-supporting. It would be a good profitable education if the school children are taught how to raise most of the food needed by the school and to make the land yield as much as possible. The school should be continuously increasing, as modern industries are being developed in villages and as new villages are being planned and constructed, larger and larger number of teachers, school administrators and trained men for various village industries and technical processes will be required. These teachers and trained men will have to be supplied by rural colleges. Again, village irrigation systems will require skilled workmen for their management. Moreover, construction, maintenance and operation of rural electric lines, drilling of tube-wells and construction of water taps would require skilled workers. Rural colleges would have to train technicians and skilled workers for village needs.

An ideal scheme would be to have a basic elementary school in almost every village of India. There should be a rural secondary school on a suitably situated village surrounded by a group of villages each containing one basic elementary school. Each rural secondary school would draw its pupils from surrounding basic elementary schools. Similarly, a rural college can be constructed in a village built for the purpose, and this college will draw its pupils from surrounding rural secondary schools. Rural college students should devote about half their time to their studies and half to their practical work. They will work for longer periods than rural secondary pupils. In rural colleges general education should be imparted along with practical courses.

Alumni of rural colleges should not only be skilled workers but also cultured and educated citizens. The rural colleges should as far as possible be self-supporting. Hence, in various colleges much of the practical work will be in connection with agriculture, fruit-growing, dairying, processing of agricultural crops, transportation, marketing and other interests. Rural colleges should also develop their own industries for training these students and for getting adequate income to support themselves. The college staff should also try to find suitable work for their students in industries, in rural elementary and secondary schools, in constructing and rebuilding villages, in irrigation, in rural electrification, in mines, in quarries, in forests, on railways and in other services. The rural colleges would teach up to B.A. and B.Sc. standard.

Rural education of a higher type and skill of a better order will be necessary to cope with the rapid development of rural India. It would involve work of a more exacting type. Hence, a number of rural Universities in the country should be established to cater for a selected number of students who after completing their rural college work would prepare themselves for more advanced work. A rural University should cater for post-graduate and research work.

A conceivable plan for rural University may be given here. It should consist of a ring of small colleges catering for B.A. and B.Sc. Pass degrees with the central building for specialised courses for post-graduate and research work. Each small B.A. or B.Sc. col-

lege should not contain more than 300 students for efficient training. Moreover, intimate contact between teachers and students should be ensured. The enrolment of the whole University including the small colleges should not exceed 3,000.

A workable syllabus for the Rural University has already been given elsewhere. A rural university should not be an extension or a replica of the urban University. Rural education should grow upward from the soil. The rural secondary school should evolve out of the basic elementary school. The rural college should grow out of the rural secondary schools and the Rural University should evolve out of the rural colleges.

It is essential that India should industrialise and that modern methods and modern industrial processes should be welcomed in the village. If this necessity for modernisation is not clearly understood, then rural secondary and higher education will be seriously hampered. It will be a foolish thing to pump irrigation water by muscle power only instead of by modern scientific methods. It will be useless waste of human efforts which can be used much more fruitfully otherwise, if water is pumped by human hands for the purpose of irrigating agricultural lands. A farmer can also get much greater yield from his field in much less time by using modern methods. Modern scientific methods are able to save much manual labour which after being realised can be very profitably diverted to various useful channels. In this matter it is necessary to make one safeguard, i.e., it should be ensured that enormous saving in labour which is thus made possible by modern machinery is actually utilised to raise the possibilities of life for the common man. It should never be used to exploit the common man for the benefit of those in control. For this reason it is necessary that industry should not wholly be concentrated in great units within or in the neighbourhood of large cities. On the other hand, a considerable part of it should be widely distributed over the country in smaller units mostly in small towns and villages.

In this way prosperity of modern industry will be diffused throughout the country. The village in modern times can no longer maintain

the status of a wholly independent and self-contained economic unit. It can only remain as a basic unit of society which is the stepping stone to the formation of a large society. The villagers now require books, radios, watches, bicycles, electric goods, etc. These all cannot be produced by each village for itself. Each village will have to depend upon other towns and villages for the supply of many commodities. Inter-relation is the trend of the time and the world is becoming more and more inter-connected. It is necessary that different inter-related units should co-operate with one another. Each village unit should be at the same time independent and inter-dependent.

In the words of Professor Arthur E. Morgan, "The best degree of local self-sufficiency and not the greatest degree should be the aim of each village unit."

II

RURAL UNIVERSITY

India has a vast rural population. It has been estimated that more than 80 per cent of the total population of India live in villages. The strength of India lies in villages, hence the village life in India has got great significance. If rural life in this vast sub-continent gets greatly disorganised, vigour and vitality of our national life would suffer considerably. Our villages constitute a huge reservoir of life, power and vital resources. So long as this reservoir is kept full, nation's vigour and vitality remain at a high level. A careful study of sociological conditions in urban areas in Europe and America have shown that city families are liable to become extinct after a few generations. Unless there is continuous replenishment from healthy and vigorous rural population the cities cannot grow and flourish. There are various instances in the world's history where cities which were once prosperous and flourishing decayed and became extinct in course of time. Secondary and University education has hardly touched our village population. Due to extreme poverty, lack of opportunities and absence of cultural activities in the villages a large proportion of able, efficient and ambitious youngmen have been shifting more or less permanently during the last hundred years or so from the villages to the cities to get higher

education and join the universities with the hope of improving their prospects, realising their ambition and raising their social and political status. Thus the cities are continuously absorbing the nation's cream of strength and vitality from the villages and are hardly giving back anything in return. The villages are constantly being deprived of their life and power; and the nation's life and vitality are continuously being sapped. Hence, it is very necessary to take early remedial steps so that the drift of able and competent young men from the villages may be substantially reduced. On the other hand, if the influx of vigorous young blood into the cities from the villages is completely stopped then the cities will suffer from intellectual and cultural stagnation and ultimately they will begin to decay. To maintain vigour and vitality both in the cities and the villages exchange of able and intelligent youngmen between urban and rural areas within moderate limits would be necessary. Let us analyse our rural problems which await immediate solutions. Let us trace out the causes which lead to the gradual depletion of village resources of culture and vitality. Most of the villages contain mud huts with unprotected walls. The village paths often serve as drains. In many of the villages stagnant pools of water into which drains also fall are often used for drinking water and for washing clothes and utensils. Stagnant pools also become breeding places for mosquitoes. Hence, water-borne, mosquito-borne and fly-borne diseases all take their toll in the villages. If our villages are to be healthy, habitable, attractive and economically prosperous, modern technical devices should be fully utilised. Every village should have good accessible all-weather roads. It should have adequate supply of good uncontaminated water through pipes under pressure. It should also have proper sewer system and be supplied with cheap electric power. Each village should have an adequate number of well-ventilated, properly constructed and cheap pucca houses. Small-scale farming on which the prosperity of village farmers chiefly depends may be made much more productive by applying modern labour-saving methods.

There are more than six hundred thousand villages in India. It is well-nigh impossible to rebuild them and transform them into ideal

villages within a short time. The immediate necessity is to construct a number of model villages, each being in the midst of a group of existing villages and within easy distance of them. By and by these old villages would take their cue from their model village and try to become healthy and prosperous rural units.

It is not desirable that the entire industry of a country should be located in big cities and their suburbs. On the other hand, it is very necessary that a substantial portion of a country's industry should be located in small towns and villages. There should be decentralised progressive industrialisation of the country. Villages cannot be completely independent discrete units. There should be interdependence and inter-relationship between villages and villages, and villages and cities, and between cities and cities.

It is unfortunate that almost the whole of intellectual and cultural Bengal is being centralised in Calcutta and suburbs. Also apart from Asansol area industry is being concentrated in Calcutta and its suburbs, such a state of things has its unfortunate consequences. Scholars, teachers, businessmen; students desirous of having higher education, lawyers, doctors are all anxious to come and reside in Calcutta. In Calcutta, they find many amenities of life which are totally absent in most of the villages. The number of medical doctors practising in Calcutta is decidedly more than what is necessary for this city, in relation to villages.

It is significant that sometime ago the question arose as to whether admissions to Medical Colleges in the city should be restricted or not. The leading physicians in Calcutta have extensive practice whereas there are many younger physicians who have got meagre practice; some of them also find it difficult to make both ends meet. But let us look at the condition prevailing in villages. Most of the villages have very few doctors, and some of the villages have none at all; owing to the absence of amenities of life and to the lack of other opportunities many young doctors would not like to leave Calcutta in spite of their difficulty to make both ends meet in the city and settle in the villages. Even in business the cream of youth drifts not only from villages but also

from provincial towns in other States to the Presidency cities like Calcutta or Bombay.

Apart from the small University of Visva-Bharati of recent origin two other Universities in the State of West Bengal, viz., Calcutta University and Jadavpur University are located in Calcutta and its suburb. Hence, there is a very large influx of student population in Calcutta. The question of accommodation for such a large body of students has become a grave problem. Most of them live under conditions which are not conducive to serious study and are positively detrimental to their health. Moreover, there are many distractions in a big city like Calcutta which are prejudicial to their morals and prevent them from having seriousness of purpose and forming disciplined habits. On the other hand, the teachers cannot give their best to the students. Due to high cost of living many teachers, in order to make both ends meet, have to exhaust their energy by accepting private tuitions or by writing cheap notes for the examinees. For raising the standard of education it is necessary that the teachers should not only be sound scholars but for efficient teaching they should devote time to prepare their lectures before delivering the same.

Now a grave problem faces us foreshadowing ominous consequences. If our village get completely depleted of their reserves of available resources of intellect, vitality, and culture, Calcutta will no longer get replenishment of life and vigour from the villages. After a few generations Calcutta will begin to decay perhaps rapidly. Ultimately the whole of Bengal will suffer and deteriorate.

I have already mentioned before that in order to prevent the drift of able and intelligent young men from the villages to large cities, the villages should be made more attractive and habitable; amenities of life should be increased, economic and hygienic advantages should be secured and new opportunities be created to satisfy the ambitions of promising young men. To ensure their future prospects able and aspiring young men would like to have higher or University education. Hence, it is necessary to decentralise higher or University education. It is, therefore, necessary to have a few regional Universities in model villages and in district towns. This will relieve considerably the im-

mense pressure on Calcutta University and Calcutta colleges. The influx of students into Calcutta will decrease considerably. A large part of the student population will be free from many of the distractions of city life. They will be able to devote much more time for serious study. They will get much greater opportunity to build up their character, to cultivate disciplined habits and to lead a moral life. In these regional universities the teachers will get much greater opportunities to come into intimate contact with the students and guide them in proper directions.

Some of these Regional Universities should be Rural Universities. What is true of Bengal is more or less true of other States in India. It is specially true of Rajputana where arid rural areas need immediate development. A rural University is, therefore, a great necessity for Rajputana.

Dr. Radhakrishnan has truly said that

"Education is not identical with formal intellectual training; men can become educated without being intellectuals and that intellectuals are not necessarily educated men."

It is necessary that education and intellectual training go hand in hand and they must not be hostile to each other. We have to be careful and see that the right type of education is imparted to rural people. The success or failure of democracy in any country depends to a considerable extent on the type of education that may be made available to the rural population. The programme of education in rural areas should be liberal, broad-based and able to create opportunities which would inspire able and brilliant young men to remain part and parcel of villagers to serve and guide them and to help in uplifting the whole village.

A prevalent idea among certain sections of educationists is that liberal and higher education should be limited to a small intellectual group, and only vocational education should be imparted to common people. Such an idea is undoubtedly reactionary and foreign to proper democratic outlook. On the other hand, liberal and higher education should be made available for all young people possessing necessary qualities to derive benefit from it. A democracy

requires true "leadership" and not "rulership" which transforms "rulers" into "dictators." History teaches us that the people's cause was lost many times when leaders became estranged from the common people and turned dictators. Grundtvig, who was the originator of the People's College idea in Denmark, wrote:

"People in our day shout themselves hoarse about freedom and culture and that is certainly what we need, but the proposals for attaining them usually have the same fundamental faults as Plato's Republic where the guardians of freedom and culture themselves swallow them both up, so that the people for all their labour get only proud tyrants to obey, to support, and if that can comfort them to admire and deify."

Our problem is to evolve that type of liberal education which will produce proper leadership with requisite intellectual discipline and culture and will maintain identity with common people.

In another place I have discussed briefly "Basic and Secondary" education under rural conditions and there is no necessity for me to cover the same ground again. Rural higher education is a natural sequel to this. The Rural University which is expected to impart higher rural education should evolve its own special pattern quite distinct from the traditional type of urban university.

It is expected that in near future every State will have a rural education council to advise the State Government in matters relating to rural Basic, Secondary and University education.

The Rural University will be a new experiment. The Rural University should be an autonomous body and should have freedom to work out its plan in its own way. Each university should prepare its own syllabus not merely on general lines but also keeping in view the special features of rural education. There should be two controlling bodies for each Rural University, viz., the Executive Council and the Academic Council. The Executive Council should be the main authority to direct and control the general policy of the University. It should meet at least once a month. The Academic Council should guide academic policies and programme. The Rural University need not be saddled with

such bodies as the Court or the Senate. A simpler frame-work will give greater freedom to the new University to develop along its special lines. Perhaps, a Development Board would be more useful as it would advise the University regarding the lines on which the University should develop. The new University may do away with the Faculties but different Boards of Studies would be necessary. The Boards of Studies shall frame the syllabus and may propose new courses of studies and submit them to the Academic Council for consideration. The Executive and the Academic Councils may form committees to help them in their work. If necessary, combined meetings of the Executive Council and the Academic Council may be held to decide important questions. The appellations "Chancellor" and "Vice-Chancellor" savours of mediaeval ritualism. In a new type of University it will be better to have the names the President and the Rector in place of the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor. The Rector shall preside at the meetings of the Executive Council and the Academic Council. There shall be two other administrative officers, *viz.*, the Treasurer and Registrar.

New schemes will have to be launched and new experiments will have to be undertaken for developing our villages. In the beginning some of these schemes and experiments may be unsuccessful. But unsuccessful attempts after making honest endeavours need not dishearten us. We learn by experience and in our next attempts we hope to be more successful.

It is suggested that the Executive Council may have the following constitution:

- (1) The Rector (Chairman).
- (2) The Treasurer.
- (3) Three Heads of Departments nominated by the Academic Council.
- (4) Two teachers nominated by the Academic Council.
- (5) Three members nominated by the State Rural Education Council.
- (6) Two members nominated by the President.

(7) The Registrar (Secretary).

It is suggested that the Academic Council may have the following constitution:

- (1) The Rector (Chairman).
- (2) The Heads of Departments.

(3) One teacher of each Department nominated by the Department.

(4) Two members nominated by the State Rural Education Council.

Certain difficulties are bound to arise between the old type of Urban Universities and the new type of Rural Universities. But we can hope that tolerance and mutual adjustments between the two types of Universities will stave off these difficulties. There may be certain brilliant students for Rural Secondary Schools who may desire and be able to join some older type of Urban University without much disadvantage to themselves and *vice versa*. It is desirable that such migration from one type of University to another should be permitted. There should not be any irksome legislation preventing such migration. It would be mutually disadvantageous if these two types of University choose to remain in water-tight compartments. Such an attitude is bound to hamper their free development. It is, therefore, necessary that in the syllabus for Rural Universities apart from subjects having special bearing on rural matters there should be some general subjects on Humanities and Basic Sciences.

Systematic efforts are now being made both by Central and State Governments to improve amenities of rural life by promoting rural industries, by introducing rural health and library services and by undertaking agricultural extension work. It would be a profitable idea if the Rural University becomes the regional centre of rural service agencies of Government. By this process the activities of different agencies will be co-ordinated and unnecessary conflict and duplication of expenditure will be avoided.

Recently the Higher Rural Education Committee set up by the Central Government has recommended the establishment of Rural Institutes, the aims and objects of these Institutes being—

- (a) to provide facilities for higher studies to students who completed their post-basic or higher secondary courses;
- (b) to provide certificates courses in subjects, such as rural hygiene, agriculture and rural engineering and also shorter courses;
- (c) comprehensive teaching-cum-research-cum-extension programme.

These Rural Institutes are intended to function as cultural and training centres and as centres for development planning in rural areas. I feel that the establishment of Rural Institutes will not be able to prevent the drift of able and promising young men from villages to cities having Urban Universities. These Rural Institutes will only award certificates whereas these ambitious young men won't be satisfied with anything less than a degree. They feel that their status in social and educational spheres would be lower than that of degree-holders. These young persons would therefore continue to go to cities and join Urban Universities in order to get degrees. Without equalising the status of the young man of the village and that of the young man of the city in the academic world by giving them equal opportunities for getting the University education in their respective regions, no effective response will be achieved if promising young men in the villages are advised to stick to their village after receiving whatever rural education they may get in the village and help in the noble task of uplifting it and making it an ideal village. Hence, I am definitely in favour of having Rural Universities which would award degrees of high standard and provide for extensive researches in rural subjects.

It may not be out of place to mention here that culture is not the monopoly of urban life nor of village life. It is common to all humanity. Hence, to promote culture a course of liberal education common both to Urban and Rural Universities should be a part of the syllabus in both the Universities. This common part should include an appropriate course in Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Astronomy; Biology; Physical Education, Psychology, Social Science, History, Philosophy, Economics and Languages. Detailed syllabuses of the above subjects have not been incorporated in this note. If required they may be added later on.

Rural Universities should also train up teachers for rural basic and post-basic education. Three characteristics are essential for achieving success as a teacher, *viz.*,

- (a) Thorough mastery over the subject in which he lectures.

- (b) His all-round education,
- (c) Genuine interest in his work.

The degree course, *i.e.*, B.A. or B.Sc. course, in a Rural University should be a three-year course in conformity of what obtains in Urban Universities. The Post-Graduate course, *i.e.*, M.A. or M.Sc. course should extend over two years.

For M.A. or M.Sc. course groups of subjects as specified below may be introduced:

GROUP I

- (a) River Physics and Water-control Engineering.
- (b) Soil Chemistry and Soil Engineering.
- (c) Physics of temperature control.
- (d) Physics.
- (e) Chemistry.

GROUP II

- (a) Food process technology.
- (b) Ocean products technology.
- (c) Mineral processing.
- (d) Biology.
- (e) Agriculture.

GROUP III

- (a) Rural public administration.
- (b) Rural social welfare including Rural village planners.
- (c) Rural Arts, Sociology and Anthropology.
- (d) Law.
- (e) Economics.

For B.A. and B.Sc. courses, a few groups of subjects as specified below may be introduced:

GROUP I

- (a) General Sciences including Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Geology.
- (b) Humanities including Economics, History, Philosophy and Social Sciences.
- (c) Agriculture.
- (d) Animal and Dairy Husbandry.

GROUP II

- (a) Physics including Elementary Mathematics.
- (b) Chemistry.

- (c) Biology.
- (d) Geology.

GROUP III

- (a) Economics.
- (b) History.
- (c) Law.
- (d) Business Administration.

GROUP IV

- (a) Social Science.
- (b) Home Sciences.
- (c) Rural Arts and Industries.
- (d) Business administration.

GROUP V

- (a) Physics.
- (b) Mathematics.
- (c) Chemistry.
- (d) Rural Engineering.

GROUP VI

- (a) Rural Engineering.
- (b) Law.
- (c) Business Administration.
- (d) Geology.

GROUP VII

- (a) Elementary Medical course.
- (b) Biology.
- (c) Business Administration.
- (d) Rural Arts and Industries.

GROUP VIII

- (a) General Science.
- (b) and (c) Two languages.
- (d) Library Science.

GROUP IX

- (a) General Science.
- (b) Rural Engineering.

- (c) Local Self-Government and Law of Land-ownership.
- (d) Business Administration.

GROUP X

- (a) General Science.
- (b) Rural Engineering.
- (c) Rural Arts and Industries.
- (d) Business Administration.

In a Rural University the curriculum should be flexible and so framed as to meet the needs of industrial students as well, hence, combination of subjects other than those specified above may be permitted.

After M.A. or M.Sc. degree, researches in various subjects of rural interests may be undertaken and some of the candidates may prepare for Doctorate degrees. There is no reason why the Rural University would not be able to prepare its graduates for most thorough research on scientific lines. They should also acquire sufficient practical ability to make profitable use of natural resources.

Some of the useful topics in which researches can be carried out are:

- (a) Ethical researches relating to practical problems of rural India.
- (b) Psychological researches to explore critically the processes of rural Indian mind.
- (c) Sociological, Anthropological and Cultural researches in rural areas.
- (d) Researches in population.
- (e) Agricultural researches.

So far as West Bengal is concerned Kalyani would be an ideal place for a Rural University. North Bengal may have either a Rural or an Urban University.



STUDIES IN CLASSICAL SANSKRIT (1956-57)

BY PROF. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THE main object of the present paper is to take a stock of the work done in Classical Sanskrit during the years 1956-7 and in the light of it to formulate our future programme of studies.

It is a matter of regret that owing to the lack of proper bibliographical aids the stock-taking cannot be complete. I may only take a bird's eye-view. Incidentally I may refer to a valuable bibliographical publication, e.g., *Indology in 1953* by Sri S. Chaudhuri which has appeared in the form of a supplement to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, XXII—Bibliographical Supplement. Two more works undertaken for publication will be helpful in this connection. I mean *Indian Writers' Who is Who* and *Parichayika* (information about eminent lovers and scholars of Sanskrit) proposed to be published respectively by the Sahitya Akademi and the Sanskrit Vishva Parishad. A list of Sanskrit works published during the last fifty years under preparation by the Akademi may be of great help if properly compiled. The compilation is a difficult job requiring the utilisation of numerous sources. A reference may be made in this connection to Dr. Raghavan's *Sanskrit and other Indological Studies in Europe*. This is a very useful book of reference which gives an account of European scholars, of the work done or being done by them and of centres of Sanskrit and allied studies in different countries of Europe.

Similar accounts of Sanskrit studies in other countries would also be interesting. A passing reference to the present state of Sanskrit studies in China and Japan is made in the valuable work of R. H. Van Gulik entitled *Siddham* which follows another monumental work dealing with an analogous subject, e.g., *Sanskrit in Indonesia* by T. Gonda, both published by the International Academy of Indian Culture, Nagpur. The main thesis of the learned author is to show that though Sanskrit was always held in great esteem, its study never flourished in

either China or Japan in olden times. Instead the Indian script—in a variety of Brahmi called Siddham—played an important role in Far Eastern Buddhism ever since the introduction of the script in China in the 8th Century A.D. The position occupied by Sanskrit in the life and literature of different countries of what is called Greater India forms a fascinating subject of study which has been dealt with partially so far. Hooykaas' interesting accounts of Javanese versions of Sanskrit works like the *Ramayana* (JOIB, V) and the *Kamandakiya Nitisara* (JGIS, XV) belong to the latest contributions on the topic.

I should now briefly deal with the work done in different branches of Classical Sanskrit. It will be possible to deal with the main trends and most important items as far as they have attracted my notice.

Of great undertakings almost of international importance the critical edition of the *Mahabharata* by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, the revised edition of the *Catalogus Catalogorum* by the Madras University and the great Dictionary of Sanskrit undertaken by the Deccan College Research Institute are all making good progress.

The enterprise of the Bhandarkar Institute has encouraged others in launching on similar projects. Of these the most important is the proposed critical edition of the *Ramayana* undertaken by the Oriental Institute of Baroda which has made considerable headway in its mission. The constituted text of a substantial portion of the *Balakanda* with the critical apparatus is already in print and the first fascicule is expected to be issued by the middle of 1958. The editorial work in connection with the *Ayodhya* and *Aranya-kandas* is also making satisfactory progress. In pursuance of the Kashi Raja Trust Scheme for editing the *Puranas* the collation of manuscripts of the *Matsyapurana* has been finished under the supervision of Dr. V. Raghavan. The *Sarasvatibhavan* of Varanasi

has taken up the publication of the *Kalika-purana* and the *Agnipurana* of which the first one has been sent to the press. The proposed critical editions of the *Bhagavatapurana* and the *Visnupurana* are still in their inceptional stages at the hands respectively of the Gujrat Vidya-sabha of Ahmedabad and the Mithila Research Institute of Darbhanga.

Of contributions made by individual scholars to epic and puranic studies, mention may be made of the *Purana Index* by the late Dr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar of which the third and last volume has been published. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar's *The Meaning of the Mahabharata* is a valuable posthumous publication. It contains the texts of four lectures meant to be delivered at the University of Bombay in 1942. Three of the lectures were actually presented before the University. The lectures represent the fruit of the learned scholar's life-long study of the great epic. They would throw welcome light on the significance of the story of the Mahabharata.

Dr. S. K. De and Dr. R. C. Hazra have completed a volume of anthology of Epics and Puranas which will form part of the proposed Anthology of Sanskrit Literature to be published by the Sahitya Akademi.

It may be noted that an anthology of Sanskrit literature covering its various early phases including dharma-sastra, epics and Puranas has already been published under the UNESCO programme of translation of classics of different nations. This anthology, selected and translated by Dr. V. Raghavan, has been published by the Indian Institute of Culture of Bangalore under the title *The Indian Heritage*.

Dr. R. C. Hazra is carrying on his studies on the Purana literature. His monograph on the Upapuranas is in the press. Several papers by him dealing with the date and nature of a number of Puranas have been published in different oriental journals. As one of the most popular branches of our literature the Puranas offer various problems and different topics of study. The huge accretions, for instance, that came to be made from time to time to the main body of the Purana literature up to a very late period form a very interesting subject of study from many standpoints: linguistic, mythological and social. The numerous versions of Puranic

stories, again, current in different parts of the country deserve critical treatment at the hands of the scholar.

In Dharmasastra the monumental work of Dr. P. V. Kane, the *History of Dharmasastra*, is nearing completion. It is a matter of joy for all students of Sanskrit that the fourth volume of the work—the last volume so far published—has been the proud recipient of the Sahitya Akademi award in 1956 of Rs. 5000/- as the most outstanding book in Sanskrit or rather in Sanskrit studies. The completing fasciculus of the critical edition of the *Danasagara*, a comprehensive and well-known work on gifts by King Ballalasena (12th century) of Bengal has been published (1956). The *Vyavaharachintamani* of Vachaspati Misra as edited with an introduction, annotated translation and appendices by Ludo Rocher has been issued in off-set type (1956). Dr. R. C. Hazra has brought to light a new work of Bhatta Bhavadeva, famous Smriti-writer of Bengal, viz., the *Sabamritikasauchaprakaran* (IHQ, 32, 1-14). Dr. S. C. Banerji has in his attempt at reconstruction of dharmasastras collected a number of passages attributed to Atri, Bharadvaja, Chyavana, Devala in different dharmasastra works (JOI, VI). Dr. Banerji has also drawn attention to a number of forgotten Smriti-writers of Bengal (IHQ, 32, 36-43). Dr. Kane's *A Tentative Edition of the portions of the Rajamartanda dealing with the Tithis, Vratas and Utsavas* (ABORI, XXXVI, 306-39) is a valuable piece of work setting a model of how this or other important Smriti texts should be edited.

While speaking of the Puranas and the Dharmasastras we are reminded of the Tantras. Of the numerous branches of Sanskrit literature the Tantra appears to be the most neglected. The vast literature coming under it has not been subjected to the critical treatment it deserves. A small portion of the literature has been published but strictly critical editions and studies are very rare, if not altogether unknown. The recent efforts of Messrs. Ganesh & Co. of Madras in bringing out beautiful editions of a number of Tantrik texts would have been highly appreciated by scholars if they were more critical than handsome. Critical editions and studies of the Tantras, especially of the Tantra digests, are essential for a correct

evaluation of their literature and the tenets propounded therein. Descriptive and analytic studies of the rituals will also be welcome. In this connection a reference may be made to the edition and annotated translation made by Nowotony of a purely ritualistic portion of a work of Trimalla and published in the pages of *Indo-Iranian Journal* (Vol. I. pp. 109-154).

Quite a good number of Kavya works have been published. As an accessory to the proposed *Kalidasa-Lexicon* A. Scharpe's critical editions of *Malavikagnimitra* and *Vikramorvasiya* have been issued (Gent, 1956) as Part II of Vol. I which will contain basic texts of the works of Kalidasa for use in the lexicon. Part I containing the text of the *Abhijnana-sakuntala* was published in 1954.

The Sahitya Akademi has undertaken the publication of critical editions of the works of Kalidasa and allotted different volumes to different scholars. Dr. S. K. De's edition of the *Meghaduta* has already been published. The printing and get-up of this valuable scholarly edition is, however, not up to the mark. The Akademi proposes to bring out an anthology of Classical Sanskrit Literature and it is under preparation by Dr. V. Raghavan and Dr. V. S. Agrawal. Sternbach's critical edition of Chanakya's Aphorisms in Hitopadesa, appearing serially in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, deserves special mention here. Of hitherto-unknown works brought to light there are few of outstanding merit. In the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series we are presented with a number of works of which the *Sivavilasa* of Damodara (14th century) has some historical importance in that the theme of the work centres round the life of King Keralavarman. The *Usaparinaya-prabandha* and the *Gopikonmada* are both anonymous, the former a short *champu* work and the latter a short lyrical poem of 124 verses. The Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute of Jaipur which has taken upon itself the task of collecting and publishing little-known small works of Rajasthan and Gujrat has brought out within a short space of time critical editions of a number of interesting works. Of these the *Rajavinodakavya* of Udayaraja possesses considerable historical value in that it deals with the life-story of Muhammad Begra, the well-known Sultan of Gujrat in the second half of the 15th

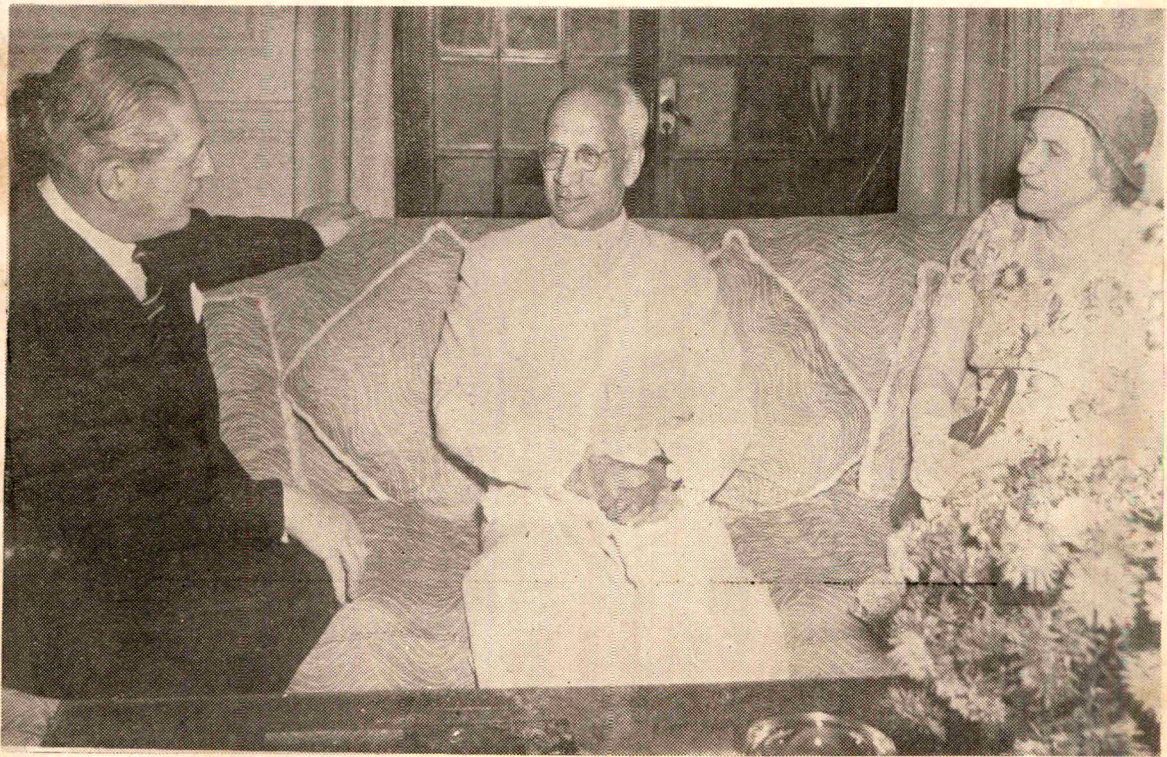
century. *Sringaraharavali* is a collection of one hundred erotic verses by Sri Harsa who has been supposed to be identical with the great author of the *Naisadhacharita*. The *Krishnagiti* of Somanatha is a small poetical work of the type of Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*, numerous poems in imitation of which were written in different parts of the country. The *Karnakutuhala*, a comparatively late work by poet Bholanatha of the court of Madhava Simha and Pratapasimha of the 18th century, is a peculiar production. It begins in the manner of a dramatic work but ends with the narration of a story. Interesting small works are published also in the newly-introduced Oriental Thought Series, the latest work published in the Series being the *Sivnamakalpatalaratnalavalakavya* attributed to the celebrated Tantric author Bhaskararaya. This work explains the significance of 108 names of God Siva in 108 verses in 108 different metres. Another small *kavya* work ascribed to the same author was published earlier in the same Series. A little-known work attributed to the well-known author Kshemendra, viz., the *Nitikalpataru*, has been published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute on the basis of a single manuscript. The Mithila Institute of Darbhanga has brought-out a critical edition of a *mahakavya* called *Parijataharana* of poet Kavi Karnapura (circa 15th century) who seems to be different from the famous Vaishnava poet of the same name of Bengal.

Reference should be made to two important works on the *Naisadha Charita*: (1) Second edition of the translation of the work by Prof. K. K. Handiqui published by the Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, (2) *A Critical Study of Sriharsa's Naisadhiya-charitam* by Dr. A. N. Jani published by the Oriental Institute of Baroda. This is a comprehensive study on the author and his *magnum opus*. Another interesting work is Dr. Kunhan Raja's *Kalidasa—A Cultural Study* (Waltair, 1956) which deals with the views and descriptions of the poet concerning subjects like kings, the common people and women, ideal of beauty, art, nature, heaven and earth, renunciation and release, harmony, etc.

The publication of two hitherto-unknown works on Alankara deserves mention. The credit of bringing the works to light goes to the



Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem, President of the Republic of Vietnam, with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru



Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in conversation with Mr. Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of U.K. and Lady Dorothy Macmillan



1. President Dr. Rajendra Prasad inaugurating the 14th International Tuberculosis Conference at Vigyan Bhavan in New Delhi. 2. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurating the fourth session of the Asian Regional Conference of the I.L.O. 3. Delegates who came from different countries of the world to attend a Conference of the International Red Cross at New Delhi. 4. A British delegate addressing the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference held in New Delhi

Mithila Research Institute. One of these is an old commentary on Dandin's *Kavyadarsa* by Ratnasrijnana of Ceylon, who is stated to have composed the commentary in the 23rd regnal year (931 A.D.) of King Rajyapala, probably of the Pala dynasty of Bengal. The other work is the *Kavyapariksha* of Srivatsalanchana Bhattacharya. The author who is supposed to have flourished some time between 1200-1600 A.D. and hailed from Orissa is referred to and refuted by Jagannatha in his *Rasagangadhara*. This is a work of the type of the *Sahityadarpana* of Visvanatha, also of Orissa. The Karikas are mostly borrowed from the *Kavyaprakasa* of Mammata. The Institute is also engaged in the preparation of a critical edition of the text of the *Kavyadarsa* on the basis of all available materials pertaining to the work. Of expository work done in English I may mention two. Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy who has made a special study of the *Dhvanyaloka* and published the results of his study in the form of books and papers, has come out with the first complete English translation of this important work together with its gloss. Mere literary translations of compressed abstruse texts like the one dealt with here, however, do not go a great way in making them comprehensible to the general reader. And hence we find another scholar Prof. Bishnupada Bhattacharya, engaged in bringing out an elaborate exposition in English of the text, of which two parts containing the first two sections have so far been published. Reference may also be made to *The Aesthetic Experience according to Abhinavagupta* which contains a careful edition and an English translation by R. Gnoli of a section of Abhinava's commentary on the *Bharata-Natyashastra*.

Conservation and study of our rich manuscript treasure has not, it must be confessed, as yet received its due share of attention at the hands of scholars and administrators. The demands repeatedly made by this conference in this connection for so many years still remain unfulfilled. As a silver lining in the cloud is the plan of the Government to make arrangements for the publication of important manuscripts lying in different parts of the country. For this purpose lists have been invited from a number of learned institutions. Already the Sangita Nataka Akademi has made arrangements for the publication of six unpublished old works

on music in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. The first of these six works, the *Ragatattvavibodha* of Srinivasa, a 17th century work, has been published. We hope other important manuscripts preserved in different parts of the country will receive the attention of the Akademi.

Of institutions engaged in the collection and preservation of manuscripts the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute is one of the latest. Within the short span of its existence it is reported to have collected as many as 10,000 manuscripts of which the number of Sanskrit manuscripts exceeds 6,000. One important study tour was undertaken in connection with the study of manuscripts. In pursuance of the plan for a survey of Manuscript Libraries in Nepal initiated by the Asiatic Society and sponsored by the Government of India a survey party led by Sri S. K. Saraswati of the Calcutta University went to Nepal in October last year and made preliminary enquiry of the resources of the private and Government collections and examined the personal collection of Field Marshal Sir Kaiser Shamsar Jang Bahadur Rana. The collection, though small, is stated to be valuable in more than one respect. Dr. V. Raghavan's inventory of 20,000 manuscripts surveyed during his tour of European countries is undergoing revision and awaiting publication.

The work of compilation and publication of Descriptive Catalogues of the well-known collections of manuscripts of Institutions like the Asiatic Society, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and Sanskrit College of Varanasi is making regular, though very slow, progress. But there are numerous collections, both private and public, the very names of which, not to speak of their contents, are little known to the world of scholars and there is no knowing when the manuscript treasures hidden there will be properly utilised to enrich our knowledge of the past and possibly to enlighten many an obscure corner of our literary history. The need for undertaking immediate and systematic work in the matter is very urgent. Concrete suggestions were put forward in this connection by the present writer as early as the year 1936 in a paper presented before and a resolution moved at the First Indian Cultural Conference organised at Calcutta by the Indian Research Institute. Resolutions on similar lines were passed at

several sessions of the Oriental Conference as well. But these appear to have gone unheeded. A number of journals have however been issued independently by three of the most renowned manuscript libraries of the south (e.g., Travancore University MSS Library, Madras Oriental Library, and Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Library) for the study, or rather publication, of the manuscripts in their charge. A good number of works have been or are being published serially in these journals and the commendable work they are doing might be profitably emulated by similar other institutions all over the country. If it is not possible to find sufficient men and money for the preparation of scientific critical editions or comprehensive scholarly analysis it is preferable to have faithful 'mechanical' reproductions of the manuscripts—'multiplication of the manuscripts' as the late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri put it—made available for the study of the world of scholars. This will mean preservation and dissemination at the same time and at a comparatively small cost.

We indologists, nay all students of Sanskrit, are almost exclusively interested in old Sanskrit texts, modern Sanskrit writing receiving little attention at our hands. In dealing with the linguistic or literary history of modern India one does not usually give sufficient attention to Sanskrit. Books on the history of Sanskrit literature of which there are quite a good number have very little to speak of the latest developments in Sanskrit. But as matters stand, Sanskrit is still a living force. It has still a flowing current, however weak and feeble. It is the intra-provincial medium of communication among Pandits of different parts of the country. It is the vehicle of expression of their higher thoughts. As a matter of fact, even in the present days when Sanskrit is apparently losing its popularity and hold over the people at large, a fair amount of literature covering various subjects, traditional and modern, is being produced in the language in different parts of the country. We have exegetical works, translations, original compositions as well as a number of periodicals. It must have to be confessed that these enterprises of ardent and almost selfless lovers of Sanskrit have to face utter neglect from all quarters—students of Sanskrit as well as the ordinary people. There

are very few people who take a serious notice of these things. Thus no systematic account—nay no record of them—is available. Scarcely does any library care to collect and preserve modern Sanskrit works. It is therefore difficult to gather necessary information about them. In these circumstances, concerted efforts need be made for the compilation of complete records of the works produced, for their value in studying the literary history of the country cannot be ignored. It is a matter of delight that the subject has of late attracted the attention of scholars and a number of papers have been published giving accounts of modern literature: three papers by Dr. V. Raghavan, e.g., *Modern Sanskrit Writings* (Adyar Library Bulletin, XX—Parts 1-2), *Modern Sanskrit Literature (Contemporary Indian Literature, 189-237)*, *Sanskrit Literature 1700-1900 (Madras University Journal, Centenary Volume, 175-204)* and one, *Place of Sanskrit in the Literary History of Modern India* (J.G.J.R.I., XIII, 153-164) by the present writer who has been publishing regularly notices of modern Sanskrit books for a number of years in the pages of *The Modern Review*. Sporadic attempts are being made in giving publicity to more or less recent Sanskrit writings. The Mithila Research Institute of Darbhanga has introduced a separate Series of publications dealing with works by modern Sanskrit scholars. A few works including miscellaneous writings of the late Pandit Ramavatara Sarina have been published in the Series. *The Maharshikulavaihbhava* of the late Pandit Madhusudan Ojha, a great scholar and author of a large number of works, has been published in the Rajasthan Oriental Series along with a Sanskrit commentary and Hindi translation by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Giridhara Sarma Chaturbedi. A number of works are being published in the *Sarasvati Sushama*, the Sanskrit organ of the Government Sanskrit College, Varanasi. These and other institutes of different parts of the country might well take up the work of compiling comprehensive accounts of more or less recent Sanskrit writings of the principal regions of their activities.

Much useful and valuable work is being done in the different languages of modern India on Indology, especially on old Sanskritic texts. We have translations as well as critical studies on many an important Sanskrit and Prakrit work in the various provincial languages

of the country. Not only popular books like poetical works but works of purely scholarly interest also have been covered. It is, however, a pity that these productions have been given scanty publicity. As a result, works published in one language are little known to people—nay, even to scholars—beyond the area served by the language in question. Necessary steps need be taken to bring these works to the notice of the scholarly world through reviews in reputed journals, carefully compiled bibliographies as well as through other means. As matters stand few bibliographies make any systematic note of these publications. For the present I shall refer to a few recent works in Bengali copies of which have come to my hands.

Dr. R. G. Basak whose contribution on ancient Indian History are well known has now set himself to the task of translating and interpreting in Bengali reputed Sanskrit and Prakrit texts. His translation of the Arthashastra of Kautilya has brought the work within easy reach of the average Bengali reader. His latest work is the annotated translation of the *Gathasaptasati* of Hala which will be helpful to students of literature in making acquaintance with beautiful specimens of ancient poetry of our country. The translation is accompanied by the Prakrit text with select variants and its Chhaya or Sanskritised form.

Learned institutions all over the country undertake works of this type in various regional languages. In Bengal the valuable series of useful booklets called the *Visvavidyasamgraha* published by the Visvabharati Publications Department contains a number of interesting works pertaining to different branches of old Indian literature. Recently it has brought out an important brochure on Prakrit literature contributed by Dr. Monmohan Ghosh. Dr. Amareswar Thakur's Bengali translation of Yaska's *Nirukta* is being published by the Calcutta University. The Government of West Bengal has undertaken the publication of a Bengali translation of Medhatithi's commentary on the Manusamhita of which the portion dealing with the first three chapters has been issued. It however remains to be seen how and what class of readers will be benefited by these translations.

Instances may be multiplied if one takes into account the work done by private individuals

and public institutions in other parts of the country. Besides there are learned and popular journals in which the publication of scholarly papers on different aspects of the literature and culture of Old India is not an unusual feature.

If Sanskrit studies in modern Indian languages have not drawn the attention they deserve the Sanskrit texts published in the various provincial scripts with or without translations in the regional languages have been almost neglected in scholarly studies. But as matters stand, numerous editions, some very good, of religious, ritualistic and Purana works are being frequently published in these scripts intelligible to few scholars outside the area covered by them.

A reference may be made in passing to the reprints issued of a number of old publications, viz., *Mirror of Composition* by Ballantyne and Mitra originally published in the Bibliotheca India Series in 1865, reprinted by Motilal Banarasi Dass (Banaras, 1956); Tawney's translation of the *Vetalpanchavimsati* section of Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara*, Ryder's translation of the *Dasakumaracharita* and Ridding's translation of Bana's *Kadambari* published by the Jaico Publishing House in beautiful handy volumes.

Some of these works though originally published several decades back have their interest unabated even now and the publishers are to be congratulated on their enterprise in undertaking the publication of these works which were inaccessible to the general reader. There are numerous other works which deserve republication and the financial outlay made by firms taking up the work will be repaid by the profits earned if not by the gratitude of all lovers of the literature and culture of India. Collection of stray papers on particular topics may also sometimes be brought out in attractive forms as in the *Theatre of the Hindus* published by Susil Gupta (India) Limited of Calcutta. It contains a number of papers on different aspects of Indian Theatre by scholars like Raghavan, Pisharoti and Vidyabhusan besides portions of the well-known work *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus* of Wilson. The publication in book form of the collected papers of an individual scholar is a rare distinction which falls to the lot of a few and Prof. Gode

has won the distinction during his lifetime. His papers are appearing in five volumes entitled *Studies in Indian Literary History* of which the third volume was published in 1956.

The account given above of the work done in the various branches of Sanskrit literature appears to be encouraging though the condition of Sanskrit studies in the country presents a quite different picture. Sanskrit is gradually losing its popularity among the student community. The number of students taking up Sanskrit as one of the subjects in schools and colleges is fast decreasing from year to year. The state of things in traditional institutions called Pathasalas or Tols is definitely worse. The deterioration appears to be staggering if we compare the condition as prevailing a few decades back. We learn from the *General Report of Public Instruction in Bengal for 1871-2* that 'Sanskrit was taken up as the second language by more than half the candidates (at the Entrance and F.A. examinations) and if the lower provinces of Bengal simply be considered the proportion rises to three-fourths of the candidates' in spite of the fact that the subject was considered difficult at the time. True, it is not possible to restore the previous position when sciences and other modern subjects are attracting the major portion of the students. We have to think out how in the present set-up we could improve our position at least to some extent.

We are looking forward to the Report of the Sanskrit Commission which was appointed to survey the existing state of Sanskrit education in the country and suggest means for its improvement. Without anticipating their recommendations we might point out that the future of Sanskrit studies depends principally on the interest that can be created among the people in various ways including the publication of interesting and popular works dealing with different aspects of the language and the rich literature enshrined in it and the improvement of the method of teaching especially by making the curriculum more attractive than revolting as at present at least in some cases. Making Sanskrit a compulsory subject in the curriculum of studies will be of little avail if at the same time it cannot be made more attractive and its value and utility strongly impressed on the people at large. Popularisation of Sanskrit should be our sacred motto. All lovers of Sanskrit have their share of responsibility in the matter. And the All-India Oriental Conference, an august body consisting of Sanskritists all over the country and abroad, might take the lead and chalk out the way along which work should proceed in this connection.*

*Presidential Address delivered before the Classical Sanskrit Section of the 19th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Delhi on December, 27, 28, 29, 1957.



TAGORE AND THE FIRST NATIONAL CHALLENGE OF INDIA

By JOGES C. BOSE

THE ancients used to believe that the world rested on the back of a fabled monster—*Vasuki* in India, *Encelladus* in Greece; and as it changed side, there was earthquake. Thanks to Lord Curzon, Bengal came to acquire the dignity of bearing somewhat strangely to the imagery. He posed racial questions and said things, which many an Englishman thought as much, but never spoke out in the manner he did; and Bengal bristled with loud, stinging protests sending tremors of resentment all over India.

He whittled down Queen Victoria's Proclamation,¹ which Indian leaders hailed as our Magna Carta. Not content with an uncanny emphasis on its saving clauses, such as 'so far,' 'if,' etc., he said pointblank that Indians by their 'heritage and upbringing were unequal to the high offices under the Crown.'² Trot to gallop, he, attacked the ethics of the East and said that the highest ideal of truth was to a large extent a Western conception—Calcutta University Convocation, 1902. As though an electric button was pressed and Bengal became one geyser of challenging retorts. Some of these have an entertaining value beyond the topical. Surendranath Banerjea called it an 'affront' and asked India to beware of him, who could say this in such a cavalier fashion. Motilal Ghose smiled his parchment smile in the leaders of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and made the Viceroy a moral acrobat in his

confessed aberrations.³ Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, as president of the Calcutta Town Hall protest meeting, covered Curzon with biting sarcasms—how he wished Indian leaders to play the role of chorus girls in Greek tragedy and how 'dressed in brief little authority' he had so pitifully lost all sense of balance. Rabindranath Tagore quoted Herbert Spencer to show how English people of note and standing resort to frigid cold lies to suit their ends.⁴ Curzon never missed an opportunity to hit back and twitted the Indian 'agitators' for their grandiloquent pose, their seeking cover under innuendoes, mal-assimilation of learning and all that. Did they yet taste sour in the mouth as to make him sore against the people of Bengal?

Anyway, it looks pretty certain that he resolved to wet-blanket their influence growing apace.⁵ Bengal intelligentsia was, in fact, at such a height that G. K. Gokhale spoke of them at a public meeting at Manchester on October 6th, 1905, that they were 'intellectually among the finest people of the world'—*Famous Letters and Speeches*, edited by Rushbrook Williams. Curzon hit many nails squarely on the head of Bengal,⁶ but none so brilliantly conceived as to divide the

1. Queen Victoria declared it to be her will that 'so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in her service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge.' Lord Ripon declared it as embodying the 'principles of Government,' but as an example of principles dying in the concrete, he was, when the time came, against the admission of an Indian into the Viceroy's Executive Council.

2. The King of England, in less than fifty years, sent a message to an Indian successor of Curzon that he had 'most worthily upheld the highest traditions of that historic office.'

3. Sister Nivedita, who was present at the Convocation, came out the following morning with a letter in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* quoting chapter and verse how Curzon himself had deviated from truth. Irish by birth, Russian in the ethics of revolt under the influence of Prince Kropotkin, Sister Nivedita was Indian as a spiritual disciple of Swami Vivekananda and at level with India's urge for freedom.

4. After Rabindranath was awarded Nobel Prize, there was an attempt in an influential circle of Oxford University to confer on him the degree D.Litt. (*honoris causa*). Curzon as Chancellor had it foiled.

5. Bengal, says Sir Henry Cotton in his *New India*, rules public opinion Peshwar to Cape Comorin. || || || ||

6. Such as curbing the popular control of the Calcutta Corporation and the Calcutta University.

soulful entity of their motherland.⁷ He parcelled out North and East Bengal and tacked them on to Assam to make the eastern border of India a statutory Moslem province. Avowedly to induce separateness and hostility between the Hindus and the Moslems, it was of a piece together with the policy, unrelentingly pursued, ever since Clive, in respect of the Army, instructed the Court of Directors of the East India Company, which by letter dated 16th March, 1768, desired the President of the Council of Fort William 'to encourage rivalry between the Gentoos and Mussalmen' to obviate 'the danger of cabals of any alarming nature being formed.' It developed by a remorseless process into one long gearing of mediaeval fanaticism against the growing national consciousness of India to the extent of making her common man act as fuse for barbarous explosions. But to this anon.

Sharp ills, sharp cures; and Bengal changed somewhat abruptly the old method of protest and prayer, uncharitably dubbed 'mendicancy.' Now that India is free, we must speak out without any mental reservation that it was in the conditions of the day the only possibility and it vindicated itself by rousing the people of India province to province into a sense of indivisibleness. To belittle or bypass the leaders of the day is as amusing as for a child, lifted on the shoulder of his father, to say, 'I am taller than papa.' They at least kept alive in the doped mind of the people a feeling of discontent against foreign rule. Lord Curzon unwittingly made Bengal realise its obsolescence. She took to intensifying that discontent into undivided efforts for Swaraj through Boycott, *Swadeshi* and National Education. Civil Dis-

obedience, where the exigencies of the moment justified, was not tabooed.

Bengal's self-consecration to the new gospel of nationalism and her 'affirmation of India's right to Freedom,' as Sri Aurobindo Ghose puts it, has been acknowledged so far as the political aspect of the question goes. In the light of Herr Hitler's dictum that the trade and commerce of a country cannot flourish so long as national consciousness with high ideals does not provide the necessary setting,—*Mein Camp*, it is time to evaluate Bengal's Boycott and *Swadeshi* in the economic life of India. What fight of unique complications Bengal fought to steer clear the Scylla and Charybdis—Government's clenched antagonism on one side and, what on the other was far more insidious than all the brains and batons the Government could collect, the traitorous conduct of some of the leading cloth mill-owners deserves to be read with an intentness, obviously lacking in many an Indian leader of today. Mahatma Gandhi, however, notes in his auto-biography that one of them told him—"In the days of the partition, we the mill-owners fully exploited the *Swadeshi* movement. When it was at its height, we raised the price of cloth and did even worse things." "Yes," said Gandhi, "I have heard something about it and it has grieved me. . . . The Bengalees like me were trustful in their nature. They believed in the fulness of their faith that the mill-owners would not be so utterly selfish and unpatriotic as to betray their country in the hour of its need and even to go the length, as they did, of fraudulently passing off foreign cloth as *Swadeshi*." A deputation from Bengal failed to evoke any favourable response from them in respect of either one or the other. Allied to this group, a business community in Calcutta did not, all persuasions notwithstanding, forbear importing British-made cloth and as much as palming them off as India-made. The blackest traitors, however, turned out whitest patriots, immediately as patriotism could be a business proposition. The British commercial interests joined hands with these people and left nothing undone to chuck out the Bengali elements from the Calcutta market of Export and Import; and since now, they dwindled as a matter of course.

The boycott of British goods had the smack

7. I would not, by the way, suffer some of his noble points to be interred with his bones. We owe him the National Library of Calcutta, the biggest in Asia. By The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904, he has exhumed to save from the ravages of time architectural patterns of glorious workmanship. He held high the honour of Indian woman how so humble. On one occasion he inflicted collective punishment on the entire Regiment; and on another, high military officers were relieved of their commands and the Regiment itself was banished to Aden with leave and other indulgences suspended for two years. With all bitter, irritating dissensions India has endorsed what he claimed that he 'loved righteousness and hated inequity much above his fellows.'

of Boston Tea and was in line with what China did in respect of American imports. Boycott was against the grain of Rabindranath, because it tended to feed the flame of hatred; but to him *Swadeshi* was but a prerequisite of India's national resurrection. He and his brother Jyotirindranath Tagore were working for it and, in fact, opened stores in Calcutta to popularise country-made articles long before it was adopted as a political weapon.

Rabindranath availed himself of the anti-partition agitation to re-emphasise a socio-economic front, which, he argued, would save the new-born enthusiasm fizzling away. He renewed his old faith in urbanising the village and thus provide Hindus and Moslems the scope to work in integration of their common economic interests. It would, he said, constitute a bulwark against bureaucratic inroads to divide them religion-wise. He was one of the active promoters of the Council of National Education, which started a college and technical institute surviving to develop into the Jadavpore University.

Over these two pivotal points of nation-building, e.g., village reconstruction and national education, Rabindranath was exercising himself for a long time, in fact, ever since he began appearing in public at the age of twenty-one, with his essays, lectures, discourses, etc. His leading thoughts, singularly clinching in outlook, may be indicated in broad outlines. What education, he said, was being imparted in our school and college had little bearing on our life in the making of worthy men and patriots. It was designed primarily to coach up some automatons for clerkship and at best to play second fiddles in the Administration. Like those who puncture their skin to dye it for a design, the so-called educated, he says, distinguish themselves in their lacquered shine from the mass of people; and, thus has the gulf between the two yawned. He stresses home the unsuitableness of English as the medium of instruction making education no more than skin-deep; and, therefore, the recipients thereof being as much steeped in prejudice and superstition and lacking in creative urge, as they are halting and atrophied in aims and aspirations. It fosters a life of compromise between profession and practice; and, what then the society

plumes itself upon having gained in muscle as flabbiness. The cumulative effect, he concludes, is that with the spread of this ill-assorted education, we are getting entangled increasingly in an intellectual subjection.—(English rendering is mine).

These are stimulating thoughts to make out a good case against foreign rule. Once accepted that no foreign rule can ever equip the ruled to liquidate that rule itself, I do not believe that the East India Company, as it formulated its educational policy, intended to create some imbeciles only. It is true that British rule, assisted by Christian missionaries, did everything conceivable for a cultural indoctrination, but the inhibiting fears and lessons in loyalty were a later-day growth. The Calcutta University took to teaching texts like *England's Work in India*, conceived to work out in the impressionables a return to the allegiance of England, seriously negotiating hammer blows of the *Swadeshi* movement and then the revolutionaries.

Without impugning for a moment the proposition that mother-tongue is by far the best suited as medium of instruction, I may be pardoned saying that regard being had to the then conditions of our country, all may not share the lachrymose conclusion the youthful poet drew from some happy premises unhappily combined. Education of a people, there can be no breath of murmur to the contrary, must have its roots deep down in national sentiment and tradition. But what sentiment and tradition could be a live force, when the political collapse had led to a complete break-down of the very system of moral values? English, as medium, made the progress of education slow, and superficial; but as it was also the medium, it had to be pursued with great avidity in order to over-

8. Macaulay wrote to his father: "It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolator among the respectable classes of Bengal thirty years hence." Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had something to do with this Educational policy, reported to the Parliamentary Committee: "Familiarly acquainted with us by means of our literature, the Indian youths almost cease to regard us as foreigners. They speak of our great men with the same enthusiasm as we do. Educated in the same way, interested in the same object, engaged in the same pursuits as ourselves, they will become more English than Hindus just as the Roman provincials became more Roman than Gauls and Italians."

come the incidental handicap. And, quicker the race, quicker was the transfusion. It opened within a marvellously short time the sluice-gate of the accumulated inspiration of Western patriotism and democracy, the idea of human personality and freedom. It reared up the Indian mind for a place amongst the head-erect nations of the world.

Any way, outlandish as it is now to oppose the right of a man to education through the easy medium of his own tongue⁹—and to Rabindranath must be assigned the palm of some pioneer, uphill efforts—it is worth serious consideration, if India stands to gain by undervaluing the scope of such a widespread language as English, which has made a tremendous headway in the study of medicine and technology. It is the mother-tongue of one hundred and seventy-five million people; and another 17 million bilingual people use it as readily—*Hand Book*, published by the Ministry of Education, U.K., 1954. Its flexibility yielding to subtle shades of meaning and purpose makes it an ideal vehicle in diplomacy. India was at one time thrilled to the resonant cadence of English poets and orators, and she gains nothing by slackening an interest in the language that also helps her keep in touch with the rest of the world. Near at home, I share the misgivings of those, who hold that its exile will speed up the decay of the middle-class intelligentsia.

With regard to village reconstruction, Rabindranath re-emphasised that with the exodus of the intelligentsia from the village to the town for the exigencies of bread, the landed aristocracy having followed suit for the amenities of life, the village *Chandimandap*, symbolical of public opinion, which, as the moral law, was no less effective than the law enforceable on pains of penalty, tumbled down. But India, he said, continued to live in the million poor hamlets of the village and this was the crux of the anomaly. Thanks to the munificence of K. L. Elmherst, it has been possible for Rabindranath to instal a section of cottage-industry to create 'a bond of necessity,' between the Visva-Bharati and neighbouring villages. He favoured

the use of industrial techniques and appliances in so far as they serve but do not dominate the village pattern. It is, by the way, due to be studied how Japan has toned up the economy of her middle class people by cottage-industry, the woman in the midst of her household pre-occupations as the soul. The Goering Plan, in the scheme of Germany's National Socialism, was conceived in the same line of thought.

I am not in a position to judge what the aforesaid views of Rabindranath, incredibly ahead of the time, produced upon contemporary mind. A good number of people, I am afraid, dismissed them as fads of a poet whose easy conditions of life, coupled with brilliant flights of imagination, made him display his iridescent feathers. He was the sporting target of a virulent section of the Press descending to lengths he was constrained to call 'journalistic hooliganism.' There was, however, a mass of genuine appreciation which hailed him even then as a master mind. To me it seems that those who desire to serve their country not in the fake glory of parliamentary eloquence but in the tongueless obscurity of rural areas, where the nation yet lives, shall have in these writings enough to sustain them. If the history, how Bengal shaped to help India to win her freedom, is ever written, not as a chronicle of some events only, but written with an eye to balance the forces which have decisively influenced the march of events, Rabindranath Tagore goes down the pages as the poet and prophet of our Cultural Revolt, without which no revolution, worth the name, has any the remotest chance of success.

As I speak of cultural revolt—it is definitely no revivalism—I feel overshadowed by two other personalities; one is Balgangadhar Tilak and the other Aurobindo Ghose. Tilak looked back with deep sorrow to the dying out of the village *Panchayet*, which is chastisement by public opinion and, therefore, in a sense more effective than the hard sanctions of law. Tilak minced no matters and said in substance that Law and Order, upheld by the Police under a foreign rule, made the people sneaks and cowards, whereas *Panchayet* made them self-reliant and self-respecting. Its death, he said, struck at the root of our training in democracy and made us socially degenerate. Tilak again cud-

9. Raja Rammohun Roy, the uncompromising advocate of English education in India, was for vernacular as the medium.

gelled all tendencies which crippled us culturally. What is particularly to the point, he lived on all fours the life of the humble and taught us that the well-being of India did not lie in being a distance-walker of the West. 'Diseased,' 'perverted,' 'vile' and 'malignant' are a few of the choice epithets, judicial to journalistic flatulence of anti-Indian elements delighted to fling at him. All these, however, blended into a sheet of steady flame to stick to him like an aureole.

Aurobindo was rather a new type. As early as 1894, when he was barely twenty-one, he wrote in *The Indu Prakash* of Bombay that the proletariat of India held the real key to the situation; whoever succeeded in understanding and eliciting its strength was bound to be the master of the future. At the first call of *Swadeshi*, he came back to Bengal in exclusive dedication to stabilise the forces of upheaval in order 'to bring the mass' as he said, 'into the conscious life of the Nation, so that every man may feel that in the freedom of the Nation he is free.' What difference has it with that, which Lenin said in explaining his creed, as he came back to Russia in 1917 after a long exile?¹⁰ Aurobindo did not forswear violence to end British rule and 'across his path,' as Ramsay Macdonald said, 'the shadow of the hangman fell.' All the same, he was steadfast in his belief that 'the ideal of our patriotism looks beyond the unity of the Indian Nation and envisages the unity of mankind.' Romain Rolland strikes the point home as he says that 'Aurobindo is the completest synthesis of the genius of the East and the West.' To sum up Tilak and Aurobindo, they sought to align the Indian struggle on the challenge of capacity to turn difficulty into opportunity without frittering away energy over the weak palliatives of Reforms. The old school thought that there was no humiliation to demand what was our due and to make each Reform a lever to organise the country and make it a spring-board till the final blow was struck.

Rabindranath drew up a scheme of

Swadeshi Samaj, i.e., Society for Cultural Re-orientation, in which he formulated eight vows. It was incumbent upon the votaries to eschew English goods save what cannot be otherwise helped; it decried in unmistakable terms the use of English dress and other mannerisms creeping into our society; it even laid down that were an Englishman invited to dinner, etc., he was to be treated to in right Bengali style. The imposition has the flavour of a romantic loyalty to his father returning unopened a letter written by a relation in English. Such a picture, in fact, is not in accord with the overall impression of Tagore in vogue later on. By way of explanation, we have in the mouth of Gora, the hero of his epic of fiction of the name, that such aggressiveness is indispensable in the incipient stage of a nation's growth in order to fight the inveterate flaccidity. Gora would not mind being snubbed* a crank in cockney circles. He would all the more tenaciously cling to his idiosyncracies, as though the vestal virgins nursed the celestial fire. He, however, discovers, after he has galloped full length for many years against anything foreign, that he is born of Irish parents and made over to an Indian mother during the perils of the Sepoy Mutiny. He does not regret the change-over. Rather joyfully, he accepts India as his motherland, but desires her to be the prototype of his foster-mother, who knows no distinction of race or colour. I forbear pressing the point hard, but would not resist noting in Gora's caterpillar to silkworm transition a reflex of Rabindranath. The stern nationalist does not give way to but accommodates within himself the internationalist in all naturalness and reconciles by his integrality what are seemingly irreconcilables.

May I, however, just pause to confess to my disappointment that the Mutiny-born Irish boy, who in lone wakefulness nursed the dream to disyoke India from all her shackles, should have concluded as supinely to domesticate himself in the cob-web of connubial felicity, when as yet India's emancipation was a far-off event. It is not, I am afraid, complimentary that a great artist should idolise even in a book like *Gora* the goody goody commonplace end. I have rather a lurking suspicion that Rabindranath is not at home in matters of

10. A very old peasant interviewed Lenin. As he came out, he said, "Here is the man who will deliver goods." "Why?" "Because he made me feel that I belong to the Nation and the country is mine."

sterner stuff, which have for their basic principle,

The world is my oyster,
Which with a sword I shall open.

There are, however, some compensating thrills. Gora goes to village Charchosepur to organise the people to resist the Zamindar enforcing dehumanising exactions with the help of the police. Hauled up before the Magistrate, he refuses to be released on bail and have a lawyer to stand for him, because most of the people, whose cause he espouses and who are at his instance in the fight, have not the means to the benefit of either. He courts imprisonment and writes to his mother:

"Bless me, that I may spurn a life of ease and affluence and have the steel to forge ahead with what sufferings an alien Government may choose to inflict on me."

The culminating note of this neo-nationalism, varying from what has been, as a primary reaction against foreign domination, a bit of ranting, is struck by Rabindranath in the lines:

*Udayer path-e suni kar bani,
'Bhoy na-i or-e bhoy na-i,
Nishshwesh-e pran je karib-e dan
Kshoy na-i tar kshoy na-i.'*

Whose is the clarion call,
I hear in life's steep ascent,
'Fear not; he who sacrifices himself in full
is from destruction immune.'

(All translations of this article are mine.)

Again, on to the journey, which bristles with hazards, the solemnity of the resolve shines the way.

*Jadi keo alo na dhar-e
Jhar badal-e andhar rat-e
Duar deya ghar-e
Tab-e bajranal-e apon buker panjar
Jaliy-e niy-e ekla chala ekla chala-re,
If when the night is dark,
and no one shows the light,
If in rains and storm they close the door,
Quail not: but light up the ribs of the heart
in the fire of lightning high,
And march on, even if, all alone.*

In 1907, Rabindranath shifted his family from Calcutta to Bolepur for permanent residence, presumably, to develop the small school he had started about six years back on the pattern of an *ashram*.¹¹ It was, however, the time, when the first upheaval of the anti-partition agitation suffered a setback and Bengal at times looked like sinking into a torpor. There was, as well, the conflict between the old and the new school of politics taking an ugly turn. He was also tired of the lukewarm support accorded to his socio-economic programme. In an article, "*Byadhi O Tar Pratikar*"—Disease and Its Cure—he urged for a change of heart and inner purification. This was construed as a reflection on either party. Rabindranath retired or stepped down. Instantly it was the opportunity for the gutter-snipes and they whipped it up into a feeling. Even some of the sedate and charitably disposed could not help the sigh—'what else is it but desertion?' There is enough of sauce in recalling, by the way, how Goethe inspired his countrymen to stand up to France and himself joined the force but took to heels at the first onslaught in the cannonade at Valmy. Long, agile tongues found scope to be busy about. Nay, whispers ascribed to the nimble wisdom of imperialism diverting him away from the Indian struggle.

Reason, however, as the sediments of the controversy have sunk down, may well strike a balance between soot and whitewash. Rabindranath was now on the wrong side of forty and if he was not to bid a goodbye to the making of the institution, on which he set no limits to his aspiration, it was high time that he disentangled himself from day-to-day fissiparous politics. Abruptness, again, is in keeping with the temperament of poets, who cannot afford to live prefabricated. All the same, the feeling that he had let down his friends and co-adjutors was to some extent due and it grated on sensitive nerves.

The 'deserter', however, did not retire to sulk in his tent. There was hardly anything affecting our national struggle that he ever shirked to face or over which he hesitated to

11. "The ideal of an Ashram is reciprocity and love, whose education is no mechanical contrivance to spread literacy or a commercial investment in the name of enlightenment."—Rabindranath.

come forward as the spearhead of people's resistance. It was now that he wrote his hymn in honour of Aurobindo Ghose, which, consonant with the deep tenor of his inner being, applauded the new technique of the spirit of quiet strength rising above the crucifixion of flesh:

*Toma lagi nah-e man,
Nah-e dhan, nah-e sukh; kona khudra dan
Chaho na-i kono khudra kripa, bhiksha lagi
Barao ni atur anjali. Accho jagi
Paripurnatar tar-e sarba-badhaheen.*

For thee is no power or wealth or any relaxation from the hard, strenuous ways of life;

Never hast thou stretched a yearning bowl for alms; or hast thou sought any small gift of mercy;

But unflinchingly hast thou kept thyself awake for the solemn realisation of the end.

We have here the picture of a patriot, in whom the love of motherland, saturated with the intentness of devotion, makes him such as

'To look on a noble Form makes noble

Through the sensuous organism that which is higher.'

Both the wings of the Bengal Congress, by now styled the Moderates and the Extremists, invited Rabindranath to preside over the Bengal Provincial Conference at Pabna. He reiterated his faith in an all-out effort for village reconstruction, which would cement the bond of unity between Hindus and Mahomedans, sought to be irreparably snapped by the Separate Electorate.¹² This was under incubation at the Secretariat of India Government and Whitehall.

If then what I have stated in the foregoing lines is the trend and tempo of Rabindranath's political activity after retirement, what is it that gave carping voice the long lease of life it enjoyed on the point of his internationalism? I have a very simple answer to offer. What Rabindranath was doing was not in line with the then valid form of patriotism. Moreover, he did not tire explaining that the history of humanity was seeking to elaborate a definite synthesis in India. The people in the trials and tribulations of their national struggle were, naturally, in no

mood to listen to him. To them it was a luxury. What, however, he was enunciating crystallised and took shape in a presentable form in December, 1921. He then formally inaugurated the Visva-Bharati, through which he sought 'to establish,' as he said, 'a living relationship between the East and the West, to promote international mission of the present age—the unification of mankind.' Since now, he had nothing to call his own, save in terms of Visva-Bharati, to which he made over all his properties of Bolepur, the copyright of his books and the Nobel-prize money.

The internationalist, however, as we have already observed, never failed to be at the old nationalist's post, whenever the occasion here and abroad called for it. He goes to America and there he pleads the cause of India in the context of imperialism as a menace to the peace of the world. He goes to England to address the Quakers in their annual meeting and here too he harps on the selfsame string of India's Independence. And, down to the day when old and bent with age, he stands at the foot of Calcutta Ochterlony Monument to condemn 'the concerted, homicidal attack under cover of darkness on defenceless prisoners of the Hijlee Detention Camp undergoing the most barbarous system of incarceration and the nerve-racking strain of an indefinitely suspended fate.' To sum up in one bald sentence, Rabindranath, to the last, thought of the world as a whole; and wide-awake as he was to everything which touched it, he was, to borrow what Sister Nivedita said of Swami Vivekananda in respect of his motherland, a delicately-poised bell thrilling and vibrating with every sound that falls on it. But to go back.

With the spread of *Swadeshi*, as we were discussing, Volunteer organisations grew up all over Bengal. They combated epidemics, which were by no means few and far between, and did relief works in all visitations of Nature. They conducted free night schools for those, who could not otherwise avail themselves of the rudiments of reading and writing in the ordinary way. Each day as it broke, a small band of volunteers sang round each *mahallah* soul-stirring national songs. People, accustomed to a rather placid domesticity, came to get up in the morning moulded unware; motherland

12. Discussed in *The Modern Review* of May, 1957.

being elevated to the rank of divinity. A new socio-political conscience was in the making. Hardly could any one purchase a piece of Manchester cloth or a pinch of Liverpool salt save when it was dark. Agent-provocateurs, set to creating disturbances, bolstered up charges of theft and assault in respect of the nationally forbidden wares; and each Court-proceeding proved a fresh spur to the movement. The day Bengal was officially rent in two was observed with solemn demonstrations. Ovens did not burn except for the small children and the ailing; shops and markets did not open; vehicular traffic did not ply; and, the ordinary avocations of life were almost completely suspended. There were in the morning congregational baths and token unions, each tying the wrist of the other with a piece of thread as a symbol of brotherhood no outside force could assail. In the afternoon there were meetings and processions to reaffirm the vow of *Swadeshi*. These were the days when Gokhale with his kindlier discernment said, 'What Bengal thinks today India thinks tomorrow.' Ramsay MacDonald, as he came here for an on-the-spot study, says in his *Awakening of India*:

"Bengal is idealising India; is translating nationalism into religion, into music and poetry, into painting and literature."

It was now that British character, which had hitherto prided in its appreciation of the dignity of man, revealed itself unabashed, bent upon dividing the Hindus and Mahomedans. 'Red Pamphlets' were circulated amongst the Moslems of East Bengal to wean them away from the *Swadeshi*. The most fantastic of pleas taken was that the *Swadeshi* enriched the Hindus, even if it was obvious to the meanest understanding that *Swadeshi*, at the very first instance, resuscitated the dying weaver-class, who were almost cent per cent Mahomedans. "Do not," to quote one precious line of one such pamphlet, which was made an exhibit in a criminal case, "buy anything from Hindu shops; do not touch articles manufactured by Hindu hands." Still this did not infringe the law, embodied in the Indian Penal Code, as promoting enmity between classes! As an incitement to violence the following that passed with impunity under the very nose of Law and Order has a historical interest:

"You form the majority of population of this province but the Hindus have made themselves rich by despoiling you of your wealth. If you become sufficiently enlightened, the Hindus will starve and become Mahomedans."

The Special Magistrate, himself a Mahomedan, trying the Dewanganj Riot Case, held:

"There was not the least provocation for rioting; the common object of the rioters, who were all Moslems, was evidently to molest the Hindus."

The same Magistrate held in another case:

"The accused had read over a Notice to a crowd of Mussalmans and had told them that the Government and Nawab Bahadur had passed orders to the effect that nobody would be punished for plundering and oppressing the Hindus. So after the *Kali's* image was broken by the Mussalmans, the shops of Hindus were also plundered."

The Subdivisional Officer of Jamalpur, an Englishman of the Indian Civil Service, said in his Report on the Melandahat Riot:

"Some Mussalmans had proclaimed by beat of drum that the Government had permitted them to loot the Hindus."

The same Magistrate observed in the Hargilchar abduction case that

"The outrages were due to the announcement that the Government permitted the Mahomedans to marry the Hindu widows in *nika form*."

It is fortunate historically that two Magistrates, one a Moslem and the other an Englishman, felt called upon from a compelling sense of responsibility to record in their findings that the miscreants had in their bonnet the definite idea that what they were doing to make a hell of Hindu life and property and, what is so infinitely humiliating, the honour of Hindu womanhood, had the seal and sanction of the Government behind it.¹³ The voice of Jacob and the hands of Esau, however, cannot indefinitely impose upon people.¹⁴ The Nemesis stepped in.

13 It is stated in *Swadeshi Juger Smriti*, i.e., Reminiscences of Swadeshi Days, by Motilal Roy of the Aurobindo School of Politics—the book was published in the hectic days of censorship. August, 1931—that a Mahomedan was fined Rs. 28 for molesting a Hindu widow and another Rs. 5 for rape.

14. Daniel O'Connell says that English people have the characteristics of a poker.

"One of the alarming effects of the Bengal episode," says Hector Bolitho in his official biography of Mr. Jinnah, "was on the character of the Congress, so mild in its policy up to then. The dramatic appeal against the British startled all India, and to hold their own as a political force, liberal-minded men like G. K. Gokhale and Dadabhai Nourojee had to assume a more belligerent look." I would justify this in the concrete. Dadabhai, who had pleaded even throughout 1906 in *The Hindustan Review* and other papers for 'Self-Government under British paramountcy,' said as President of the Calcutta Congress, December, 1906:

"All our sufferings in the past demand before God and men reparation. Instead of going into any further divisions or details of our right, the whole matter can be comprised in one word Self-Government or Swaraj."

To leave no room for doubt, he said, that by Swaraj he meant Self-Government as in the United Kingdom. This deliverance of Nourojee has an added significance, because, ever since Bengal plunged headlong into the cultural-cum-political revolt of the Swadeshi movement, he had been counselling her never to cut adrift from British anchorage. In fact, the apologists of British rule sneered at him that he came to warn Bengal face to face but left blessing her. Gokhale had said as President of the Benares Congress, December, 1905:

"What the Congress fully recognises is whatever advance we seek must be within the empire."

Two months after the aforesaid Calcutta Congress, he committed himself to a statement that he shared in full the aspirations of his countrymen. "I wish an Indian," he said, "to be in India what an Englishman is in England."

The situation in Bengal was fast coming to a head. The combustible elements of the Mahomedan community, we have seen, were being ignited ablaze. Almost the entire community was being waylaid over the appetising prospects of Separate Electorate, which, to anticipate the future, proved the seed-bed for the Partition of India. Besides, Bengal was face to face with the bomb explosion at Muzaffarpur. It was flabbergasting. It was revealing. What

sense of horror it roused for having killed two innocent ladies instead of Kingsford, formerly the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, who had made himself obnoxious for his flair for corporal punishment upon people in political cases,¹⁵ was sooner than ever transmuted into sympathy, akin to admiration, for the two assailants well within their teens. 'Do they herald a new day?' is the question that throbbed in every heart. It was getting clear that a section of the nationalists had taken to violence, goaded to desperation by the most ingenious Black and Tan passing for communal barbarities. 'Blood has defiled the land and the land cannot be cleansed of that blood except by the blood of him who first shed the blood' is a text of the Old Testament, on the basis of which Morley canonises Cromwell. It is a dynamic principle that has lured youth everywhere into crusades; and it was no exception in Bengal. They were out to wipe out the charge of cowardice levelled against the people a bit too flip-pantly. They would at least break the pathetic inertia of the Indian mind and prepare it to live dangerously.

So level-headed a jurist as Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was constrained to say in bitter terms:

"We have been called yelping jackals, wolves and chattering *bhaddarlogs*; and, the Viceroy has been described a nincompoop, the Secretary of State a dummy, because they would not reduce us to the position of whipped curs. Again, one Anglo-Indian paper spoke of the 'organised scoundrelism of East Bengal Hindus and threatened us with the gallows and the sword to be used as remorselessly as in the dark days of the Mutiny. . . . It is not cowardice, whatever Mr. Macleod might say¹⁶ that prevents our young men from retaliating. It is just their loyalty to their much-reviled leaders that have kept them in check."

As we read of these Macleods, the Johnny calves of the defunct East India Company, we feel amazed how these people indulged in accent-

15. Sushil Sen, a lad of sixteen, made history while he was being flogged in the Presidency Jail. Each stripe that cut into his flesh drew out from him a lusty shout of *Bande Mataram*.

16. The reference is to some speeches at St. Andrew's Dinner, Calcutta.

of vulgar raucosity against the people of the soil even in their hilarious moments of whisky and hagg, associated a bit antithetically with St. Andrews. As we read of this race-arrogance belching their vitriolic wrath on the East Bengal Hindus, the history of Indian Independence, we have no manner of hesitation to say, stands travestied, if it is loth, nay, even slow to acknowledge how these people stood the steel whips and iron bars, the Black and Tan, and the consummate blandishments of the most ingeniously, stringently organised bureaucracy of the world. And, where are they as Freedom has dawned on India?

Rabindranath spoke of the cult of violence as the inevitable sequel of the Government employing brute terrorism by its military and police on one hand and dividing the people as to disrupt the very fabric of society on the other in order to stamp out the national upsurge. He stressed the ultimate futility of violence in compassing the freedom of India. But his contention that violence is opposed to the genius of our culture leaves us cold. To refer to texts, which admit of contrary interpretation and were enunciated at a time when there was no impact of foreign forces either physical or intellectual, detracts much from their soundness and validity. And, it will be worse than folly to ignore in this connection Raja Rammohun Roy's warning that excess of civilization contributed as much to India's political undoing.

I have often wondered if Rabindranath, not inured to the hard, dangerous ways of life, was as much outflanked by this grim manifestation of people's anger. He wound up *Gora*, as we have seen, by marriage—the very antidote, the Government at one time bargained for in the release of a revolutionary. Late in life, Rabindranath wrote his fiction *Char Adhyay* having for its theme the futility of the revolutionary movement. The story weaves round a girl Ela by name. She is both the centripetal and centrifugal force of a certain revolutionary

group of Bengal. It has been possible to decoy her to the perilous wayside, because her step-mother did not devote much thought to encumber her with the crippling responsibilities of a married life. It is certainly not fair to commit an artist to the viewpoint of a phase of life he portrays. But since I have considered it a signal achievement of Rabindranath to have eyed askance on what is in the least subversive of society founded on marriage, I do not feel happy to see him drift to the other end. He depicts Ela's revolutionary urge as a distemper, born of the ennui in life despairing of, what they call, self-fulfilment by marriage. It is, I am afraid, a left-handed compliment to the institution of marriage, on which countless ambitions have floundered with minimum consciousness. Oscar Wilde's fascinating paradox, a woman inspires man with masterpieces and then stands in the way of their realisation, may be, after all, a fling at marriage to equate its piquant realism with all the fervid epistles paid to it.

Be that as it may, I cannot afford to stray afield to discuss the Bengal Revolutionary Movement. It is no cutaneous eruption. What did Surendranath Banerjea mean by teaching Bengal youth Garibaldi and 'Mazzini, who were for honey-combing Italy with secret associations? Swami Vivekananda cared not a straw for the salvation of the soul. Lord Chelmsford was at his wit's end why the martial Punjab could be restored to peace in three months' time and it was continuing in Bengal for such an inordinate length of time. The great revolutionary Jaadugopal Mockherji says that its seed was formally sown in Calcutta in 1902 by Jatindra-nath Banerji (Swami Niralamba) and it was a fully developed tree with fruits and flowers in Netaji Subhas Bose on the field of Kohima. Of the many tributes—none strikes me so affectionate as Rabindranath's

आरे पागल चाँपा, आरे उन्मत्त बकूल,
कार तरे सब छुटे एलि सारमे आकूल ।



AIM AND ART OF TRANSLATION

BY DR. A. BANERJI-SASTRI, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (Oxon.),

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THE aims of translating literature from one language into another vary according to subject-matter. Classical literature in the West is available from the times of Homer and Hesiod (circa 900 B.C., according to Herodotus) containing thoughts and descriptions of a lofty and imposing character, and for the history of the religious faith of Greece, productions of the highest importance. In the East, the oldest book of Indian literature goes back to at least 1500 B.C. What should we think of a Greek scholar who could read Euripides or Anakreon, but could not construe Homer? What will be the position of a Sanskrit scholar who professes to pass in Sakuntala and Amaru, but is unable to understand the best hymns of the Rîg-Veda? More fundamental from access to the original is the loss to humanity if neither an Indian nor a Greek understands the ideals, thoughts and actions of each other. Here translation helps, however imperfectly. Beginning from the Pehlvi translation about fifth century A.C., the Panchatantra has been translated into more languages in the world than any other book with the possible exception of the Bible. "*Il faisait parler les betes pour instruire les hommes*" (he made the beasts speak to instruct men) drew the world closer in spite of its diverse languages. To-day we are at the beginning of a new era which may be marked by a general *rapprochement* between the nations. The need to know and understand one another is being felt more and more. Translations will assume an ever-increasing importance; indeed, so far as literature and music are concerned, it is safe to assert that *fas est et ab hoste doceri*.

Who for the last half a century has done more for literature and music than Rabindranath Tagore, combining the noblest in the East and the West? To one speaking Bengali, his words inspire exaltation akin to ecstasy. It is not to our credit that we have not done more for those who speak other tongues,—through translations. Restraint is often wisely due to a fear of committing sacrilege: "*apres lui, d'apres lui, mais jamais comme lui.*" But the risk is to a large extent minimised by the words themselves. Very curious is the determination which some

words, indeed many, seem to manifest, that their poetry shall not die; or, if it dies in one form, that it shall revive in another. Thus if there is danger that, transferred from one language to another, they shall no longer speak to the imagination of men as they did of old, they will make to themselves a new life, they will acquire a new soul in the room of that which has ceased to quicken and inform them any more. Take an example: Germans, knowing nothing of carbuncles, had naturally no word of their own for them, and borrowed the Latin 'carbunculus', originally meaning 'a little live coal', to designate these precious stones of a fiery red. But 'carbunculus', word full of poetry and life for Latin-speaking men, would have been only an arbitrary sign for as many as were ignorant of that language. What then did these, or, what, rather, did the working genius of the language, do? It adopted, but, in adopting modified slightly yet effectually the word, changing it into 'Karfunkel', 'funkeln' signifying 'to sparkle'; thus reproducing in an entirely novel manner the image of the bright sparkling of the stone, for every knower of the German tongue. Tagore's own translations illustrate this phenomenon.

फुलेर बने के दुकेड़ेरे सोनार जहरी

निकरुषे बसये कमल आ मरि मरि ।

Alas, a jeweller has come into the flower garden,

He wants to appraise the truth of a lotus
by rubbing it against his touchstone.

—(The Visva-Bharati Quarterly, January '26)

'Sonar jahari' is transformed into 'jeweller' which means nothing less.

Cf. Gitanjali:

'What divine drink would thou have, my God, from the overflow-cup of my life?'

The word 'divine' aptly reminiscent of the illustrious hymnologist Adam of St. Victor, quaintly recalls the complaint of Baxter that Independents called Presbyterian ministers not 'divines' but 'dry vines.' "The overflowing cup of my life" is profoundly instructive.

We, who speak the language that Rabindra-

nath spoke, feel that the message of this Poet-Philosopher of the age should be made available in modern European languages, but translations must be made by those who can view that perpetual seeming alternation between the two planes—the plane of vision and the plane of creation, the form within and the garment that clothes it—which may sometimes distract the artist himself. The prophet Jeremiah once said (and modern prophets have doubtless had occasion to recognise the truth of this remark) that he seemed to the people round him only as “one that hath a pleasant voice and can play well on an instrument.” But he failed to understand that it was only through this quality of voice and instrument that his lamentations had any vital force or even any being, and that if the poem goes the message goes. If all progress lies in an ever greater flexibility of speech, a finer adaptation to the heights and depths of the mobile human soul, the task of the translator is an arduous, spiritual and intellectual endeavour, only to be achieved by patient and deliberate labour and much daring. Beyond mechanical skill, the translator’s heart is at the same time a sensitively pulsating organ with fleshy strings stretched from ventricle to valves, a harp on which the great artist may play until the hearts of poet, translator and audience throb in unison. A recent publication of Visva-Bharati, Rabindranath’s *Syamali* translated into English from the original Bengali by Sheila Chatterjee, fulfils the task by a remarkable mastery over the foreign medium and a vital insight into the original.

Syamali was composed in 1936 and first published by Visva-Bharati in Bhadra 1943. It consists of an Utsarga and 21 poems: Cf. original and translation—

सेदिन छिले तुमि आलो आँधारेर माझखानटिते,
बिधातार मानसलोकेर

मर्तसीमाय पा बाङ्गिये

बिश्वेर रूप-आङ्गिनार नाछदुवारे ।—(द्वैत)

You were then between darkness and light,
Standing at the world’s portals of beauty,
One foot stretched towards the earth

and
Of the Creator’s dreamland.

—(Tr. Duality, p. 1)

याब आमि ।

तोमार ब्यथाबिहीन बिदायदिने

आमार भाङ्गभिटेर 'परे गाइबे दोयेल लेज् दुलिये ।

एक साहानाइ बाजे तोमार बाँशिते, ओगो श्यामली,
येदिन आसि आबार येदिन याइ चले । —(श्यामली)

I will go..

The day you part from me with no pain
The Doyel will sing swinging its tail on my
forsaken homestead.

There is but one tune of Sahana that
plays on your flute,

Oh green beauty,

On the day I come and the day I go away.

—(Tr. *Syamali*, p. 73.)

आमार रक्ते नित्ये आसे तोमार सुर—

झड़ेर डाक, बन्यार डाक, आगुनेर डाक,

पाँजरेर उपर आछाइ खाओया

मरणसागरेर डाक,

घरेर शिकल-नाड़ा उदासी हाओयार डाक ।

—(बाँशीओयाला)

Your tune brings into my blood

The call of the storm, the call of floods,

The call of Fire,

The call of the sea of death

Dashing against the ribs,

The call of the insouciant wind rattling the

knockers on the doors.

—(Tr. The Flute-Player, p. 41.)

The divine dance of satyrs and nymphs to the sound of pipes—it is the symbol of life which in one form or another has floated before human eyes from the days of the sculptors of Greek bas-reliefs to the men of our own day who catch the glimpse of new harmonies in the pages of *L'Esprit Nouveau*. We cannot but follow the piper that knows how to play even to our own destruction. There may be much that is objectionable about Man. But he has that engaging trait. And the world will end when he has lost it. Through the art of translation,—author, translator and listener are moved by pulses whose primary source is in the heart of a cosmos from which we all spring.

Moliere’s *Jourdain* had been speaking prose for more than forty years without knowing it. Mankind has been thinking poetry throughout its long career and remained equally ignorant. Competent translations of Tagore will make kin of all mankind.

POTTERIES OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

BY AMAL SARKAR, M.A., LL.B.

God, the All-Creator, has infused the urge of 'creating' in man, His true effigy. To 'create' something is, so to say, the inherent nature of man. Man creates sometimes out of emotion or feeling and sometimes out of necessity. Thus in the remotest age once when he got tired he perhaps took clay in hand and began to think of making a pot in which he could hold water to quench his thirst after day's hard labour; this thought of 'creating' was undoubtedly born out of his own necessity. Again, when man began to think more deeply he tried to make a bigger pot or jar to keep food in store for future or to put the remains of his deceased ancestor or relation after cremation; the latter thought was perhaps the outcome of his feeling or emotion. In this way, out of sheer necessity he began to create implements or weapons from iron, cloth to cover his body from wool from the sheep or from skin of animals, shelter from stones of mountains or from wood of trees.

From the very earliest time the potter was one of the most useful and respected members of the community and the potter's art was always regarded in high esteem. In India the potter is the hereditary officer in every village and in an Indian village perhaps there is no man happier than the hereditary potter or *kumhar*.

It is however difficult to ascertain the place of origin of pottery. The most plausible answer to this is that the idea of 'creating' pottery had perhaps cropped up simultaneously in different parts of the globe. The history of pottery tells us the story of human civilisation which though much developed would be taken to be still in its infancy by moderners. Potteries made by the people of different countries gives us rather a clear picture of the progress of mankind in his thought and ideas. The magnificent production of ancient potteries depict the disciplined thought in men of that time, the balanced way of expression of men of that age.

Egypt, the cradle-land of civilisation, knew the art of making pottery in the remote period of the third and the fourth dynasties, i.e., between 3000-2000 B.C. During the fourth and subsequent dynasties earthen vessels were employed for the ordinary purposes of domestic life. The clue to the date of these earthenware

vessels could be found in the hieroglyphs. In Egypt the art of making pottery is attributed, like the other arts and sciences, to the invention of the gods. "Num, the directing spirit of the universe, and oldest of created beings, first exercised the potter's art, and moulded the human race on his wheel." The Egyptians had also the knowledge of producing glazed pottery which represented the porcelain of the present day and fayences of



Pottery from Mohenjodaro

the middle ages. But the modern-day porcelain is made from *kaolin* (white China clay) and *pentuntse* or *pai-tun-tzu* (Feldspathic rock) and this kind of porcelain is termed hard-paste (or true) porcelain. In fact, the Egyptian pottery lacked the 'translucence, the compactness and the hardness' of modern porcelain but it bore testimony to the fact that the people of this part of the globe had the knowledge of the vitreous

glaze which they used to apply on the potteries and which has still remained a wonder to the modern scientists. The art of making pottery of different types and motifs did not die with the passing away of the civilisation of the land. The continuity in this branch of art can be noticed from a statement of Nasir-i-Khusran, who visited Egypt in the middle of the 11th century of our era. "At Misr (Fustat) they make earthenware of all kinds, so fine and diaphanous that one can see one's hand through it. They make bowls, cups, plates and other vessels, decorate them with colours resembling Bukalamun, so that the shades change according to the position in which the vessel is held."



Glazed pottery from Persia

Like Egypt,—India, China, Japan and Persia also narrate a very interesting story of the potter and his art. The Indus Valley or Harappa civilisation which goes back to c. 3000-2000 B.C. bears testimony to the fact that the Indus Valley people were well acquainted with this art; and hundreds of specimens, both in full and in fragments, have been found at sites like Mohenjo-daro, Chanhudaro, Harappa, Amri and other places. The art of colouring, the application of glaze and geometric pattern on the potteries clearly show the high level of technicality, the

richness of thought, and the disciplined the people of that area. The style and the potteries of the land on the Euphrates and the Tigris present a close resemblance of the Indus Valley and Egypt, and every likelihood that the art of making grew simultaneously in the lands stretching the banks of the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Indus. As a matter of fact, clay in riparian lands was easily procurable and it is no doubt that the people living by the banks of these rivers took clay as the medium for the necessities of their daily use and for concrete shapes to their thoughts and

In Mohenjo-daro and Harappa the striations inside every vessel show that the potteries must have been shaped on the wheel. The use of the wheel shows also an advancement in the art of making pottery. The earliest method of making pots was 'to twist clay into long ropes and to twist these ropes, round and round, into the designed shape. The rope was then pressed into the hollows between the coils and carefully smoothed flat with the fingers.'

The Indian potter's wheel is of the simplest and rudest kind. 'The clay to be moulded is heaped on the centre of the wheel, and the potter squats down on the ground before it. He makes vigorous turns and away spins the wheel round and round. The designs in Mohenjo-daro and Harappa were painted on the red surface with a brush before firing, the material used being a thick, black or purplish-black paint made from magniferous haematite.' The most popular design which occurs on the potteries found in Mohenjo-daro and Harappa and other Indus Valley sites is composed of a series of intersecting lines forming 'a pattern which does not appear on the surface of any other ancient civilisation and which is somewhat bewildering to the eye and which forms the only decoration on a jar.' A very interesting and common device is the 'meander' pattern. No human figure, except on a fragment from Harappa, can be found as a design on the pottery of Mohenjo-daro where the usual designs are the figures of animals, birds, snakes

In Japan the pottery of Nippon, as known to historians, belongs to the period of c. 1000 B.C. from which time the history of Japan begins. It is said that one Oosin-tsumi was the

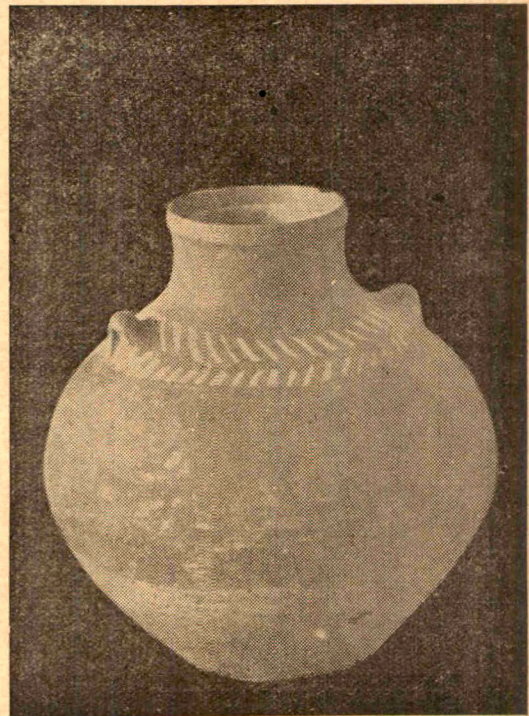
of the art of making pots in that country. Vases of this period are usually found in ancient tombs, and because of their claw-like ornaments in hard stone, they are known as *magatama tsubo* or precious jewel vases. These potteries were perhaps produced by a race which preceded the existing Japanese and the most interesting fact to be noted in this connection is that we find a close affinity and similarity in the making of these pots with those discovered in North America and in certain parts of Europe. Common fire-dried pots were in use in different parts of the world from the remotest times and the first potters working in Japan most probably came from Korea about the beginning of the Christian era.

About the middle of the sixth century A.D. when the doctrine of the Buddha engulfed the vast stretches of China and the farther East the Chinese influenced to a great extent the inhabitants of Japan in the realms of art and religion. But the potter's wheel in Japan, it is reported, was invented by a priest of Idzumi in the early thirties of the eighth century A.D. 'The ceramic products of old Japan are amongst its most precious art.' The tea ceremony (Chano-yu) had an influence upon the potter's art in Japan. The most important objects required in the ceremony were tea-jars (Chai-te) in which powdered tea was kept and tea-bowls (Chawan), in which it was mixed with water and from which it was drunk. Some of the most interesting works of the artist-potters was displayed upon such pieces. The burning of incense was another function which brought into service certain utensils, fashioned in pottery by master-makers. In date-marks and decoration the Japanese artists followed closely their Chinese brothers.

In China the oldest finds of certain potteries are gathered in Au-yang (Honan). In fact with the beginning of the Han dynasty the art of making pottery in China flourished. 'As to the dating of the numerous clay vessels, both glazed and unglazed, smooth and decorated in relief with hunting scenes and animals in flying gallop, there can exist no possible doubt. The greatest contribution of China to the world in this line is the invention of porcelain in the early Tang time.' Porcelain was not invented, as in material, but came into being from the desire for a thin, transparent material, probably

to imitate jade, and was certainly produced as early as the sixth century A.D. But foreign influence can be noticed clearly on the potteries of the Tang period.

Persia was closely in touch with China and it might be possible that a number of Chinese workmen was brought over to Persia or Chinese potters might have come over to Persia of their own accord. Sir Malcolm says in his *History of Persia* that a hundred families of Chinese artisans and engineers came to Persia with Halaku Khan in about 1256 A.D. The common name for Persian earthenware is Kashi Kari or Kashan work. The most common pottery in Persia is what is made of reddish clay and varnished with a single colour.



Pottery from Baluchistan

Besides these Asiatic countries the art of making potteries is highly developed in countries like Scandinavia, Greece, Crete, Spain, France, Denmark and Russia. The Greeks were the first in Europe to make fine pottery. Long before history was written the Greek potter had sat at the wheel making pots for women to carry water from the wells and great jars to hold wine and oil. Pliny has highly praised the Spanish pottery of Saguntum near Vallencia;

excellent lustred ware was made at Mercia and in the villages of the province of Vallencia. In Scandinavia the tombs of the earlier Iron*age sometimes contain vessels of very good clay ornamented with geometrical pattern. The ancient inhabitants of the Gallic soil (France) manufactured various types of pottery. Here also we find geometrical pattern, ornamental

combination indicating very dexterous handling and keen acumen. The close similarity and affinity of the potteries of the different parts of the world show that there was always a commonness and oneness in thought and idea, in technique and expression among the inhabitants even when one group is separated from the other by time and space.

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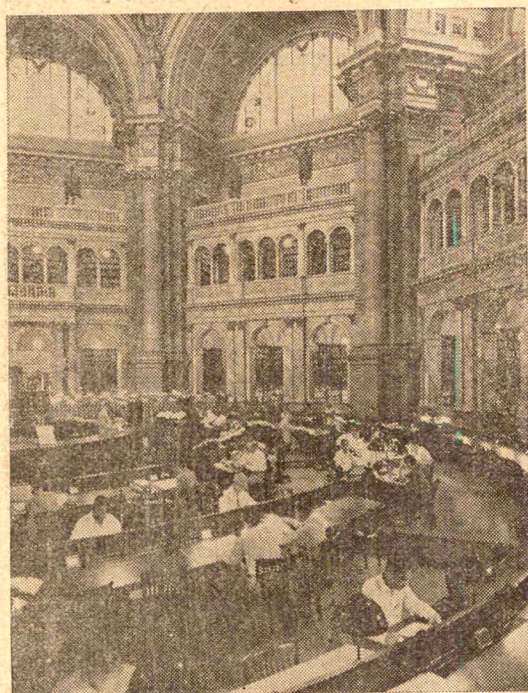
MILES OF KNOWLEDGE

The United States Library of Congress

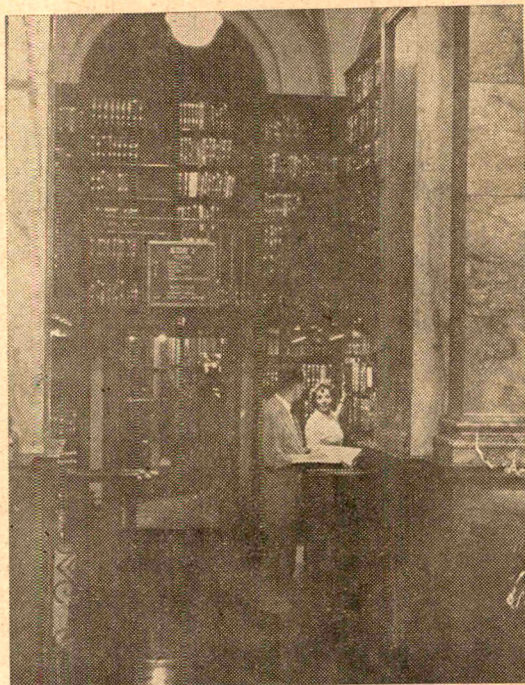
ON the hundreds of miles of shelves in the United States Library of Congress are contained the history of the country and an important record of the world. The Library, which is only a few minutes walk from the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C., houses over 35 million items containing information which is available to anyone who requests it.

with material shipped from England in eleven trunks and one map case. By 1897 when the Library was moved to its present location, there were 1½ million items.

Through Congressional appropriations, transfers of material from other U.S. Government agencies, benefactions of public-spirited citizens and foundations, deposit of books for



The main Reading Room is a spacious octagonal hall where the general subject-matter is catalogued



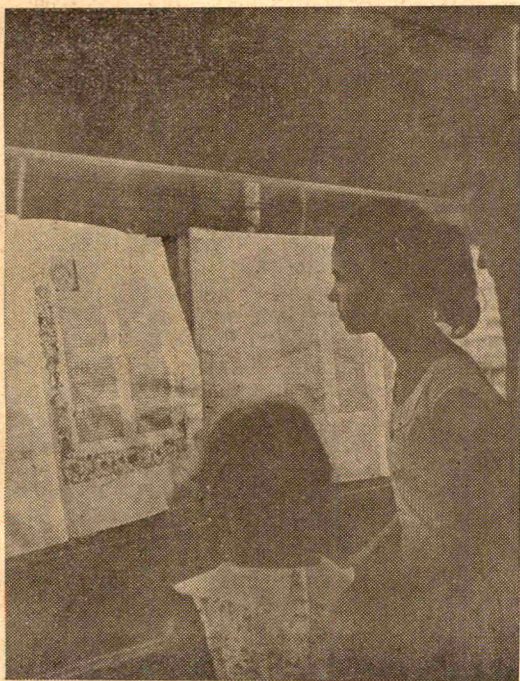
Each day the Library's Public Reference section receives more than 400 requests for information, by telephone, telegraph and letter

Originally established as a reference service for the use of the United States legislature in 1880, the Library was started in the Capitol

copyright, and a system of international exchange of documents, the institution has become one of the world's great libraries. Today, its

collections include more than ten million books and pamphlets, millions of manuscripts on American history and culture, and thousands of bound newspaper volumes, and phonograph recordings of music, poetry and book readings and other works.

However, the quantity of material contained within the Library of Congress is not as important as the diversification and availability of the subject-matter. Today a government official or private citizen, a student or a scholar, an Ameri-



The Gutenberg Bible, the first book produced on movable metal type in the Western world (in 1456), is on permanent exhibit

can citizen or foreign visitor may use the Library. Trained specialists, such as economists and historians, as well as expert librarians are there to help whoever requests assistance.

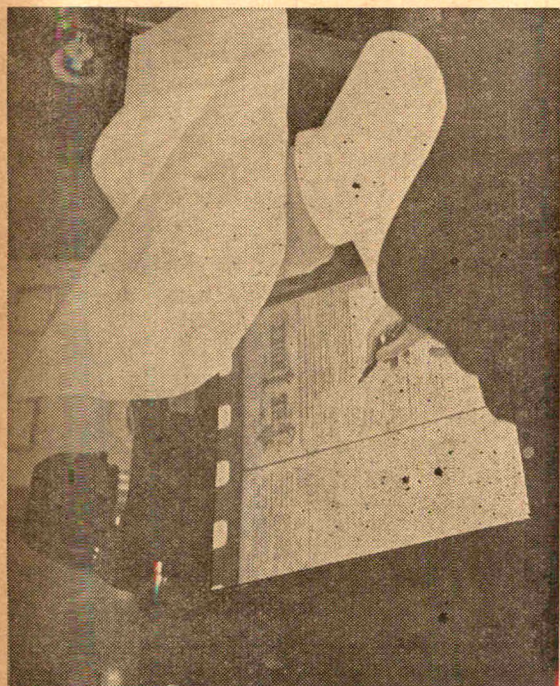
The inquiring individual has many specialized divisions in which to find the information he seeks. For example he can look in the Manuscript, Map, Music, Orientalia or Hispanic Divisions. Perhaps what he needs is in the Slavic, Science, Prints and Photographs, or Rare Book rooms. There is the Law Library which contains nearly one million volumes and pamphlets in many languages covering all known legal systems, both ancient and modern. The Division for the



Unable to see, this visitor listens to recordings of a book selected by him from a wide collection of classical and current literature



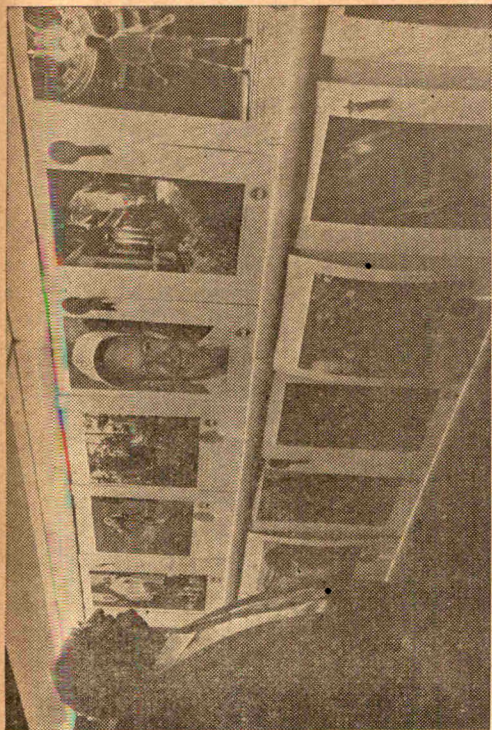
The history of America is now being recorded in sound as well as in print



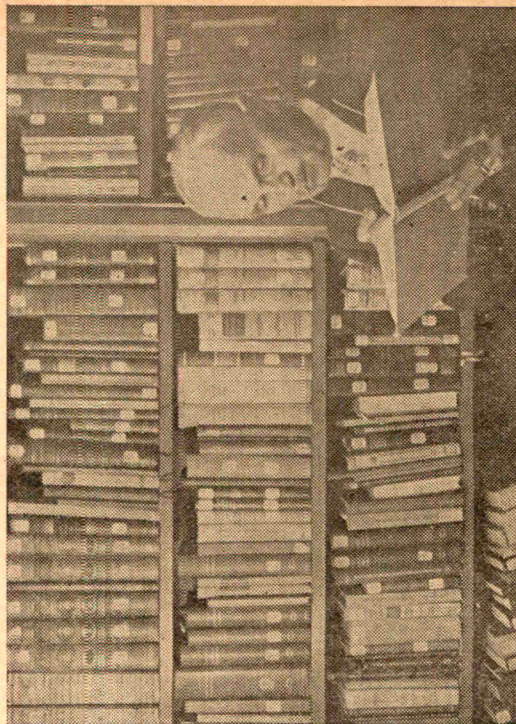
Through the use of an automatic device, the reader turns the film to the desired page which is projected on a screen



The Library lends books to other libraries in the U.S. and operates a vast network of exchanges throughout the world



Special exhibits of photographs, prints and books, and letters and mementoes of famous people are displayed in Library halls and corridors



The Slavic Reading Room, one of the Library's 21 specialised reading rooms, contains the largest collection of Russian books and documents

Blind has books printed in Braille or Moon type which are made available to blind persons throughout the United States and its overseas territories. For those who cannot use Braille there are entire books and poetry readings on phonograph records.

Among the Library's staff of almost 2,400 persons are employees proficient in one or more of 60 languages. No matter what country a reader is from, there is someone at the Library who can help him find what he is looking for.

In 1870 a law was passed in the United States requiring all publishers to deposit two copies of a book in the Library's Copyright Office before a copyright claim could be registered. A large percentage of the books currently published in the United States are acquired by the Library in this way.

The Library offers not only the printed page to the visitor, but appeals to his ear as well. Each year there are a series of concerts, lectures and literary readings in the Library's auditorium. Five Stradivari instruments and Tourte bows, gifts to the Library, are frequently

used in performances by the Budapest String Quartet. Their donor did not want the instruments to be only show-pieces, but rather wanted them to be heard by music-lovers.

Today, the Library continues to perform important services for members of the U.S. Congress. As requested by them, the Legislative Reference Service compiles data and statistics, produces translations of articles and documents, makes graphs and charts, prepares analytical studies of complex problems and supplies other background material and facts essential in congressmen's daily legislative work and in filling a wide variety of requests made by their constituent.

While history is being made, it is also being preserved. Therefore at the Library of Congress the public is welcome to inspect today's newspaper as well as the five-century-old Gutenberg Bible. This enormous, diversified fund of knowledge on the 250 miles of shelves in the Library continues to grow as man's knowledge of himself and his world grows.—

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SITA RAM SHAH (1877-1957)

An Obituary Tribute

BY PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

IN November last year, the hand of death has snatched away an old resident of Benares, belonging to an old aristocratic family who was held in very high esteem in the society of the United Provinces. He did not quite belong to the present generation, but to a generation which has now passed away. He was the last representative of this older generation and he represented a type of the old educated gentry of the aristocratic society, who did not live a life of idle ease, rolling in the comforts of his own wealth, but as a highly cultured man of education and breadth of outlook, gracefully taking his part in the life of the society in which he lived, and which he adorned by many qualities of head and heart. A handsome person of great beauty, and an individual of great personal magnetism, he was in many ways a

picturesque personality not only by virtue of his personal charm and brilliant social virtues, but by virtue of his many accomplishments and cultural interests. He came from a family with high intellectual traditions and traditions of great public service. One of his ancestors, Monohor Das, who was a successful businessman in the City of Calcutta more than a century ago, is still remembered with respect for his many charities and public services, one of which still survives in the large tank in Chowringhee opposite the New Market. Before the Corporation of Calcutta was established, good drinking water was in great demand amongst the residents of a growing city and this act of charity of Monohor Das was long forgotten until three years ago, when a marble tablet was set up on the east bank of this tank commemorating his great public service.

From this family have come Dr. Bhagwan Das, the great sage and philosopher, Dr. Sri Ranjan, the present Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad and Hon'ble Sri Prakash, the founder of the famous Vidyapith of Benares, and the present Governor of the State of Bombay. Another member of this family is a great champion of women's education and a famous collector of ancient Indian Coins.

But Sitaram Shah was a brilliant luminary in his own light and did not shine in the reflected glory of the other members of his family, distinguished as they are in many spheres of activity.



Sita Ram Shah

Son of Sri Madhav Das-ji, Sitaram Shah was born in October 1877. Educated in the Queen's College, Benares, he passed his B.A. Examination from the Allahabad University in 1896, and joined the Jammu and Kashmir State Service in 1901. His many talents were rewarded by the State and he was appointed as the Private Secretary and, thereafter, a Minister in the service of H. H. Maharajah Pratap Singh, a position which he resigned in 1910 to come back to take his place in the city life of Benares, where he was appointed an Honorary Magistrate, an office which he resigned as a protest against the adverse policy of the

Government towards the new National Movement. His stay in Kashmir invested him with two charming phases of his personality. He became fond of physical exercises and developed as a sturdy young athlete—a rare accomplishment amongst aristocrats. From his early years he became a trained shikari, well-known for his fine marksmanship and his house is still loaded with numerous trophies of animals' heads and tiger-skins. He was an all-round sportsman shining equally in cricket, tennis, polo, and billiards. He was a close associate of Dr. Annie Besant in the Theosophical Movement in Benares and he helped in many ways the founding of the Central Hindu College, which institution he served in various capacities. He took an energetic part in many educational, social, philanthropic and cultural organizations, e.g., Kashi Vidyā Pith, Central Hindu College and School, Kashi Club, Agarwal Sports Club, Agarwal Samaj, Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Ramakrishna Mission Hospital, Bharat Kala Bhavan, and the Benares Hindu University. His literary activities were no less distinguished and are recorded in his translation of the *Gita*, and several *Upanisads* in Hindi verse and in a book on Animal Life, based on his experiences in many hunting expeditions.

But Sitaram Shah will be best remembered as a collector and connoisseur of Indian Painting, a unique accomplishment and a role of national services, which is now assuming a great significance in the history of the study of Indian Art in the new setting of a free and nationalist India. In the days of his youth the products of Indian Art were looked down upon by even the educated section of Indians and it is a matter of wonder how, an athlete, pre-occupied with games of hunting and other branches of sports, could develop a love for mediaeval Indian painting. In the present context in the many developments in the fields of Indian Art his great service in collecting and amassing a formidable assembly of great masterpieces of Moghul painting is a service of valuable national significance. It is the highly gifted connoisseurship in Indian painting and the critical eye of Sitaram Shah which could pick up the choice masterpieces and gather them in his storehouse of great national treasures. Considering the large number of Indian paintings that have been exported out of India to

enrich European and American Museums, thus denuding the wealth of Indian Art-treasures during the last fifty years, Sitaram's services to the cause of national art cannot be too highly praised. Carried away by blazing emotions in the struggle for political freedom, our great leaders had no time to take steps to stop the tragic drain of the Art-treasures of India for several generations. If Sitaram Shah had not collected and preserved a very large number of the chosen masterpieces of Moghul painting, India would have been much poorer in her national assets and historical records and we should have to travel to Europe and America to study the Great Masters of our great historical epoch. Nobody in India knew of the great art-collection of Sitaram Shah before 1907, when Coomaraswamy examined the collection and pronounced it as a unique hoard of great masterpieces of supreme value for the understanding and appreciation of India in the sphere of painting. Since Coomaraswamy's appreciation the fame of this collection has travelled across the whole world and the residence of Sitaram Shah has become a temple, visited by hundreds of tourists and connoisseurs of art and a place

of great attraction to all pilgrims to the sacred city. There are thousands of industrial magnets, rich bankers, and merchant-princes in India today, but there are hardly more than a dozen collectors of the art-treasures of India. And the name of Sitaram Shah as a collector and connoisseur of Indian painting will be for ever cherished in national memory for his great service to a great national cause and, it is hoped, will inspire our future citizens to make equal contributions to the study of our national culture, now considerably impoverished by the continuous drain of its art-treasures for a period of more than a century. Appreciation of the Fine Arts and the scholarly study of our Art-history have not yet found its place in our Universities and hundreds of students are filing out from the portals of our temples of learning, year after year, completely oblivious of the supreme spiritual values of our national art. If our educated citizens are able to recover their national consciousness in Art in some future time, they will be able to realize what services Sitaram Shah has rendered to the cause of national art.

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SYRIA—THE CRADLE OF ARAB NATIONALISM

By Z. H. KAZMI

THE cradle of Arab nationalism, Syria or Suriya as it is called by the Syrians, has during the past ten years, occasionally made headlines in the world press. The present tension in West Asia has once again turned the spotlight on this strategically situated country.

Stretching along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, Syria occupies the North-Western part of the great Arabian Peninsula. It has an area of 66,046 square miles and is inhabited by nearly 4 million people. The country has the usual Mediterranean climate and is sunny, dry and healthy.

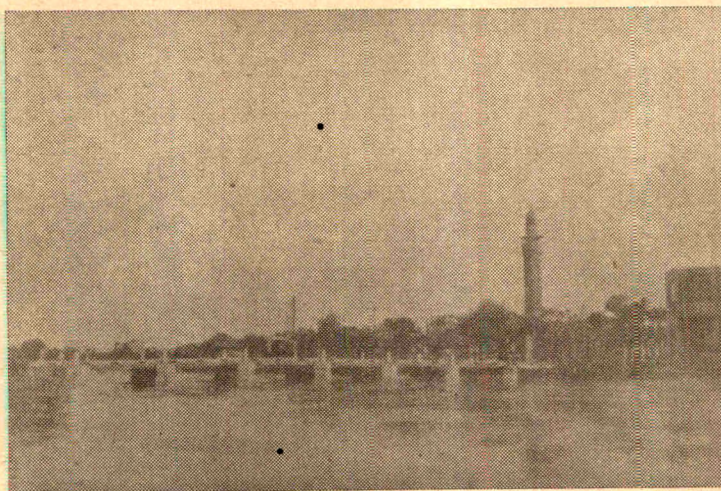
The veil of antiquity shrouds the exact time when the human race first set its foot on this fertile land, yet the Semitic tribes with their flocks of sheep and goats are known to have wandered on the Syrian pastures centuries

before the dawn of civilization and they were in all probability its first settlers.

Flanked by the ancient empires, Syria has, except for a few golden epochs, seldom enjoyed complete peace and prosperity throughout its nearly five thousand-year-old history. In 2,750 B.C. Akkadians, of Semitic origin, under their great leader, Sargon I, founded an empire over the vast region now called Syria and Iraq.

With the decay of the Akkadian Empire, Syria was occupied by the Babylonians. They were followed in turn by the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians again, the Persians, the Romans, the Muslim Arabs, the Turks and the French. In 1944 the Syrians wrested independence from their French exploiters after many a blood-bath and declared their country a republic.

Syria has a unicameral assembly elected by the people every four years. The assembly elects the president and appoints the Council of Ministers for the majority party.



Historic bridge over the Euphrates at the city of Der-al-Zor

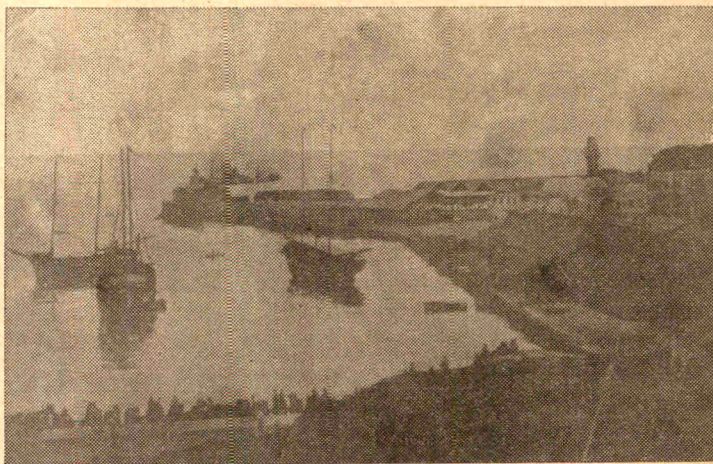
Now a bone of contention between the world's two power-blocks, this young republic was repeatedly shaken by the internal disorders and foreign intrigues during the years 1949 to 1954 and its capital Damascus has during this short period witnessed as many as four *coup d'etats*. President Shukry Bey Alkuwatly was forced to resign by Col. Husni Zaim who installed himself as president in March, 1949. In a military uprising led by Hanavi, Col. Sami, Col. Zaim was overthrown, arrested and executed on August 14, 1949. Col. Hanavi, however, soon restored the power to the political leaders. The Greater Syria Scheme—formation of a single state consisting of Syria, Jordan and Iraq—sponsored by the late King Abdulla of Jordan in 1951, sharply divided the public opinion in Syria, and paved the way for yet another coup in which Lt. General Adib Shishkly seized the power. In January, 1954 Sultan Altarash, the leader of the warlike Druze tribe of Jabl-e-Druze (Southern Syria) raised

the standard of revolt against Shishkly's regime. He was later supported by a number of military officers headed by Captain Mustafa Hamaduni. Finding the situation out of his control, General

Shishkly fled to Saudi Arabia and the country once again returned to the constitutional ways, and the reins of Government have since remained in the hands of the elected leaders.

Sixty-six-year-old Shukri Bey Alkuwatly, the present President of the Syrian Republic, was elected to the post in 1955 for the third time. His career, inextricably, linked with the Arab struggle for liberation from the foreign yoke, is a saga of sacrifices and self-denial. He plunged himself in the nationalist movement in 1915 and though repeatedly arrested, tortured and twice sentenced to death in ab-

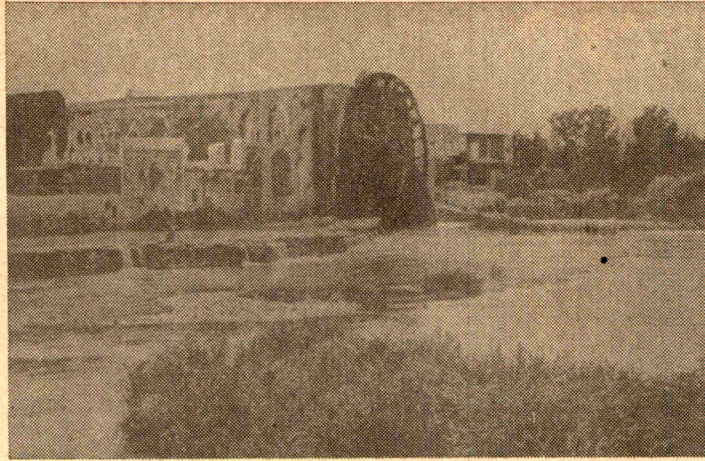
sentia, he continued the freedom battle until his country achieved complete independence. During his presidentship, Alkuwatly has initiated many reforms and development projects which have brought prosperity to the people. In foreign



The port of Latakia

affairs, he advocates a policy of close co-operation with other Arab States and non-alignment with any of the world's power-blocks.

Damascus, the picturesque capital of Syria, is the world's oldest continuously inhabited city.



A view of water-wheel at Hama. Such water-wheels irrigate thousands of acres of land in Syria

Though western in outlook, the Syrian capital still retains a substantial flavour of the Orient. Most of the ancient magnificent buildings of the city have been either burnt down by the accidental fires or destroyed by the French bombardments in 1921, yet Azam Palace, Ommyyad Mosque, Takkiya Mosque, Sultan Saladin's Tomb and Roman Arcade still stand to bear testimony to its past architectural glory. Museum, Parliament House and Railway Station are among the modern buildings worth visiting. Its vaulted and open markets are as fine as in any city of Europe. Stuffs of silk, cotton and wool produced locally, are of lovely texture and design.

Much sung by the Arabian poets and called 'the Golden Brook' by the Greeks, the Nahr-e-Baraza or Baraza Canal passes through the city and supplies the drinking water to its population.

Lying at the crossroads of the ancient caravan routes, Palmyra, the queen of the Syrian desert, attained a high degree of civilization in the beginning of the first century A.D. Her celebrated Queen Zenobia resolutely defied the mighty armies of the Imperial Rome in the third century B.C. but was ultimately defeated and saw her prosperous capital destroyed. Its looted wealth, carried to Rome, dazzled the eyes of the Roman citizens. The ruined palaces, temples and lavish tombs of Palmyra recall to memory its bygone glory.

In fact, the entire country is strewn with the monuments that speak of its past grandeur.

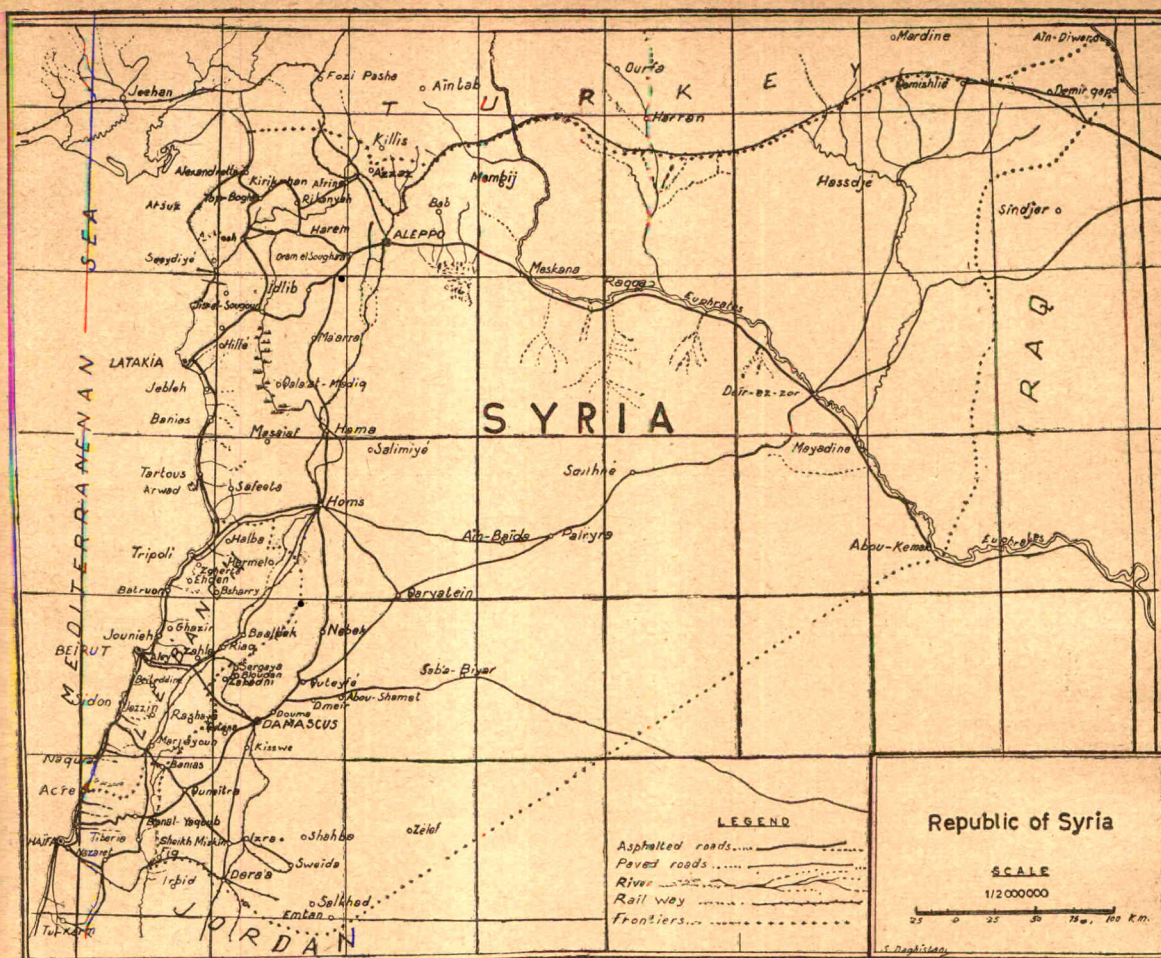


Once again Azam palace at Damascus echoes with music

Aleppo, Homs, Hama and Latakia are other notable cities of Syria.

The country has a public education system but a number of private and foreign schools also exist. There is a good University at Damascus and agricultural and engineering colleges in other cities. The progress and expansion of agriculture and industries has been mainly responsible for the growing increase in the national income.

Agriculture and textile industry are the



mainstay of the Syrians who are mostly Muslim and speak Arabic.

In short, the different aspects of Syria's glorious past and her awakened present can best be described in the following words of a Syrian :

"Syria made splendid contributions to the development of world civilization, and in Arab history served as torch of a great culture, radiant with principles of humanity and products of man's inventive power; as cradle of ancient civilizations, she led the human race along the

path of progress, disseminating light and combating darkness.

"In Syria's desert are impressive pictures of man's struggle against the forces of nature and his endless exertions to make full use of earth's hidden wealth.

"Syria is a small country of four million people, but in her progressive tendencies—together with sister Arab States—constitutes a rich store of hope for the future of man in an awakened East."



NIETZSCHE'S PHILOSOPHY: A RE-EVALUATION

BY DR. R. C. MATHUR, M.A., LL.B., A.M.; ph.D. (Columbia, New York)

"Listen! for I am such and such a person. For Heaven's Sake do not confuse me with any one else!" —Pref., E.H.I.P., 811.

It is easy to read Nietzsche* but difficult to interpret him. It is fascinating and invigorating to read Nietzsche. One is almost swept off his feet by his powerful, brilliant, quick and supple style. He shocks us out of our smug complacency, weak sentimentality and foolish conventionality. We breathe fresh air, shake off the weight of 'dead custom' and enjoy open-air atmosphere. Fresh vistas, fresh valuations and fresh insights are revealed to us. In short we regain our spirit of adventure. Herein lies the danger and difficulty of interpreting him. His fast overflowing style, the overwhelming tempo and aphoristic manner do not help us to understand him rightly. Sometimes while seemingly engaged in destroying old values he also in a subtle manner suggests some hidden use in them. If, therefore, he has been misunderstood or not understood at all the fault is as much his as his readers.' Some writers have interpreted him as a Darwinian, an apostle of a cruel will-to-power, a destroyer and subverter of all morality, goodness and decency. Others like Walter A. Kaufmann have painted him in very bright colours by interpreting his references to war, cruelty, will-to-power and the ideal of superman in a symbolic manner. As I understand Nietzsche I feel both these interpretations are onesided: both are partially true and both are partially false.

The key to the understanding of Nietzsche lies in recognizing that he wrote like an inspired man, a genius who had some message to convey without proving, who had some truth to reveal and who could not but overflow with what he had to say. In other words he conceived himself to be a man of destiny. He says: "To think of one's self as a destiny, not to wish one's self

different—this, in such circumstances, is the very highest wisdom." (E.H. Sec. 6, p. 888).

In fact Nietzsche was disgusted with the existing morality of ineffective sentimental pity, hypocritical profession of high ideals, and mere conformity and mediocrity. He saw the danger of universal stagnation and decadence. To pull men out of such decadent uncreative morality he had, in the spirit of an inspired man, to make extreme statements without qualifications and reservations—even at the cost of being misunderstood. He himself said in the Preface to the *Genealogy* that in order to understand him people should read all his works and ruminate over them. However, he had no patience with weak, reformist methods or timid half-hearted measures, or cowardly compromise. He wanted to apply the surgeon's lancet and amputate the decaying limb forthwith. With the touch of lightning he wanted to shock men out of their self-hypnosis and self-righteousness. He; therefore, condemned the conventional morality based on pity and weakness outright, threw overboard the entire scheme of valuation and heralded his new task as the "transvaluation of all values." In such a task lies his strength as well as weakness. The strength lies in calling attention to a very important and a very difficult task of overthrowing conventional morality based on deep-rooted, inveterate and long-established traditions. This required superhuman strength. But his weakness lies in the fact that in his zeal for destroying he came perilously near "throwing out the baby with the bath."

Let us now see how Nietzsche conceived his task. For him "not mankind but superman is the goal." Now the concept of superman is open to several interpretations. In *Schopenhauer as Educator* he tells us that mankind ought constantly to be striving to produce great men; that this alone is its duty. In *On the Philologists* he says that with the help of favourable

* The references given in the brackets are all the Modern Library Edition of *The Philosophy of Nietzsche*. The abbreviations are after the English titles of the work of Nietzsche as given there.

measures great individuals might be produced who would be both different from and higher than those who heretofore have existed by mere chance. Let us turn to *Thus Spake Zarathustra*. "I teach you the superman. Man is something that is to be surpassed. What have ye done to surpass man?" (*Zara*, Prologue, 3, p. 6). Or again, "What is the ape to man? A laughing-stock, a thing of shame. And just the same shall be man to the superman: a laughing-stock, a thing of shame" (*ibid*). Again, "The superman is the meaning of the earth. Let your will say: The superman shall be the meaning of the earth" (*ibid*). Again, "Man is a rope stretched between animal and the superman—a rope over an abyss." [*Zara*, Prologue (4) p. 8]. "What is great in man is that he is a bridge and not a goal" (*ibid*).

Now it is evident from all these quotations that in the beginning Nietzsche thought of the superman as a new species. But the language here is so aphoristic and symbolic that in view of his later statements it would be difficult to uphold this interpretation.

For example he says: "I conjure you, my brethren, remain true to the earth and believe not those who speak unto you of super-earthly hopes. Prisoners are they, whether they know it or not." (*Zara*, Prologue, 3, p. 6).

The superman is not a new species, otherwise it would be too nebulous to be striven for. He implies by it a *possibility*, which men could realize by developing their physical and spiritual potentialities provided they adopted the new scheme of values and gave up the old decadent scheme of Christian values based on pity and weakness. The superman will represent power and strength. All that proceeds from power is good and all that springs from weakness is bad. The truly strong and powerful man will be dignified, generous, gracious, expansive and overflowing. He will be creative of values. It is wrong to think that Nietzsche's superman will be a brutish barbarian though in some passages Nietzsche in his polemic zeal gives such an impression.

The superman is the strong man who has assimilated and controlled his powers and energies and given them a creative form—such as philosopher, artist and even the Saint. In *The Joyful Wisdom* he says:

"He whose soul longeth to experience the whole range of hitherto recognised values and desirabilities and to circumnavigate all the coasts of this ideal 'Mediterranean Sea,' who from the adventures of his most personal experience, wants to know how it feels to be a *conqueror* and *discoverer* of the ideal—as *likewise* how it is with the *artist*, the *Saint*, the *legislator*, the *Sage*, the *scholar*, the *devotee*, the *prophet* and the *godly non-conformist* of the old style—requires one thing alone all for that purpose—*great healthiness*—such healthiness as one not only possesses, but also constantly acquires and must acquire, because one increasingly sacrifices it again and must sacrifice it." (Quoted Introd. p. XXII).

In the same book he says:

"Another ideal runs on before us, a strange tempting ideal full of danger, to which we should not like to persuade any one, because we do not so readily acknowledge any one's right thereto: the ideal of a *spirit* who *plays naively* (that is involuntarily and from *overflowing abundance and power*) with everything that has hitherto been called holy, good, intangible and divine." (Quoted Introd. p. XXIII). Again, "The ideal of humanly superman, welfare and benevolence will often appear inhuman . ." (Quoted Introd. p. XXIII).

To understand Nietzsche properly we have to take his two ideas of the superman and will-to-power together. He conceived will-to-power as one fundamental principle which expresses itself in the universe. Psychologically also he attempts to explain all human behaviour in terms of such a will-to-power. Now he conceives the superman as not one in whom the will-to-power is working in an unrestrained, brutish manner, but as one who has given form, *direction* and purpose to this will-to-power. In *The Birth of Tragedy* his main aim is to explain how tragic art in ancient Greece was the perfect harmony of the Dionysian and the Appollonian qualities—in which power was controlled, channelized, individualized and given *form*.

This will-to-power is the *truth* for him. He values *truth* above 'goodness'—nay above everything. Telling us why he chose the name 'Zarathustra' he says: ". . . all history is the experimental refutation of the theory of the so-called moral order of things: the more import-

ant point is that Zarathustra was more *truthful* than any other thinker. In his teaching alone do we meet with *truthfulness* upheld as the highest virtue, *i.e.*, the reverse of the cowardice of the idealist who flees from reality." Again—"To tell the truth and aim straight: that is the first Persian virtue. Am I understood? . . . The overcoming of morality through itself—through truthfulness, the overcoming of the moralist through his opposite—through me: that is what the name Zarathustra means in my mouth." (Quoted Introd. p. XXXIII). He brings out the above point that the superman is a man of *self-mastery* and self-discipline in *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, Part II, Aphorism 34 entitled 'Self-Surpassing.' There he says, "And this secret spake life herself unto me. 'Behold' said she, 'I am that which must ever surpass itself.'" (p. 125). Again, "But thou, O Zarathustra wouldst view the ground of everything, and its background; thus must thou mount even above thyself—up, upwards, until thou hast even thy stars under thee." (*Zara.* III Aph. 45, p. 146) Finally:

"My humanity is a continual self-mastery." (E.H. 8, p. 830).

Now this ideal of superman who has transcended and surpassed himself requires breaking of old values and adopting new ones. It involves hard discipline and even pain. In several passages of *Thus Spake Zarathustra* Nietzsche speaks of his task of destroying the existing morality. He tells us that the so-called Christian neighbour-love is a flight from the obligation of perfecting oneself and that all prayers spring from faint-hearted souls. He advocates love of one's own self a wholesome healthy love. Speaking of his task of destroying existing morality he says: "These mediators and mixers we detest—the passing clouds: those *half and half ones* that have neither learned to bless nor to curse from the heart." (*Zara.* Aph. 48, p. 182). Again, "For rather will I have noise and thunders and tempest-blasts, than this discreet, doubting cat-repose; and also amongst men do I hate, most of all the soft-treaders and half and half ones and the doubting, hesitating, passing clouds." (*Zara.* Aph. 48, p. 182).

He thus conceived his task as giving a push to a morality already on the verge of falling

and collapsing. Before we embark on an exposition of how he carries out this task in *The Genealogy of Morals* we shall have a look at what he has to say of his task in *Ecce Homo*. He quotes himself from *The Dawn of Day*, "My life task is to prepare for humanity a moment of supreme self-consciousness, a great *noontide* when it will gaze both backwards and forwards, when it will emerge from the tyranny of accident and the priesthood and for the first time pose the question of the Why and Wherefore of humanity as a whole." (E.H., p. 887).

While criticizing the dominance of priestly morality of decadence and 'will-for-nothing-ness' he says with great vehemence: "When one is no longer serious about self-preservation and the increase of bodily energy, *i.e.*, of life; when anemia is made an ideal and the contempt of the body is construed as 'the Salvation on the Soul' what can all this be if not a recipe for decadence? Loss of ballast, resistance offered to natural instincts, in a word, 'selflessness'—this is what has hitherto been called morality. With 'The Dawn of Ray' I first took up the struggle against the morality of self-renunciation." (E.H., p. 889).

In denouncing the so-called 'good man' he says: "To demand that everybody become a 'good man', a gregarious animal, blue-eyed, benevolent, 'beautiful soul' or as Herbert Spencer wished—an altruist, would mean robbing existence of its greater character, *castrating mankind* and reducing it to a wretched mongolism. And this has been attempted! It is this that men call morality!" (E.H., p. 927). He quotes himself from Zarathustra as saying that the 'good man' is the *beginning of the end*.

In the *Ecce Homo* under the heading "Why I am a Fatality" Nietzsche slashes mercilessly at Christian morality as a crime against life—the will-to-falsehood—which teaches contempt of primal life—instincts, which sets up a 'soul' to overthrow the body and which finds sex impure. He implies that in trying to make men self-less Christianity makes men sex-less, decadent and impotent degenerates. He defines such morality as: "Morality is the idiosyncrasy of decadents, actuated by a desire to avenge themselves successfully upon life." (E.H., p. 931). He goes on to denounce all the Christian conceptions of soul, other-worldliness, sin and

finally the good man. "Finally most frightfully of all the notion of the 'good man' comes to mean everything which is weak; ill, misshapen and suffering from itself, everything which must be obliterated." (E.H., p. 932).

"Have you understood me? Dionysus vs. Christ." (E.H., p. 932).

In the *Genealogy of Morals* Nietzsche reveals himself as a psychologist of acute analytical power and deep penetration into human nature. He develops here some of the notions which he had presaged in *Beyond Good and Evil*. The three Essays of the *Genealogy* are preceded by a Preface by himself. In the first Essay he traces the origin of "Good and Evil" and "Good and Bad" and traces the rise of Christianity to the spirit of resentment as a counter movement to aristocratic values. In the second Essay he gives a brilliant account of the psychology of conscience and in the third Essay an equally keen analysis of the origin and power of the ascetic ideal. The three Essays taken together are conceived by him as a task preparatory to a transvaluation of all values.

In the Preface he tells us that his purpose in writing the *Genealogy of Morals* is to enable us to understand ourselves better shorn of all superficiality and hypocrisy. He points out: "Of necessity we remain strangers to ourselves, we understand ourselves not in ourselves, we are bound to be mistaken, for us holds good to all eternity the motto: 'Each one is farthest away from himself'—as far as ourselves are concerned we are not 'knowers'." (p. 622). He gave up looking for the supernatural origin of Evil. The problem which confronted him was; "Under what conditions did man invent for himself those judgments of values 'Good and Evil'?" (p. 624). He wanted to enquire into their intrinsic value. Have these hindered or helped human well-being? "Are they a symptom of the distress, impoverishment and degeneration of human life? Or conversely is it in them that is manifested the fulness, the strength and will of life, its courage, its self-confidence, its future?" (p. 624).

This brings out clearly the problem of the *Genealogy*. It implies that even for Nietzsche true morality should aim at human well-being which for him consists in strength, courage and self-confidence and an out-going attitude to life. The value of morality itself constitutes the

problem. He questions the value of the so-called 'unegoistic instincts' of pity, self-denial, and self-sacrifice which were extolled by Schopenhauer. He began to realize that it is precisely these instincts which constitute a great 'seduction of nothingness-nihilism.' The entire morality of pity is rotten to the core and is a sign of decay of human fibre. He mentions Plato, Spinoza, La Rouchefoucauld and Kant for their contempt of pity.

In section 6 of the Preface he tells us that he has in mind 'a Critique of Moral Values'—the value of these values. Hitherto the 'good man' of the existing morality has been taken for granted as of value for human progress and prosperity. He asks us to suppose the opposite were true that the 'good man' was a sign of retrogression and degeneration by means of which the future was sacrificed to the present. "So that morality would really be saddled with the guilt if the maximum potentiality of the power and splendour of the human species were never to be attained?" (p. 628)

The implications of this quotation are far-reaching. Firstly he is here criticizing the existing morality of the 'good man' as effect and barren so far as the future is concerned. Secondly he warns us that this morality would be guilty if the maximum possibilities of the power and splendour of the human species were never to be attained. Here the goal set by Nietzsche is the progressive realisation of the future possibilities of which the human species is capable. He implies that true power will be attained by the maximum possible development of human potentialities. Hence his will-to-power should not be taken as a barbaric return to unabashed cruelty, exploitation and appropriation—though he tends himself to this interpretation sometimes. That Nietzsche had in mind this idea of the maximum possibilities of the development of the human species is shown also by what he says in *Beyond Good and Evil* in the Essay "The Natural History of Morals." He is there talking about the universal deterioration of man under the whole Christo-European-Morality and says that he who sees this danger. "... sees at a glance all that could still be made out of man through a favourable accumulation and augmentation of human powers and arrangements; he knows with all the knowledge of his conviction how unexhausted man

still is for the *greatest possibilities* and how often in the past the type man has stood in presence of mysterious decisions and new paths" (p. 497).

The three essays of the *Genealogy* are a brilliant conjecture and show Nietzsche's powers of keen psychological analysis. But as is usual with him they are full of exaggerations. As I have tried to explain in the introduction he was impatient with the sluggishness and mediocrity of men. He was disgusted with all talk of morality based on submissiveness, weakness, pity and sympathy. He thought that this misplaced emphasis on the softer Christian virtues was causing a loosening of fibre, effeminacy and general decay of men. This was making man weak, and worse still it was justifying his weakness. His aim was to pull men out of their stupor and self-righteousness so that instead of talking glibly and hypocritically about love of neighbour men would devote themselves to the task of self-perfection. He felt that people had ignored this important task of self-development. He says under the heading "The Be-dwarfing Virtue": "Those teachers of submission wherever there is aught puny or sickly or scabby there do they creep like lice; and only my disgust preventeth me from cracking them" (Zar., p. 109). Again, "Do never what ye will—but first *be such as can will*" (Zar. p. 190). "Love ever your neighbour as yourselves—but first *be such as love themselves* . . . Such as love with great love, such as love with great contempt" (Zar., p. 190).

Now it is clear from all this that what he means is that you must first become capable of loving yourself. Then alone *out of fulness* can you really love your neighbour—otherwise it becomes only a flight from ourself—an excuse for sluggishness and torpor.

CONCLUSION

The chief value of Nietzsche's *Genealogy* lies *not* in displacing fundamental Christian ideals but in attacking the perversity, the sentimentality and the hypocrisy which vitiated them. His sharp attacks, though exaggerated, came like a rushing wind to purify these ideals and to awaken men from their smugness and self-righteousness. He was certainly right in attacking any morality or religion based on fear, cowardice and weakness. No doubt a man who believes in God and professes these moral ideals out of fear and weakness and hope of a future reward for himself is less than man. In that sense the so-called atheist who is manly and courageous and has faith in himself is much better than the cowardly superstitious theist. Nobody who does not believe in himself can *really* believe in anything. This is, to my mind, the permanent deposit of truth in Nietzsche's thought.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. E.H.—*Ecce Homo*.
2. G.M.—*The Genealogy of Morals*.
3. Zar.—*Thus Spake Zarathustra*.
4. Sec.—Section.
5. Aph.—Aphorism.
6. Introd.—Introduction by Mrs. Forster-Nietzsche to *Zarathustra*, published in the Modern Library Edition.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE ORIGINS OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION MOVEMENT (1905-1910): By *Hridayas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee*. *Jadavpur University*. 1957. Pp. 440, Price Rs. 12.

This scholarly, well-documented and comprehensive survey of a glorious, but almost forgotten chapter of the history of modern India has been written by two young but trained students of history, husband and wife, working together on the primary sources for a number of years. It forms the first out of a projected 4-volume study of the Swadeshi movement of 1905 and the following years, which is held to be "for all practical purposes the first stage in India's freedom movement." The authors' thorough grasp of their subject is equalled by their soundness of judgment and their excellent readable style. At the outset we are introduced to the classification of their primary sources (the secondary sources being rightly used mainly for criticism) under five heads comprising published works and unpublished letters and memoirs as well as discourses with living persons participating in the movement (pp. xiv-xvi). The book consists of two Parts, Part I entitled *The Genesis and Development of the National Council of Education*, and Part II bearing the title *The Dawn and The Dawn Society*. In Part I the author begins with a brief but illuminating account of the historical background of the movement (pp. 13-18). Then they trace in detail the swift and dramatic turn of events in Bengal leading simultaneously to the foundation of the *National Council of Education* and the *Society for the Promotion of Technical Education* in the middle of 1906 (pp. 19-48). This is followed by a full and critical statement of the curriculum of studies set up by both institutions (pp. 48-60). Then

comes a complete account of the activities of the *National Council of Education* for the four memorable years of its existence (1906-10) under three heads, viz., organisation and development of Bengal National College and School in Calcutta (with a chronicle of the working of the former institution in its literary, scientific and technical departments (pp. 46-113), the foundation and development of National Schools in various Bengal districts (pp. 113-26), and the spread of the movement outside Bengal (pp. 126-35). We are then treated to what may be called the University Calendar of the National Council of Education giving the subjects of the examination with their number of papers and the names of the paper-setters and the results of the examinations (pp. 135-146). It is interesting to observe, in the light of present controversies, that the council authorities allotted for the equivalence of the Matriculation and the Intermediate in Arts examinations of Indian Universities, two papers to "Sanskrit, Persian or Arabic with an allied vernacular" (viz., Bengali and Hindi in the case of the first, and Urdu in the case of the last two), and two other papers to English as the second language. The further account of the activities of the National Council of Education is followed by the story of the merger of the sister Society into itself in 1910 leading ultimately to its unmerited end (pp. 146-78).

The authors introduce Part II with a very satisfactory life-sketch of Satish Chandra Mukherjee, "one of the chief architects of the Swadeshi movement of 1905 and a mighty prophet of Indian nationalism at the dawn of the present century" (pp. 181-213). This is followed by a detailed and exhaustive history of *The Dawn* (subsequently called *The Dawn and The Dawn Society's Magazine*), of which Sri Mukherjee bore the editorial charge almost

from the first, for a length of 16 years (1897-1913), pp. 214-50). Then comes an equally exhaustive and satisfactory account of the foundation of *The Dawn Society* (of which Sri Mukherjee was throughout the life and soul) in 1902, and its varied activities in its "general training" and its "religious training" classes, and afterwards in its technical and magazine sections. The concluding chapter (pp. 315-58) consists of a classified list of articles published in *The Dawn* from 1897-1913. Four valuable appendices with an Index bring this important work to a close. The paper, print and the general get-up are good. The work is aptly dedicated to the memory of three valiant fighters in India's Freedom Movement, Lala Lajpat Rai, B. G. Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal, while Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji contributes an interesting Foreword. If we have to offer any criticism, it is that the work suffers from a number of repetitions as on pp. 5f and 250f, 13f and 253f, 222f and 289f, 35f and 308f. We can conclude by stating our view that the present work will be an indispensable source-book, for a long time to come, for the history of a most important, but unfortunately sadly neglected, phase of India's freedom movement.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA 1946-1956: A Personal Retrospect: By C. D. Deshmukh. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, July, 1957. Pp. vii + 167. Price Rs. 6.

This is the compilation of Dadabhai Naoroji Memorial Fellowship Lectures delivered by Shri Deshmukh in the Bombay University Convocation Hall in February, 1957. In course of these lectures Shri Deshmukh traces the course of economic development in India during the period 1946-1956 when one way or the other he himself was intimately connected with the shaping of vital economic policies. The account is largely from a personal point of view, yet coming as it does from the pen of a man who was intimately connected with economic policies during the vitally important period of our country, it cannot but be of interest to all.

Shri Deshmukh divides the period under review into three component parts: 1946 to 1949, 1950 to 1952 and 1953 onwards. The first four years marked the period of transition. They were years of missed opportunities. There was initially the failure, not peculiarly Indian, to decide on a correct post-war monetary policy: post-war economists and

policy-makers in India, taking their cue from their counterparts in the West, were obsessed with the idea of a depression and therefore suggested a cheap money policy when a more cautious attitude would have been wiser. Following this, the Indian politicians, disregarding expert opinion this time, took another unwise step—that of decontrol at the end of 1947. These two measures went a long way towards aggravating the inflationary trend, ultimately leading to the devaluation of the Indian rupee. In the meanwhile, however, controls had to be re-imposed during mid-1948. The period from 1949 to 1953 was to a very great extent marked by the Government's efforts to check inflation. One step in this regard was the raising of the Bank rate by $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in November, 1951.

Shri Deshmukh considers that the decision to decontrol in the latter part of 1947 and early 1948 was due to the fact that "lay influences prevailed over expert opinion" (he as Governor of Reserve Bank was strongly against decontrol). Nevertheless he recognises the fact that experts are often sectarian in their outlook and must be led by politicians (pp. 140-143, p. 74).

"One thing," Shri Deshmukh points out, "which emerges fairly clearly, particularly from the immediate post-war period, is the greater need of studying the dimensions and nature of our economic problems and the economics of economically retarded countries generally" (p. 131). This is a very wise suggestion as many of our present ills could be minimised if more attention had been given to the specific conditions of the country than has been the case. His other point on the need of the "realisation that controls are a concomitant part of planned economic development" is also very pertinent in the context of the present abnormally high prices. It is, however, nowhere made clear how Shri Deshmukh, as Minister of Finance, holding such strong views on control as he did, could agree to total decontrol as he had done in fact.

It would appear that Shri Deshmukh has imbibed some of the spirit of independent India—it is, indeed, an indication of a great change of outlook for him when from his earlier position of hostility to the nationalization of the Reserve Bank of India he moves to a position advocating "modifications and innovations in the institutional set-up of the economy" including a plea for State trading. Yet his conservatism is evident in more

then one place. We do not know how many Indians would agree with, or how far the facts are in accord with, the statement of Shri Deshmukh when he says that in the case of food-grains, sugar and cloth there is yet scope for curtailment of consumption (p. 138). The implied suggestion for unilateral freezing of wages (pp. 137-138)—he is silent over profits—is another instance of his conservative outlook. Such an attitude, it needs hardly be mentioned, is not likely to go far in creating the proper atmosphere in which only the goals of an optimum production can be reached.

SUBHAS CHANDRA SARKER

NATURE CURE: *By M. K. Gandhi.* Published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Demy octavo. Pp. 68. Price twelve annas.

Gandhi never advocated anything he himself did not practise. Gandhi was a lover of Nature Cure. And what he loved he wanted to give to others.

Nature Cure with him was not a course of 'treatment' but a way of life. He says: "The Nature Curist is interested more in the study of health. His real interest begins where that of the ordinary doctor ends; the eradication of the patient's ailment under Nature Cure marks only the beginning of a way of life in which there is no room for illness or disease. . . . It is not claimed that Nature Cure can cure all disease. No system of medicine can do that or else we should all be immortals."

Yet we pamper our body to the neglect of the soul and medical men in majority of cases help us on this downward course. That provokes Gandhi to say:

"We want healers of souls rather than of bodies. The multiplicity of hospitals and medical men is no sign of civilization. The less we and others pamper our body, the better for us and the world."

It follows, therefore, that "The meaning of Nature Cure is to go nearer to Nature—God."

Shall we ordinary mortals then despair of Gandhi's Nature Cure? Not at all. Why then did he conceive of and start the Nature Cure centre at Uruli Kanchan? Certainly for the benefit of ordinary people like us. Nature Cure emphasizes that prevention is better than

cure. But when we get ill it runs to our succour and attends to our bodily ills but all the same it ever seeks to quicken in us the awareness that we are not mere body, we are more than that. And that marks it off from other systems of treatment.

Love informed all his actions and the poor claimed the best part of it. And that love made Nature Cure dear to Gandhi for it offered a cheap remedy within the easy reach of the poor. He says:

"I was a fool to think that I could ever hope to make an institution for the poor in a town. I realized that if I cared for the ailing poor, I must go to them and not expect them to come to me."

The book has five chapters: Introduction, Nature Cure Treatment, Nature Cure Experiments, Nature Cure Clinic and Ramanama and Nature Cure. Chapter III where Gandhi records some of his experiments reads like a romance. His experiments point to a new clinical horizon. The book carries a Foreword and opens with a note by the editor, Bharatan Kumarappa. It has four appendices, readable matters all. Gandhi's *Key to Health*, *Ramanama*, and *Diet and Diet Reforms* may be named as companion volumes.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

SOME ASPECTS OF ADMINISTRATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST CAMPAIGN: *By B. N. Majumdar.* Published by Atma Ram and Sons, Kashmere Gate, Delhi. Price Rs. 5, (Foreign 10s. 6d., \$2).

Lt.-Col. Majumdar's book has a two-fold interest for the students of Military History. For one thing, written from a first-hand experience, the volume is one of the very few works on the part played by the Administration in Military history though the fate of many an operation is determined by the Administration. For another, the Middle Eastern theatre was one of the most important arenas of World War II. "It was in the Middle East," the author aptly points out, "that we saw for the first time the birth of the technique of combined operations, the tactical use of air power, the flank protection from the sea and the gigantic building up of administrative resources" (p. 4). The author's suggestions for tactical and administrative improvements are well worth a consideration.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

HINDI

NARAK KA NYAYA: By Mohansinha Sengar. *Atmaram and Sons, Delhi. Pp. 148. Price Rs. 2.*

The author is one of the leading writers of short stories in Hindi. His heart is so sensitively attuned to "the sad music of humanity" that almost every story of his is a cry of pain. But at the same time it is a plea for compassion and compensatory justice, chiefly economic-cum-social. His characters are mostly urban victims of the cupidity and callousness of the money-minded and the materialist. They are meted out a kind of a judgment of Hell on this earth of ours. In the present collection of thirteen stories, there are types like Joseph, the South Indian Christian; Balai, the wayside 'hotel-keeper's assistant'; Ratanlal, the sweeper-boy; Uma Babu, the pugnacious parochialist, whom one can never easily forget. Maybe, because one meets them so often in daily life. But alas, so steeped in selfishness are we that we seldom think of doing our duty by them. In the field of modern Hindi fiction, Mohansinhaji is doing for cities what Premchandji has done for villages.

G. M.

GUJARATI

RASHTRA SMRITI: By Ramrai Mohanrai Munshi, B.A., LL.B., Ahmedabad. Published by the Navchetan Sahitya Mandir, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1951. Thick card-board with a jacket. Pp. 49. Price Re. 1-8.

Mr. Ramrai has devoted his life to the cause of the uplift of the farmer (*khedut*) and in outlook is both intensely national and patriotic. In this very small book, which bears an Introduction by the Vice-Chancellor of the Gujarat University, Justice Divatia, the writer has held aloft the shining torch of India's past, i.e., old, mediaeval and modern, i.e., till the commencement of the era of Swaraj—Self-Rule—Independence. In twelve sections—in Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi—he has set out the incidents of our glorious past and present, our heroes, our saints, our eminent women, and our outstanding actions. The object with which Mr. Ramrai has indited these lines is fulfilled.

K.M.J.

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Indian Periodicals

Religious Festivals Educate Hindu Masses

Moorkoth Kunhappa writes in *The Aryan Path* :

"How much that was intolerable was accepted"—the captious critic may exclaim; while the enthusiast can at the same time retort : "How much that was intolerable was softened !"

Those thoughts are uppermost when one considers the uses and abuses of sectarian religious festivals in India. The religious festivals under consideration are those in Hinduism only; because the writer does not want, for obvious reasons, to assign comparative merits to Hindu, Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Jain, Buddhist and Sikh festivals.

The Hindu pantheon has thirty-three crores of gods, almost one god per Hindu; and every one of them has a festival, most of them small, some microscopically so, but nevertheless a festival, with the result that not a day passes without some festival or other being observed somewhere in India. Add to these the festivals of the full moon or the new moon in certain months; those of the eleventh day of the moon like Vaikunth Ekadashi; the fifth day of the moon, like Vasanta Panchami, etc.; and again the moon enjoys a large share in the festivals of India. Some of the festivals are grimly devoted to prayers and fasting for departed ancestors; certain others are celebrated, like Holi, with boisterous revels, often crude. The sun is honoured at each solstice, and, of course, at every eclipse. Moreover every hill in India, from the Himalayas to the Western Ghats, every river from the Ganges to the Kaveri, every waterfall and important lake, has its own festival, sometimes localized, sometimes widespread.

All these would be enough to make a foreigner ask : Do these Indians find time to work ? But that is not the end of the catalogue. Each season has its peculiar festivals of prayers, of sacrifices, or of song and dance, according to the mood of the season; and every village has a shrine (some more than one), with a fixed date for its festival. In fact my original statement that not a day passes in India without some festival being celebrated is an underesti-

mate; a few hundred festivals every day scattered throughout the length and breadth of this vast subcontinent would be more correct.

The rural areas are, however, so vast, their population so great and the means of communication so meagre that very often these festivals pass unnoticed by any except the actual participants in them. Nevertheless the effects of religious festivals on society and on the individual are even today so great in India that anyone who reflects upon the country's future should study them carefully, understand them sympathetically and utilize them wisely for the betterment of the nation.

Eighty per cent of Indians live in villages. Religious festivals are, by and large, their chief source of amusement, colour and communal gaiety. They furnish occasions when men can satisfy their gregarious instinct, their craving for escape from the grimness of the villager's daily life, their supreme need for the consoling faith in some power on whom they can lean in times of stress.

It is around the temples that the festivals are centred. At the chief festivals there are special ceremonies, processions, music, dancing, fireworks, displays of acrobatics, lectures, plays and various other entertainments of a traditional sort. Families reassemble for them; members living in widely separated places make it a point to reach home. Even the prodigal son finds this an excellent time to return to the fold and enjoy unquestioned "the fatted calf," which in any case would be already prepared. Relations who have been having strained relationships, of which they are tired and penitent, can then forget and forgive without losing face. Even the outsider gets a welcome smile; and not very long ago—the writer remembers those days—any stranger could walk into any house in the locality where the festival was being held, and be sure of getting something to eat and drink, from a snack to a meal, according to his timing of the visit. Piety, filial affection, friendliness, forgiveness, generosity, social solidarity, delightful entertainment, the excitement of being in a crowd, the pride of sharing in a grand event, are all promoted by these festivals.

Savitri told Yama, the god of death, that if one walked in step with another for seven

steps, the two became friends; and building upon the claims of that "seven-step" acquaintance she argued with him and wrested her dead husband's life from the very hands of the god of death. Taking part in a common festival has a very strong cementing effect on the members of a society. They feel so strongly united that sometimes communal riots take place on such occasions for trivial reasons, clashes between sections which otherwise live side by side like brothers day in and day out throughout the year. The day after the riot they again continue the even tenor of their lives.

Like all other countries, India has utilized festivals for consolidating the society. Festivals that have an all-India vogue—like the Durga Puja and the Deepavali—have had their share in consolidating India into one country. The Hindu is enjoined to visit the five great holy places of the country once at least in his life. By the time he has been to Rameshwaram and Rishikesh, Kamakhya in Assam and Dwaraka in the West, with Banaras, Vrindaban, etc., thrown in, and has bathed in the Ganges, the Godavari, the Krishna, the Narmada, the Kaveri, as his own holy rivers, he has religiously identified himself with the whole of India. The South Indian may feel out of place in the cities of Allahabad or Patna, but not so in Prayag or Kashi. There he feels that he is in his own native land, the joint inheritor of an ancient culture. The congregation of millions at the Kumbha Melas, and at solar eclipses, in holy places does give the various types of Indians a physical, cultural and traditional sense of unity. Pilgrimages during festivals and on sacred occasions have done much to forge the communities of India into one big family.

Many tears are shed over the sad fact of the large percentage of illiteracy that still exists in India. When one considers, however, the fare provided for reading one sometimes wonders whether illiteracy cannot be a blessing in disguise. Even after learning to read and write, it takes much study and pains, with correct guidance at every step, for a man to absorb real culture through reading books in the solitude of his house. The Indian method of inculcating culture was through the festivals. Their religious nature is too obvious to be mentioned.

Every Indian, however illiterate he may be, knows the outline of the epics *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Bhagavata*, etc.; he also knows some of the more important inspiring and ennobling episodes like the stories of Nala, of Savitri, of Harishchandra, etc. How does he know? He

knows them because they are narrated at festivals by very interesting story-tellers.

There are certain communities whose men and women learn the Puranas by heart and sing them at festivals. The anecdotes are versified and sung, sometimes to the accompaniment of dancing and music—which is how Bharata Natyam came into being. Specially interesting stories are made into plays, and enacted in *jatras* and *kathakalis* (fairs and dance-dramas). There are castes whose traditional occupation is to narrate stories, with annotations that bring out their applications to daily life and social responsibilities. They do not mind interrupting the thread of a tale to dilate upon the duties of a father, a citizen, a king or a leader. The audience, who already know the tale, do not mind the interruption so long as it is interesting. Humorous asides, dipped in caustic irony, on the vagaries of sophisticated men and women send the audience into roars of laughter, and send them home thinking on those things.

Thanks to all these, the illiterate Indian peasant has a knowledge of philosophy sufficient to make him say, "Thy will, Lord, not mine." He knows his duties as a member of the community. He knows the rudiments of government. He knows enough practical psychology. It is in fact astonishing what an amount of living knowledge the illiterate have; and even more surprising are the opportunities that they get to acquire this knowledge without going to school, without reading books, without being bored and, above all, without becoming high-brows. Indian festivals have played a very important part in keeping alive the culture of India. Before pitying the Indian as an ignoramus merely because he is illiterate let us remember all this.

Unfortunately, however, the culture that is imparted in festivals and which inspires them was suited to life in India some ten centuries ago. In the twentieth century, especially, when the world is moving with the speed of jet-planes, most of what is learnt through these *jatras* and *harikathas* (lay sermons with a mythological basis) has little bearing on modern life. The fundamental values in life do not change, one might say with truth; but when their application is not seen, the common man in the street feels that all this is unreal, outmoded and useless. So the country at large is abandoning these excellent and efficient instruments of culture altogether. If only the contents of those speeches, annotations, songs and dances were suitably adapted, they would spread important ideas, suited to modern life in

cities and in industries, like wild fire. Compared to that the process of literacy is painfully, if not tragically, slow.

"By whatever paths men worship me, they all come to me," says the Lord in the *Gita*. This great truth has been misunderstood to mean that the crudest forms of worship, some of them almost on the level of devil-worship, should be permitted to live long and be preserved like pieces in a museum. The equally important principle that we shall fail to be human beings if we do not help our fellow men to improve spiritually has been very sadly neglected. The belief in reincarnation, in itself a highly intellectual and logical belief, has also contributed to the bad habit of not attempting to raise the spiritual level of our less fortunate countrymen. "When you have plenty of births, there is plenty of time to evolve" is the attitude. On the other hand, Christians believing in only one short life, followed by an eternity of hell or heaven, have naturally no time to be patient with the slow evolution of spirituality. Hence their zeal for conversion, which sometimes degenerates into intolerance. Hindu tolerance unfortunately stopped at non-interference and simultaneously created watertight sects with all their jealousies, animosities, "hatred, scoffing and abuse." The caste system is written in bold letters and

emphasized by italics at every festival. There are respective places in the temples for perspective castes, much more rigid than the list of precedence at diplomatic receptions.

Although the festivals and the functions attached to them have, for want of adaptation, lost their significance, and man no longer goes to them to drink of the wisdom of life, the traditional belief in their religious significance, the sectarian pride each sect has in its own festivals, make men cling to them long after they have lost their usefulness.

When Aldous Huxley saw millions of Hindus in Banaras in 1934 bathing in the Ganges during the solar eclipse, he exclaimed: "Four million Hindus will assemble to save the sun god from being devoured; how many will assemble to save India?"

That is just the point. The enthusiasm still shown, the great energy spent by the people, the money lavished on festivities, the extremes of discomfort which they endure to take part in them, the religious scrupulousness with which they perform the rites, all indicate that, if only this vast flow of human effort could be utilized to such purposes as it was when the festivals came into being, we could be a greater nation without regimentation, by the willing and enthusiastic co-operation of the masses.

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Human Rights

Prem Kripal observes in *The Indian Review*:

The idea of Human Rights has lived long as a dream of humanity. Down the course of centuries saints and poets, philosophers and statesmen, breaking away from the limitations of their narrow social environments, often felt and expressed the oneness of humanity in their thoughts and ideals. While living within the strict bounds of tribal law and custom and caged in narrow parochial beliefs, the visionaries of all societies dreamt of humanity as one great family, whose freedom, dignity and worth needed to be recognised and protected by certain inalienable rights. It was more than 2,500 years ago that the great Chinese sage, Confucius, predicted:

"When the Great Way prevails, all under heaven will become a Great Commonwealth."

This belief in a united mankind was reiterated by several others. In our own country the great Emperor Ashoka inscribed noble thoughts on rock and pillar to proclaim his vision of human rights. In the West these ideals found practical application in such famous constitutional documents as the Magna Carta and the American Bill of Rights.

With the signing of the United Nations Charter in 1945, for the first time in human history Human Rights became a matter of immediate practical concern to national governments as well as international organisations. In Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations, the new World Organization was called upon to promote "universal respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedom . . ." The Charter did not define the rights to be promoted.

It was left to a United Nations Commission, headed by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, to elaborate this resolve into a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted on December 10, 1948, by the United Nations General Assembly meeting at the Plais Chaillot in Paris. The Declaration was a statement of principles and was not legally binding on member-States. It was to be followed by the formulation of an International Bill or Covenant of Human Rights.

The content of the Human Rights listed in the Universal Declaration is significant. There are thirty Articles covering civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. Articles 1 and 2 state in very general terms that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" and are entitled "to all rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration without distinction of any kind such as race, sex, language or religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

These general rights are followed by eighteen Articles embodying civil and political rights such as the right to life, liberty and security of person, freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile, freedom from arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home or correspondence, freedom of movement, the right of asylum, the right to a nationality, rights relating to marriage, the right to own property, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of opinion and expression, the right of association and of assembly, the right to take part in government and the right of equal access to public service.

The social and cultural rights defined in Articles 22 to 27 pertain to social security right to work, right to rest and leisure, right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being, the right to education and the right to participate in the cultural life of the community. Article 28 recognises that every one is entitled to a social and international order in which these rights and freedoms may be fully realised. The concluding Articles stress the duties and responsibilities which the individual owes to the community. This, in brief, is the content of the Declaration of Human Rights.

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The General Assembly of the United Nations described the Universal Declaration of Human Rights "as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms." The assembly specially recommended that the governments of member-States use every means available to distribute and publicize the text of the Declaration and to have it explained in schools and other educational institutions.

This common standard of achievement for all peoples is being promoted not only by the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, but by national governments and all the forces of culture and civilization which mould the life of man today. The General Assembly of the United Nations emphasized very rightly the overriding importance and value of teaching and education for promoting respect for the rights and freedoms proclaimed in the Declaration. That is why Articles 26 and 27 concerning the right to education and participation in the cultural life of the community are of greatest importance.

Ultimately the sanction behind all rights must be the public opinion of the community which wishes to enjoy such rights. The Rights of Man will only be enforced universally and effectively when the public opinion of our times becomes more widely and more keenly conscious of the validity and integrity of an international community of peoples. The various organs of the United Nations, and especially the Commission of Human Rights can and do promote the acceptance of these rights, but the progress is necessarily slow and on many questions of vital importance political and ideological obstacles become insuperable.

Among all the organs of the United Nations, Unesco has to play a role of overriding importance in the promotion of Human Rights. Clause 2 of Article 26 says: "Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace."

Again, Clause I of Article 27 proclaims: "Every one has the right freely to participate

in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits." It is this type of education which can promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all peoples and that broad and living culture which is not the monopoly of the few but the cherished right of all, that are the best means of spreading ideals enshrined in Human Rights and guaranteeing their enforcement among all peoples of the world.

The signs of the times are, indeed, hopeful in spite of the deadly grip of an ideological conflict which continues to divide humanity. Already in the forum of the United Nations the conscience of mankind can and does assert itself whenever there is a flagrant violation of human right. At such moments even the influence of Great Powers wanes under the pressure of public opinion. This is the most heartening achievement of the United Nations and the strongest support of Human Rights.

In many ways India has contributed substantially to the development of Human Rights. The representatives of India in the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies have often been the foremost champions of Human Rights. The Constitution of India, with its emphasis on justice, tolerance and equality which are the very basis of democracy, provides for the enforcement of almost all the Human Rights at the national level. The secular character of the State does not prevent the shaping of policies and measures deriving their inspiration from the spirit of true religion.

Much of the respect for Human Rights in our country today is, of course, due to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. In a letter written in May, 1947, to the Director-General of Unesco, the Mahatma touched upon the very basis of Human Rights which is also the ultimate condition of their successful enforcement.

He wrote: "I learnt from my illiterate but wise mother that all rights to be deserved and preserved came from duty well done. Thus the very right to live accrues to us only when we do the duty of citizenship of the world. From this one fundamental statement, perhaps, it is easy enough to define the duties of Man and Woman and correlate every right to some corresponding duty to be first performed. Every other right can be shown to be a usurpation hardly worth fighting for."

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Woodrow Wilson: Apostle of American Democracy

David Gittleman writes in *Unity*, Nov-Dec., 1956, as follows, which we consider to be worth reproducing:

Woodrow Wilson, educator, author, statesman and eloquent dreamer, was a man of integrity, industry, and courage. He, too, aimed to conquer anger with kindness, evil with good, falsehood with truth, in the light of reason and human experience. As a private citizen, he was bold, being swayed by convictions based on study which made him champion of political, industrial, and social democracy at home. He loved his country; but this love did not exclude a passionate love for humanity the world over. A good party man, he placed the interests of the country above partisanship when basic principles were involved. He said:

I have been bred in the Democratic Party. I love the Democratic Party; but I love America a great deal more than I love the Democratic Party; and when the Democratic Party thinks that it is an end in itself, then I rise up and dissent. (January 8, 1915).

His warning against mob rule has timely significance:

I say plainly that every American who takes part in the action of a mob or gives it any sort of countenance is no true son of this great democracy, but its betrayer. How shall we commend democracy to the acceptance of other peoples, if we disgrace our own by proving that it is after all no protection to the weak? (July 26, 1918).

The United States is of necessity the sample democracy of the world, and the triumph of democracy depends upon its success. As a reformer, his platform was to the point, full of commonsense and workable. The only way to keep men from agitating against grievances, he maintained, is to remove the grievances. And in America there is but one way by which great reforms can be accomplished and the relief sought by classes obtained, and that is through the orderly processes of representative government. Those who would propose any other method of reform are enemies of this country. (Message to Senate, December 2, 1919). In particular, he aimed for the advancement of

human conditions of labor for men, women, and children; but that was to be accomplished upon the basis of equality of rights, since mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equalities of power. He stressed upright leadership and was a bitter foe of all dictatorship. "I am not afraid of a knave," he said. "I am not afraid of a rascal. I am afraid of a strong man who is wrong, and whose wrong thinking can be impressed upon other persons by his own force of character and force of speech." (*The New Freedom*).

It was Wilson who reminded the joint session of Congress that "property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be." (April 2, 1917). Next to freedom and justice, there is nothing more precious than human life. He felt that civilization has a spiritual inheritance, breathing freedom and tolerance. He saw progress in diversity. He aimed to set the leaders of men morally aright; for he observed them acting the part of the Sorcerer's Apprentice, who failed to stop the flood a cunning art had revealed to him. The task of a statesman in our day, Wilson said, is analogous to the task of a surgeon. There is a great deal that is necessary to be cut out of modern life, yet we must be very careful not to injure any of the sound tissue in cutting out. (June 4, 1912). He felt that an ethical, national and world leadership would bring class strife and a warring mankind (ever enmeshed in fears and passions and prejudices) to a Democracy Triumphant. He trusted in power of an unfettered public opinion, daring and enlightened. He believed in the policy of live and let live; and he was in possession of a native talent to crystallize his ideas in the classroom and on the platform. "It is for this," said Wilson, "that we love democracy: for the emphasis it puts on character; for its tendency to exalt the purposes of the average man to some high level of endeavour; for its just principles of common assent in matters in which all are concerned; for its ideals of duty and its sense of brotherhood." (*Atlantic Monthly*, March 1901). What was the man's background?

Born and reared in the South, son of a devout Presbyterian scholar and minister,

Woodrow Wilson saw the physical ravages left by the Civil War (he was already a sensitive lad eight years old when Lincoln was shot); and he actually observed from close hand the ramifications—psychological, economic, social and political—that plagued the country after the war. A graduate of law, he gave up law practice at the age of twenty-seven and went to Johns Hopkins University, where he received his Ph.D. at the age of thirty. At thirty-four, he became professor of jurisprudence and political economy at Princeton, his *alma mater*, and became its president at the age of forty. His progressive ideas began to make history. He introduced the now famous *preceptorial system*, stressing intellectual incentive by intimate tutoring and

honor courses. He also labored (unsuccessfully) for the *quad plan*, which would co-ordinate the social and intellectual life of the student body on the campus with the principles of applied democracy, minus bias. Early in his career as teacher, he made it clear that his aim was to help men, not to delude them; for it was his conviction that the object of liberal training is not learning, but discipline and the enlightenment of the mind; and a college education should give our young men and women an insight into the things of the mind and of the spirit, a sense of having lived and formed their friendships amidst the gardens of the mind where grows the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

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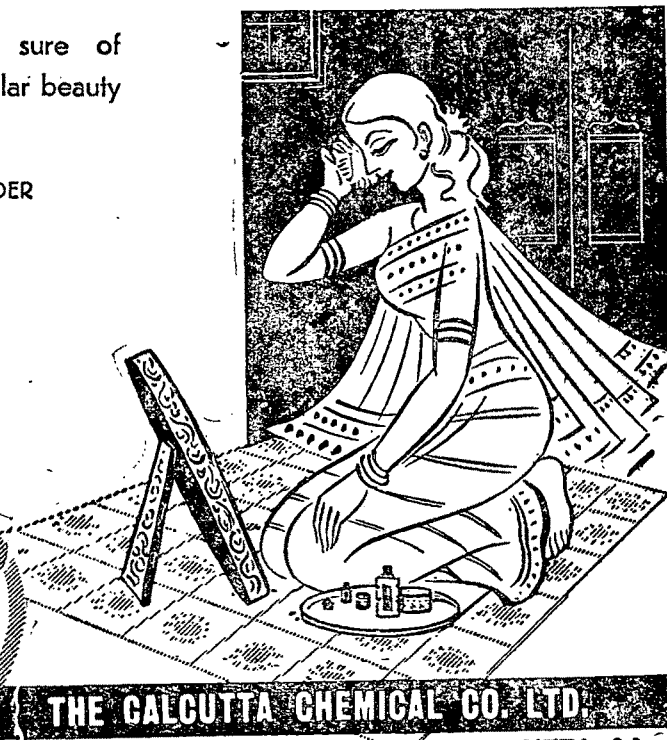
In capsule form, for the world at large Wilson offered a formula based upon the twin-reck of Liberty and Justice; and he held that it was the business of civilization to get together by discussion and not by fighting; that there could be no other foundation for peace than is laid in justice without aggression; that if the world is to remain a body of friends it must have the means of friendship, the means of friendly intercourse, the means of constant watchfulness over the common interest. He fervently believed that the only force that outlasts all others and is finally triumphant is the moral judgment of mankind—a judgment that is always opposed to provocations of aggressors and can never condone policies leading to acts brutal, cowardly, ignoble, and dishonorable. Permanent peace, he held, can grow in only one soil. That is the soil of actual good will, and good will cannot exist without mutual comprehension. The firm basis of government, Wilson taught, is justice, not pity. And no matter where, when and how the man reacted, his motive always reverted to this cardinal principle: justice on the college campus, justice among the conflicting interests stirring the ire of his fellow citizens at home, justice in the

international arena among the nations of the world. To him, it was manifest that progressive Government has a vital organic function to perform. Government should serve society, by no means dominate it. The State exists for the sake of society, not society for the sake of the State.

The greatness of a man is judged by the undying timeliness of his message. Woodrow Wilson veered steadily toward freedom married to responsibility. He sought the free development of the individual and the group, which was to be attained by means of education, gradual evolution, and voluntary association; equality of opportunity and respect granted to all. His civic aspirations and activities inspired social justice and enjoyment of civilized and moral life. As a scholar, philosopher, and statesman, he aimed toward ordered human co-operative living and a world peace erected upon the appreciation of the dignity of man and the sacredness of human life the world over. Thus the practical dreamer and apostle of American democracy was a lighthouse in a foggy world, one who looked at his fellow Americans, to use his own words, as custodians of the spirit of righteousness, of the spirit of equal-handed

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justice, of the spirit of hope which believes in the perfectibility of the law with the perfectibility of human life itself. (October 20, 1914).

Like the incorrigible George Bernard Shaw and the late H. L. Mencken, though in his own chosen domain of scholarship and moral statesmanship, Wilson was "a healthy poker to the intellectual fires of his age," destined to a prominent niche in Humanity's Hall of Fame. He had a grand vision and a vital message for our twentieth century. He was destined to fail, because he was so sincere in his professions and so far ahead of his fellow men. Our hero himself left us a perfect appraisal and scholarly summation on the philosophy of man's place in nature:

"There are some laws (wrote Wilson in *When a Man Comes to Himself*, - published in 1915) which govern a man's awakening to know himself and the right part to play. A man is the part he plays among his fellows. He is not isolated; he cannot be. His life is made up of the relations he bears to others—is made or marred by those relations, guided by them, judged by them, expressed in them. There is nothing else upon which he can spend his spirit—nothing else that we can see. It is by these he gets his spiritual growth; it is by these we see his character revealed, his purpose and his gifts. . . . It is unselfish action, growing slowly into the high habit of devotion, and, at last, it may be into a sort of consecration, that teaches a man the wide meaning of life."

And Woodrow Wilson's life was a life of unselfish action, grown fully into the high habit of devotion and consecration, dedicated to a humaner world of tomorrow, for America to play the leading role. It was his patriotic faith that American has lifted high the light which will shine unto all generations and guide the feet of mankind to the goal of justice and liberty and peace. A rededication to these same principles and the application in daily life of this very faith is the finest tribute we can pay to the memory of the man, and the best service we can offer to our own country and to humanity at large, of which we have now learned we are an inseparable part. As Arthur Krock, Washington columnist of the *New York Times*, indicated in his talk at Wilson's birthplace (*Times*, April 27, 1956), the twenty-eighth President of the United States was "the world statesman whose voice stirred the world with the dearest aspiration of men of good will, which is peace on earth, and was the master architect of the only plan by which it can be made durable."

Prussia is Dead—But its Cultural Heritage Shall Survive

Berlin's Famous Museums to be Restored

Dk Boon.—The art treasures of the former Prussian state are to receive a new home and thus be restored to life. Ever since the end of World War II art circles throughout the world had pondered the question what was to happen with the still existing property of the former State Museums and the Prussian State Library in Berlin. These museums and the Prussian State Library in Berlin enjoyed a world-wide reputation. They testified to the intensity and the significance of German cultural life and love of art. The Berlin museums were in every way match for their counterparts in London and Paris. From an international viewpoint, many of the Prussian art treasures were of great importance. But only a small number of the numerous visitors from Germany and abroad realized that these art treasures were the property of the Prussian State. In the final analysis, however, this cultural wealth must be regarded the property of the entire German nation.

As a result of World War II the Prussian State was dissolved. Prussia is dead, but its extensive cultural riches survived although for some time they had lost their owner. The Berlin museums were not just dead collections of art objects and books but living units, equipped with a staff of experts who were in a position to dedicate their work to the maintenance and expansion of the collections exclusively from a scientific and cultural point of view. The German collapse in 1945 put an end to these living units, at least for some time. The absence of an owner brought it about that the art treasures were no longer enlarged. Thus it happened that the Prussian art treasures comprise no samples at all of art as it developed in the past decade. It will hardly be possible to fill out this gap in the organic growth of the Prussian Collections. It was clearly demonstrated that they could not survive if administered by trustees. An owner is absolutely essential. Thanks to the initiative taken by the Federal Government such an owner is now being provided in the form of a Foundation bearing the name of "Preussischer Kulturbesitz" (Prussian Cultural Property). It is intended to transfer to this Foundation the relevant assets of the former Prussian State.

THE "ISLAND OF MUSEUMS" FALLS TO THE SOVIETS

Prussia has had many foes in this world. However, the critics of Prussianism should with-

hold judgment until they have cast a glance at the cultural heritage which Prussia has left behind and which has hardly a parallel in the world. The decision to set up the new Foundation furnishes an opportunity to draw up a balance-sheet covering the past two centuries. At the outbreak of World War II, the property of the Prussian State Museums comprised 19 sections, most of which enjoyed international reputation. These sections were accommodated in fifteen buildings and their names will call forth melancholy memories even in those who had paid Berlin only a passing visit.

The oldest building, the "Alte Museum" in Berlin, was designed by the great Prussian architect Schinkel and opened to the public in 1830. There followed: the "Neue Museum" in 1855; the "National Gallery" in 1878; the "Kunstgewerbe-museum" (for applied arts and crafts) in 1881; the "Volkerkundemuseum" (Ethnological Museum) in 1886; the "Kaiser Friedrich Museum" in 1904; the "Art Library" in 1906; the "Pergamon Museum" with the

"Deutsche Museum" and the "Near East Museum" from 1910-1930. In addition to the "Zeughaus" (Armoury), the following buildings were later converted into museums: the old "Bauakademie" (Building Academy) in 1912, the former Royal Palace and the Palace of the Crown Prince in 1920; the Orangery of the Charlottenburg Palace in 1930 and the Princesses' Palace in 1931. The largest and most important part of these buildings were located in the centre of Berlin on the so-called Island of Museums, which today belongs to the Soviet sector.

The first to start the famed Prussian Art Collection was the Great Elector who ruled from 1640-1688. His successors, the Kings of Prussia added much to the collections. The only exception was the "Soldier King" Friedrich Wilhelm I (1713-1740) who, in exchange for two regiments of dragons, gave to the King of Saxony a number of rare Chinese vases acquired by his predecessor from the collection of Bellori, one of the most renowned archeologists of the 17th Century.

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COLLECTIONS FAMED FOR COVERING ALL PERIODS

What made the Prussian collections so unique was the survey they afforded over all art and cultural epochs of all times and peoples. Far outgrowing the level of local museums, the collections had been enlarged to cover many spheres of human activities in the international field. Thus the Egyptian section offered a complete historical picture of this ancient civilization, ranging from its primitive beginnings in the fourth millennium to the monuments erected in its final stages. The art treasures of the Near East section were so numerous and varied that no other collection of this type throughout the world could vie with them. For its completeness the Islamic section had a world-wide reputation and could well bear comparison with similar collections in London, Paris, Leningrad, Istanbul, Cairo and New York; in some respects it could even serve as a model. The Collections of the Ethnological Museum embraced all continents and contained a great number of the most rare and valuable exhibits; before World War II the catalogue comprised some 400,000 items. The Far Eastern section, with its fine samples of paintings from the classical periods, was one of the finest museums of its kind in Europe. The world-famed Pergamon Museum was the first museum attempting to re-erect in their original size ancient buildings, or at least parts of these buildings.

These are only a few examples to prove that in some fields the Prussian collections had no match in the world. They were all interconnected with one another and mutually supplementary, with one museum furnishing the necessary information another was lacking. If torn apart, the whole cultural entity which these collections represented, would break up.

And indeed, this was done after World War II although, fortunately, the greater part of the art treasures remained intact. Until hostilities ceased in May 1945, the losses incurred were relatively small. The heaviest losses were due to the fact that directly after the German surrender—and before the British and Americans arrived in Berlin—the Russians shipped off many valuable art objects from the former German capital. These included all the reliefs of the Pergamon Altar as well as all large pieces of sculpture from the Antique Collection; in addition, important art objects, including Priam's Treasure from the Museum for Prehistoric and Early History, and from the Far Eastern Museum. The Numismatic Collection, too, was taken away by the Russians

from the "Island of Museums" to an unknown place of destination.—*Deutsche Correspondenz*, February 16, 1957.

Progressive Manufacture of Jeep in India

H. N. Mukerjee writes in the *American Reporter*, October 23, 1957:

Bombay.—As an automobile roared past me at high speed here the other day, I startled and stared. Next moment the car was braked to a screeching, trembling stop. It was not quite 9 in the morning, in a quiet suburb of the city.

The driver, stepping down, paused to light a cigarette. Inhaling, he stooped to examine the brake drums.

Curious as a cat, I walked up and asked the driver what was going on. "Nothing," he said, "I'm on a test run."

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(To be continued)

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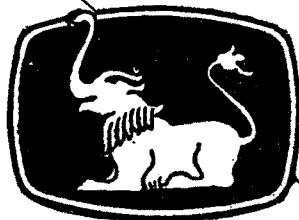
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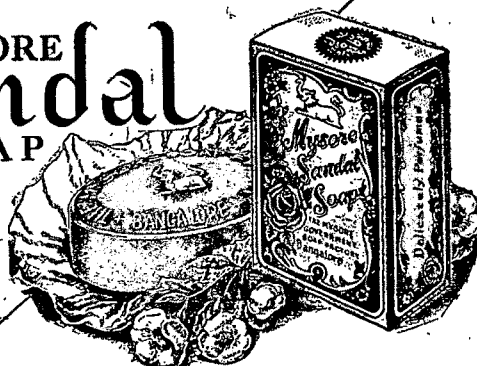
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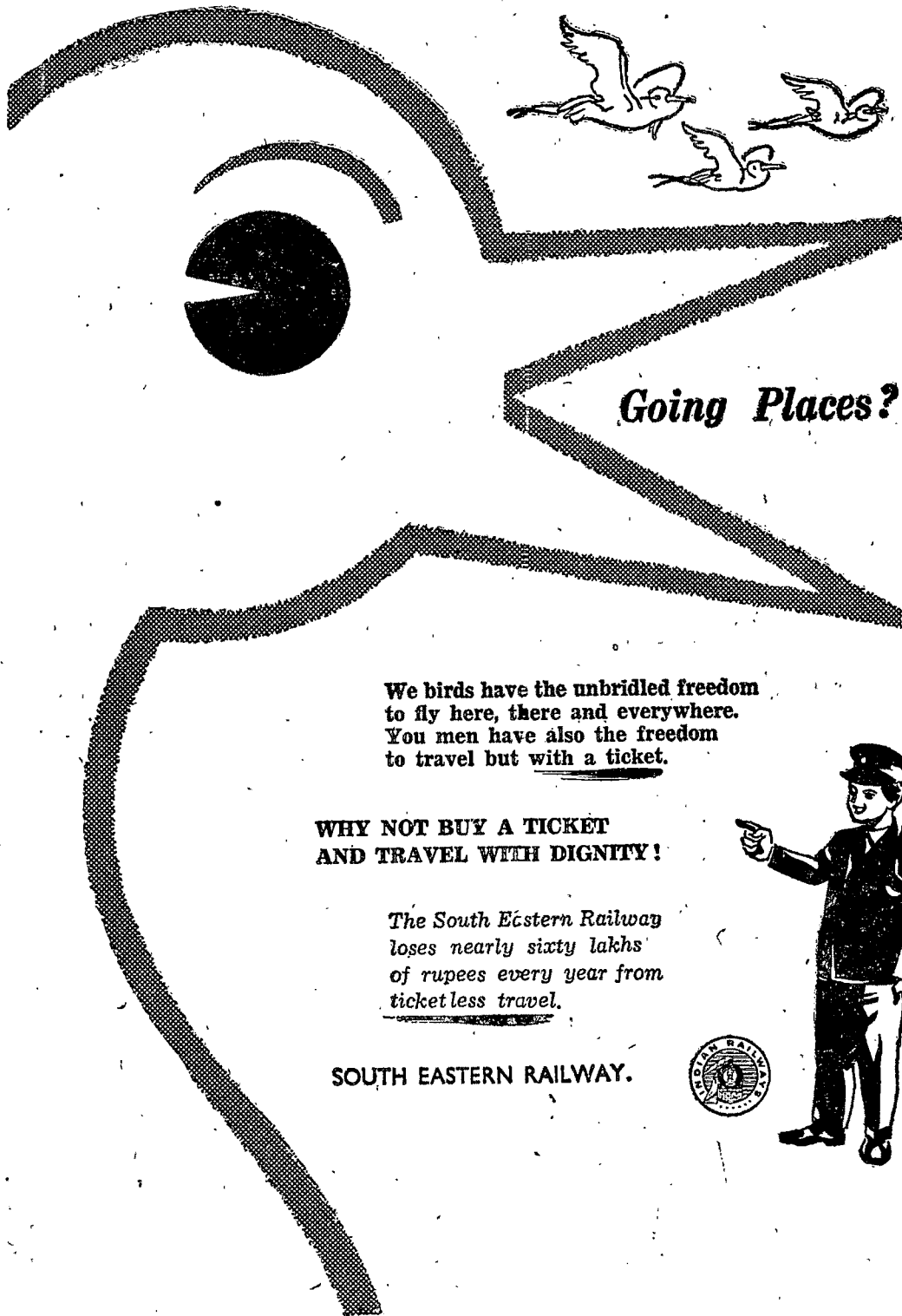
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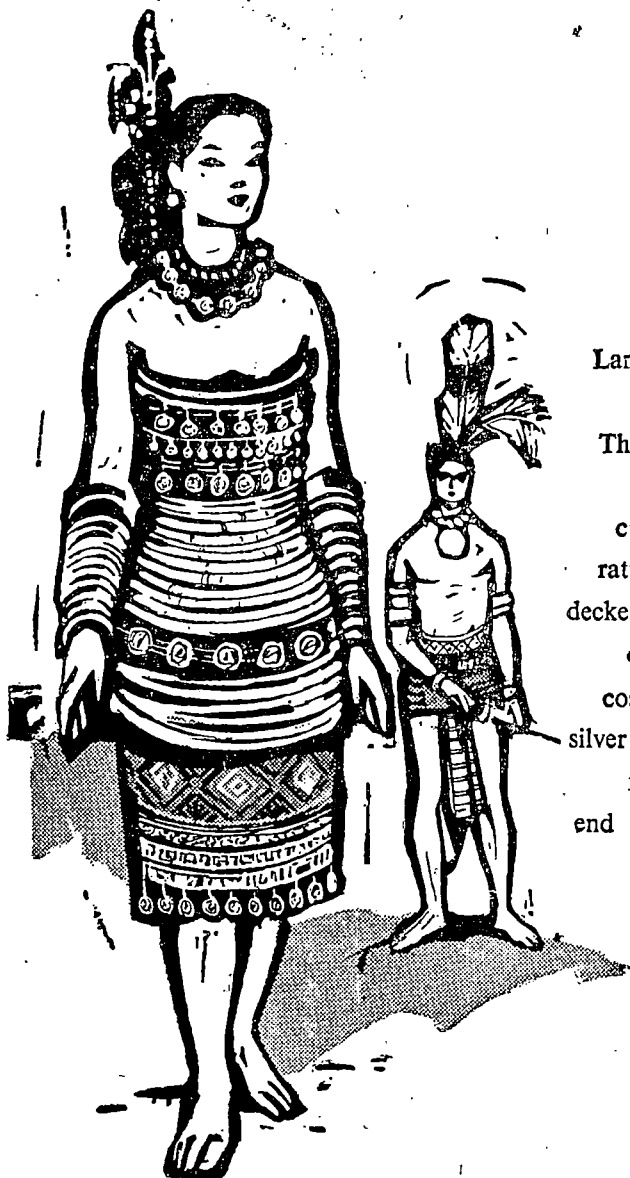
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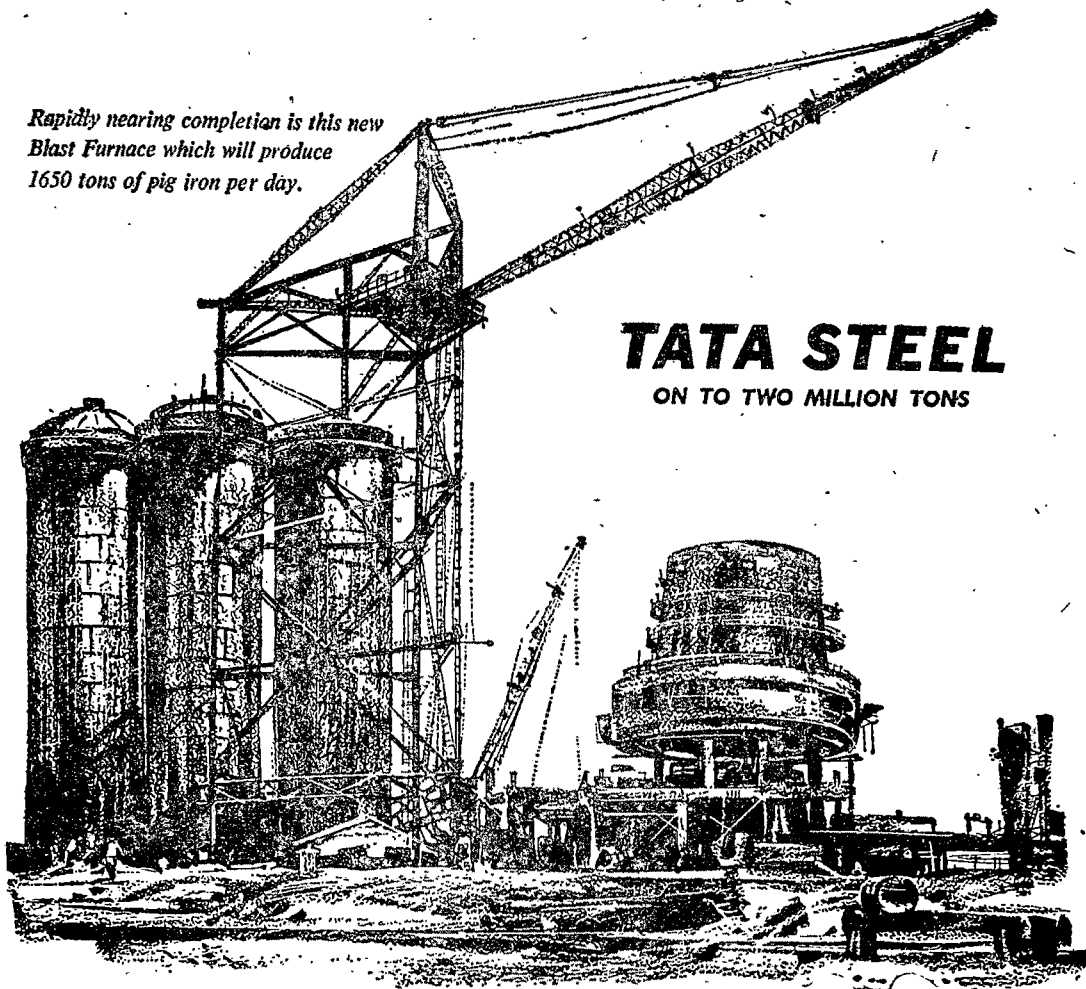
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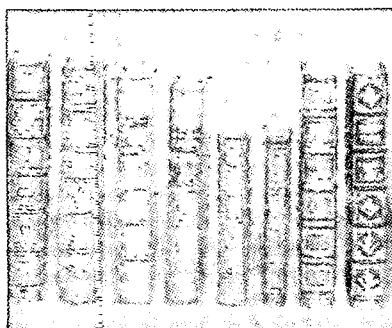
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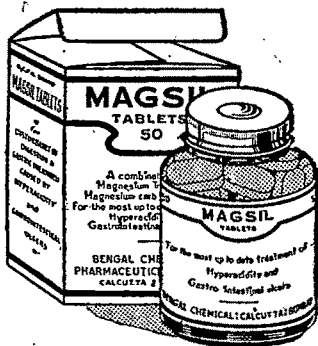
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THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH



1958

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NOTES

The Fiddle and the Fire

The month of February has been a month filled with accidents—major and minor. The most terrible has been the Chinakuri Colliery holocaust with its grievous toll of human lives. There have been railway accidents, in one of which a large number of people lost their lives due to an explosion during the unloading of munitions for the army.

There was a humorous interlude at the Lok Sabha when a Congress member made a pun on the name of the Minister of Railways, Shri Jag Jivan Ram. The Lok Sabha was convulsed with laughter when the member said that the purchase of a ticket for a railway journey meant renunciation of the world and life and only *Ram-nam* was left.

It was an apt remark, but the meaning goes far deeper than perhaps the witty member himself understood. For, it means that the degeneration in public life and morals, that the Congress government has brought in, with its stupid and corrupt practice of party rule in all matters, is now sapping deep at the roots of all the services. As a consequence, it is about time *Ram nam satya hai* was uttered by the pallbearers of Gandhiji's beloved Congress.

We have no doubt there will be Commissions of inquiry galore, and that floods of whitewash would be poured from the witness-boxes, in an attempt to exonerate all who are guilty. And we have no doubt if any straight-forward and forthright judgement is pronounced, indicting some party-boss, as in the Chagla Commission, there would be the same display of hysterics and histrionics as in that affair. The whole

truth or a fair modicum of truth, would not be got at, for, if it did then the entire basis of the corrupt party-system, that is gnawing at the vitals of public life like a malignant growth, would be laid bare.

The spirit of levity, displayed in the Lok Sabha by the members of that august and effete body, is typical of our politicians, of all colour and creed. It is in this spirit that an exceedingly ornamental and useless Constitution was passed and it is in this spirit that major mishaps, that are clear indications of the collapse of all discipline and moral values in the administration, are looked at, by the small men who have managed to fool the trusting masses and are out to enjoy a five-year fancy fair in the legislatures.

The Railways and the fighting forces have a rigid code where explosives are concerned. Both have to function efficiently in times of stress, as in a war or a revolt. We make no comments on the Pathankot explosion. But the Commission must go deep into the matter to see if the procedure laid down for the loading and unloading of explosives was fully carried out and whether all precautions against sabotage were taken.

The same applies to the Chinakuri Colliery accident, where the terms of reference are concerned. The truth must be got at, regardless of consequences to the party-caucus which has a wonderful system of shifting responsibilities on to the most helpless. It is about time this rot in the political circles was laid bare before the public.

The Chagla Commission Report

The affairs of the Life Insurance Corporation of India with regard to the Mundhra Deal and the report of the Chagla Commission are now too well known to call for any comment. Still however we take this opportunity to state our views on certain specific aspects of developments, namely, the question of Ministerial responsibility, the method of inquiry in such affairs and the relationship between the Government and the autonomous Corporations. As regards the responsibility of the former Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, the Commission finds that he was responsible, at least constitutionally. The Commission has come to the conclusion that clearly there was acquiescence on the part of the Finance Minister, Mr. Krishnamachari, in the role played by the Principal Finance Secretary of the Ministry, Mr. H. M. Patel, in bringing about the transaction of June 24 last. It observes: "The lack of repudiation on the part of the Minister would go to support Mr. Patel's story that the Minister had approved of the transaction in Bombay on June 24." The Minister is constitutionally responsible for the acts of the Secretary. On this Mr. Justice Chagla says: "In my opinion, in any case, it is clear that constitutionally the Minister is responsible for the action taken by his Secretary with regard to this transaction. It is clear that a Minister must take the responsibility for actions done by his subordinates. He cannot take shelter behind them, nor can he disown their actions The Minister has complete autonomy within his own sphere of authority. As a necessary corollary he must take full responsibility for the actions of his Secretary." The Minister will lay down the broad policy of his department and his subordinates will reflect that policy in their actions. "If any subordinate fails to do so, he may be punished or dismissed, but however vicariously, the responsibility of his action be assumed by the Minister."

Pandit Nehru has not practically accepted the findings of the Chagla Commission in so far as it holds the former Finance Minister responsible for the deal, either vicariously or constitutionally. In his letter to the Finance Minister he has expressly stated that personally the Minister was not responsible for the deal. He even expressed his dissatisfaction at the

procedure of inquiry so adopted by the Government because truth was not fully disclosed by the inquiry. During the debate in the Rajya Sabha over the matter, the Prime Minister retorted to Pandit Kunzru, "What finding?" In other words, Pandit Nehru repudiated the Chagla Commission's finding that the Finance Minister was responsible for the deal. Pandit Nehru almost made a martyr of Mr. Krishnamachari and his appreciation of work of the former Finance Minister borders on indecorum and overacting. Mr. Krishnamachari's parting speech in the Lok Sabha was not only graceless and undignified, but it was unconvincing too. His statement leaves the impression that the Prime Minister should not have accepted his resignation. But how the Prime Minister could do that in the face of the finding of the Chagla Commission, although he might not have accepted the finding? The Minister was constitutionally responsible for the acts of his subordinates and that principle has already been accepted in India. The resignation of Sri Lal Bahadur Sastri over the Ariyalur railway disaster created a constitutional precedent which could hardly be ignored, particularly over such an affair like that of the Mundhra deal which evoked much public resentment. That a minister is constitutionally responsible for the activities of his subordinates is a well-recognised principle of parliamentary democracy and it is also followed in Britain. Mr. Austen Chamberlain had to resign in 1917 for the military debacle in the Mesopotamian war. Mr. Chamberlain was at that time the Secretary of State for India.

But was the Finance Minister innocent in the strict sense of the term? He averred that he was innocent and was quite unaware of the deals. Pandit Nehru also in his letter to Mr. Krishnamachari and by his subsequent actions supported this contention of the former Finance Minister. Pandit Nehru's arrogant fling at Pandit Kunzru in the Rajya Sabha was unbecoming of a responsible Minister. Assuming that Mr. Krishnamachari did not acquiesce in the deal when it was being mooted, but he was certainly responsible for approving it *ex postfacto*, simply because he did never repudiate it. In his speech he stated that he was told that only scrips of Jessops and Richardson and Cruddas were going to be purchased and he was

not informed of transactions in other scrips. But the mention about the scrip of Jessops and Richardson and Cruddas must have taken aback an alert Minister like Mr. Krishnamachari. It is surprising enough that he did not at all ask his Principal Finance Secretary as to why he was going to purchase the shares of a person whose financial integrity is questionable. Further, why did not the Finance Minister express his surprise as to why the Investment Committee of the Life Insurance Corporation was being overridden? What was the urgency for this deal? The Finance Minister finished his duty simply by saying, "Be careful." Is that enough we could expect of a responsible Finance Minister? He acted in such a way that a boy of five would not have ordinarily acted. He knows well that it is not the business of the LIC to stabilise the stock exchange. Who gave this responsibility to the LIC? Why the Principal Finance Secretary took upon himself so heavy a burden? These questionings would have struck a man of ordinary intelligence, but they did not strike the Finance Minister who was of course above the level of ordinary intelligence. The Finance Minister was certainly guilty of negligence and he failed to exercise that common prudence which could be expected of a man of his position and responsibility. The evidence before the Commission transpires that Mr. Krishnamachari was aware of the nature of Mr. Mundhra even as early as 1954 when he was Commerce and Industry Minister. Besides, a Finance Minister is expected to know about important personalities in Indian industry and also about their integrity or otherwise. To plead ignorance as was done by Krishnamachari is to admit inefficiency. Mr. Krishnamachari stated in the Lok Sabha that "man-eaters" were around him and he was a victim of their conspiracy. But this argument is also untenable. Every man has his enemies, especially if he is placed in a position of power. But the former Finance Minister had the Parliamentary privilege and he could have disclosed the name of the persons whom he thought to have conspired against him. But he did not do that. Therefore his charge is baseless, or at least this is not of much importance. The former Finance Minister tried to make a saint of himself by evading the real issue. After all he was responsible constructively for the deal.

The affairs of the Mundra deal by the Life Insurance Corporation brings out the need for clear definition of the relationship between the Government and such autonomous corporations. The Government will certainly lay down the broad policy within which such Corporation must function. But in matters of administration the corporation itself is responsible and cannot be expected to abdicate such responsibility in favour of anybody. Both Mr. Vaidyanathan and Mr. Kamat failed to perform their duties in that they should have asked for written direction from Mr. Patel and they should have insisted on Investment Committee's considering and approving the deal.

Another thing that crops up in this connection is whether such Enquiry Commissions are adequate enough to find out official laches and omissions and commissions. Such a Commission cannot always find out the truth and it was felt by all concerned that in this Enquiry Commission truth was the first casualty. But legal proceedings cannot also be started on such insufficient data. The suggestion is that Parliament itself should conduct investigation by its own committee. But Parliament cannot constitute itself a court of law and it is beyond the capacity of such a committee to drive home the truth behind official laches. The answer certainly lies in the setting up of administrative courts which are fit institutions for proceeding against official omissions and commissions. But Pandit Nehru's attitude is deplorable in so far as he tried to brush aside the findings of the Commission against Mr. Krishnamachari. What better evidence has he got to skip over the Commission's findings. Had the Government of India better evidence in this respect, then why did they rush to appoint a Commission? They now seem to have grown wiser enough to sniff at the Commission's findings simply because the verdict of the Commission was not so pleasant as was expected to be by the Government.

Export Promotion

India has been running chronic trade deficits in her foreign trade. The latest report given by the Reserve Bank states that during the first half of 1957-58, the gap between current receipts and payments more than doubled from Rs. 126 crores in April-September 1956 to Rs. 298 crores. The main source of finance for this large deficit

was chiefly the foreign exchange reserves which were drawn down by Rs. 174 crores. PL 480 facilities and the stand-by credit of Rs. 34.5 crores from the IMF were other important sources of finance. The continued high rates of imports was the principal reason for the deficit. A seasonal decline in invisibles including official donations were also responsible to some extent for the widening of the deficit. Most of the increase in imports arose under the combined impact of the development expenditure in the economy and the unfavourable turn in the food situation. The aggregate imports during April-September 1957 reached the high level of Rs. 622 crores, representing an increase of nearly Rs. 145 crores over the corresponding period of 1956. During April-September 1956, the aggregate imports stood at Rs. 476 crores. This rise is mainly attributable to the imports in the public sector. Exports during this period of 1957 showed a decline from Rs. 288 crores to Rs. 267 crores. Excluding official donations and other invisibles, the real deficits come to Rs. 355 crores for this period of 1957 as against the corresponding period of 1956.

The deficit with the sterling area rose sharply from Rs. 13.6 crores in the second half of 1956-57 to Rs. 48.8 crores during the first half of 1957-58. Indian imports from this area were lower by Rs. 21.3 crores and the exports also declined by about Rs. 45.8 crores. The payment position with the dollar area also showed a marked decline; from a position of near balance in the first half of 1956-57 the deficit mounted to Rs. 74 crores in the first half of 1957-58. This deterioration is mainly on account of higher imports of foodgrains under PL 480 and T.C.A. programmes. Export receipts from the dollar area were lower as compared to either half of 1956-57 principally because of lower offtake of tea and jute manufactures. The payment gap with the OEEC countries deepened further from Rs. 95 crores in the first half of 1956-57 to Rs. 135 crores during the half year under review (that is, April-September 1957). Rising import payments were mainly responsible for this worsening situation. The increase of Rs. 44 crores in imports from the OEEC over the corresponding period of the preceding year was mainly on account of large payments for machinery, electrical goods and drugs and medicines.

Transactions with the rest of the non-sterling area resulted in a deficit of Rs. 40.3 crores in April-September 1957 as against a deficit of Rs. 9 crores in April-September 1956. The main factor for this deficit was the increased payment for imports which rose by Rs. 33 crores to Rs. 99 crores. Most of this rise was in the commercial sector and was distributed over a wide range of commodities. Jute, tea and cotton textiles are the main export commodities from India. Over the supply position of some of these commodities, the report of the Export Promotion Committee tries to bring home the truth. About tea, the report of the Committee supports our view that the tea output in India is not a surplus, rather it is a deficit. The bogey of surplus output raised by a section of the industry is not only misleading, but is also harmful to the interest of the country.

Tea is the foremost foreign exchange earner for India. India is the largest single producer of tea in the world, producing more than 50 per cent of the total world production. In recent years the Indian tea production has been somewhat static at 650 million pounds a year and the average annual export figure being 450 million lbs. In view of increasing internal consumption of tea in India, the prospects of tea exports would depend largely on the increase brought about by the production of tea in the country. For that would be necessary to increase the acreage under tea. It may be possible to take measures which could make for higher production than the 710 million lbs. a year envisaged by the Second Plan. Apart from trying to sell more tea in our existing markets, new markets should also be developed. For example the report points out, the Eastern Europe with a population of 115 million consumes hardly 17 million lbs. of tea a year.

While Ceylon, Pakistan, East Africa and Indonesia have launched nation-wide programmes for increasing the tea acreage and also the production, India adopted a voluntary cut in her tea output in 1956. In view of the short production of tea in this country, the Government of India have to limit the volume of tea for export and this is designed to meet the needs of the internal market where consumption is increasing at a rate of 10 million pounds a year. While the close rivals of India like Ceylon, Indonesia and East Africa are pursuing a policy of increased

output and have also repudiated the International Tea Agreement, India is pursuing an opposite policy of restricting the tea acreage and also trying to revive the tea agreement. The Indian owners of tea estates even unilaterally imposed a voluntary restriction of crop. Pity it is the Government of India is allowing itself to be wrongly guided by such an anti-national policy as to restrict the tea output in this country. The Second Five-Year Plan target of tea production has been placed at 700 million lbs., to be achieved by 1960 and this has been raised to 710 million lbs., by the Plantation Enquiry Commission. But the target of 700 million lbs. a year is still a far-away objective for India as the production has remained static for the last several years. The result is that India is required to export less tea and thereby she is yielding place to her rivals. The Government of India is criminally callous about the prospects of tea industry in India. There is great scope of development of tea cultivation in Kulu and Kangra Valleys on small scale and the all possible incentives and help should be given by the authorities. In the overseas markets, Indian tea is handicapped with high prices. On this point the Export Promotion Committee observes: "Though we have generally been able to sell our tea, as witnessed by the fact that we do not always carry large stocks of unsaleable tea, a reduction of even 12 to 18 nP a lb. in the cost of production would make a substantial difference to the grower. Even though we can really never hope to compete with East Africa in cost of production, a measure of relief from the present high level of costs would be of assistance to tea exports. Apart from the Plantation Labour Acts, various taxes and levies inflate the prices of Indian tea. The taxes and levies which get reflected in our export prices are: (a) the tea cess at 4 nP per pound, (b) the Assam carriage tax and West Bengal octroi each at one anna per lb., and (c) the export duty which now stands at 6 annas a lb. Indian common teas deserve relief in taxation for the purpose of increasing exports. The earnings from Indian tea exports constitute about 30 per cent of our total export earnings.

In the case of export of jute manufactures, India today faces many difficulties. The export of jute goods contribute on an average some 20 per cent to India's total foreign exchange

earnings every year. Time was when jute, being the cheapest packing material available, could be readily sold in every part of the world. India was then the sole producer of this fibre and could easily afford to export raw jute abroad for processing. But now the position is very different. The partition of India deprived the country of its chief source of supply of this important raw material. Moreover, India has now to face competition in the jute manufactures trade and this competition is becoming stronger with the passing of time. Another development that has come as a strong rival to jute industry is the substitute packaging material which is fast growing. The substitute packaging materials have ousted the jute goods to a great extent. But in recent years the cost of production of substitutes has become very high and as a result there has been a switch over to the use of jute goods again.

Cheapness being the strongest point in favour of jute textiles, it is essential that raw jute prices are kept at the lowest levels practicable. India is however not self-supporting in the production of raw jute and she has to import large quantities from Pakistan. Dependence on Pakistan for supplies will not be very expedient because that country has already set up a number of jute mills and as such she will try to process her own raw jute. India at present requires about 70 lakh bales of raw jute, but she produces only 42 lakh bales. The balance quantity has to be imported from Pakistan. Pakistan either charges higher prices for export of raw jute to India or does not at all export raw jute to India on some pretexts or other. Anyway, Pakistan is not very co-operative in this respect. India shall have to depend on her own domestic production of raw jute in order to keep her mills going. Every effort has therefore to be made to step up the production of raw jute in this country itself. Jute and paddy being competing crops, the main direction of efforts to increase raw jute production should be more towards intensive cultivation and not merely an expansion in the area under jute. The development of special strains which yield a larger quantity of fibre per plant than at present should be attempted. India is very short of paddy acreage and she cannot afford to expand to an unlimited extent either the paddy or the jute fields. Balance between these two

competing crops is essential and for that purpose intensive cultivation of both is called for.

The increasing competition in the world market can be countered in two ways, says the report of the Export Promotion Committee. These two ways are: (a) by reducing our cost of production of the ordinary lines of jute goods, namely, hessian and sackings; and (b) by increasingly concentrating on the production of specialised jute fabrics, such as, narrow fabrics, linoleum hessian, bitumenised cloth, backings for tufted carpets and also by finding out new uses to which jute fibres can be put. In regard to costs of production, modernisation of jute mills is essential. A number of jute mills have already been modernised with the assistance of National Industrial Development Corporation. It is very unfortunate that so long the Government of India was totally undecided about the rationalisation of the technique of production in jute mills. Pakistan with her latest technique of production can compete favourably against India in the overseas export market. India has awakened to the danger of such competition, but it is belated recognition of her needs. On account of shortage of raw jute production, the Indian jute mills cannot work full time and this means idle installed capacity and results ultimately in higher costs.

The cotton textile industry comes third in the earning of foreign exchanges for the country. As an organised industry of major importance, Indian cotton textiles have an important role to play in any programme of expansion of Indian exports. The Second Plan provides for an export target of 1,000 million yards of cotton textiles a year. The cotton textiles produced at present are not sufficient enough to meet the needs of the home market as well as of overseas markets. The mill-made textiles do not exceed 5,000 million yards a year and the hand-loom textiles stand at about 2,000 million yards. India's internal needs are fast growing and it is essential that there should be rapid expansion of cotton textile mills. But the Government of India hitherto discouraged further expansion of mills with a view to developing the hand-loom industry. But this was a retrograde step and increased production of mill-made textiles will improve India's earnings of foreign exchanges. Indian textiles enjoy a good market in the countries of the Middle East and also in the U.K.

As in other export commodities, price and quality are important determinants of the volume of our cotton textile exports. A considerable part of the existing equipment in the cotton textile industry is old and outmoded. In consequence, in the highly competitive export markets of the world Indian cotton textiles have had to lose grounds, particularly to the cheaper varieties of Japan. The Export Promotion Committee, therefore, rightly points out that unless India benefits from the latest machines and techniques, our cotton textiles will have to struggle hard to maintain markets it has now, let alone increasing exports. About 90 per cent of India's export of cotton cloth are of the coarse and medium varieties. Apart from India's high cost of production, another reason why it is hard for this country to compete in fine and super-fine varieties is that India has to import most of her requirements of long-staple cotton from abroad.

Developments in the Middle East

The developments in the Middle East have quickened the pace of world tension in the war of nerves. The Union of Egypt and Syria is being tried to be countered by the union of Iraq and Jordan. Syria in recent years has been suffering from political instability. She has become the ground-bed of diplomatic manoeuvres by Russia on the one hand and the USA and Britain on the other. Russia is pursuing her historic aim of expansion to the Mediterranean through Syria and the USA is trying to foil that plan. The dominant features of Syrian politics in recent years are embittered Nationalism and anti-colonialism, a savage hatred for a neighbourly State, Israel, and political instability. Syrian Governments have changed with bewildering rapidity and revolutionary tactics. Since the attainment of Syrian independence in 1943, governments have changed more than 24 times, and these include 5 military *coups d'etat* in the last eight years. Economic progress is very slow and poverty is widespread. Soviet Russia is very quick to utilise this situation and she has been able to wean off Syria from the influence of the Anglo-American bloc. The United Arab State of Syria and Egypt is the result of political expediency, rather than that of natural sequence. Egypt and Syria share no common border, Israel and Jordan standing

in between them. Egypt, the more powerful and prosperous of the partners, covers an area of 386,000 square miles with a population of more than 23 million. Syria, covering 72,000 square miles has about 4 million people. This is more in the nature of a personal union than a real union.

Apprehending that Syria was turning R the USA sent Mr. Loy Henderson, Assistant-Secretary of State for Middle East Affairs to Syria in September, 1957, to investigate the matter. The report submitted by Mr. Henderson stated that Syria was being influenced more and more by Russia. The USA accordingly took a tough policy towards Syria with the object of frightening it with serious consequences. The aim of the USA was also to prevent Russia from making deeper involvement and inroads in the politics of the Middle East. The shipment of arms to Jordan and the concentration of troops on the Syrian border by Turkey were a part of this policy of the USA. Britain, however, suggested moderation in the attitude of the USA, otherwise the situation would have further worsened. The US threat to Syria bore the opposite result. Both Syria and Russia reacted and Syria went further nearer to Russia in diplomatic relations.

At the recent meeting of the Baghdad Pact countries held in Ankara in the last week of January of this year, agreement was reached on the unification of the command of the member-countries. A Turkish officer, Lt.-Gen. Ekrem Akalin, was appointed on January 28 as the Chairman of the new military planning staff under the Baghdad Pact for one year. The U.S. Air force Major-General Daniel Campbell was appointed Deputy Chairman of the Planning Staff. Mr. Khalidy, Secretary-General of the Pact, said: "The main objective of the Pact is collective security. Collective security means that if there is an aggression against one, it is an aggression against all. That is my understanding."

These events hastened the process of union between Egypt and Syria as a defensive measure. Syria apprehends attacks from Turkey and by this Union attack on Syria will constitute attack on Egypt and this will give enough scope to Russia to intervene. The Union between Egypt and Syria will counteract to a great extent the

importance of the Baghdad Pact in the Middle East. The union is an answer to the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East and it will try to ease the tension among the countries belonging to the opposing groups.

Political Changes in the Middle East

The political map of the area of West Asia commonly known as the Middle East underwent a great change with the merger of Egypt and Syria into one single State, named the United Arab Republic. The plan to unify the two States was announced during the latter part of January. The proclamation for the union of the two States was ratified by the Parliaments of the two countries in the first week of February, and by the people in a referendum on February 21. The capital of the new State would be in Cairo and President Nasser would be its first President. The popular vote in Egypt was 99 per cent in favour of the union and President Nasser. In Syria, over 90 per cent of a total of 1,431,000 voters turned up at the polls. Only 139 voted against the union whilst 1,312,859 said "we agree"; 1,312,808 voted in favour of President Nasser and 187 against.

The United Arab Republic would be administered under a 17-point Provisional Constitution announced by President Nasser on February 5, 1958. According to the announcement, the United Arab Republic would be a democratic, independent, sovereign republic with liberties and suffrage for the people. Legislative authority would be vested in a house to be called the National Assembly—members of which would be specified and appointed by decree of the President of the Republic (Nasser). Half the members would be selected from among the existing members of the Syrian and Egyptian parliaments. The executive powers of the new State would be vested in the President. The judiciary would be independent "with no power over them save that of law." Internationally, all the existing treaties would remain valid for the areas they covered.

The Egyptian-Syrian Union was welcomed by a large number of States. Yemen actively supported the merger and itself wanted to join the new United Republic under an arrangement whereby it would retain its monarchy within

the UAP. The new State was promptly recognised by many States, including India. However, the pro-Western Arab States were critical of this merger. As a counterweight to the influence of the new Republic it was even proposed to effect a merger of Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Nothing concrete was, however, done in that direction.

In an age where the craze of the politicians for partition—look at Korea, India, Palestine, China and Indo-China—it was certainly very reassuring to find two independent States agreeing of their own volition to merge themselves into one entity. We could not but praise in the highest terms the political sagacity and selflessness of the Egyptian and Syrian peoples and leaders, more particularly of the Syrian leaders headed by the President, Shukri el Kwaitly.

No doubt, the new State with a complicated and interrupted national boundary (in this it bore some resemblance to Pakistan) would be faced with a great many problems to solve. Its strategic location in an area where the two military colossi were aligned against each other in a race of gaining political and military supremacy only tended to add complexity to its problems. But the unification of the Arab States would undoubtedly brighten the prospects of peace and stability in the area—the two things which had been conspicuous by their absence in that area for over a century now.

Chinese Troops to Withdraw

The Chinese Government has decided to withdraw its troops from North Korea where the Chinese military forces have remained for over seven years and three months officially as Chinese People's Volunteer Corps. This was announced in the Sino-Korean joint statement issued on February 19 from Pyongyang, the North Korean capital on the occasion of Premier Chou En-lai's visit to that country. The withdrawal of the Chinese military forces from Korea would be completed by the end of 1958. Referring to this point the Sino-Korean joint statement says:

"During the talks, the two parties (China and North Korea) exchanged views especially on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from both North and South Korea and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. They agreed

that the proposals made in the statement of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of February 5, 1958, not only represent the national aspiration of the Korean people for the peaceful unification of their motherland, but are also timely and realistic proposals in the present international situation. In line with its consistent stand of actively promoting the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the Chinese Government expressed full support to the Korean Government's proposals in a statement issued on February 7, 1958, and now, after consultations with the Korean Government, has further proposed to the Chinese People's volunteers that they take the initiative in withdrawing from Korea. The Chinese People's volunteers have fully concurred in this proposal of the Chinese Government and have decided to withdraw completely from Korea by stages and to complete the withdrawal before the end of 1958. The first stage of the withdrawal will be completed before April 30, 1958. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has agreed to this decision of the Chinese People's volunteers and is willing to assist in their complete withdrawal."

The decision of the Government of the People's Republic of China to withdraw its forces from Korea has been welcomed by many, including the British Government. While some has tended to minimise the importance of this step by pointing to the fact that even after complete withdrawal of its troops the Chinese Government would not have much difficulty in sending its troops to Korea again, should the situation so demand, the significance of the present Chinese decision cannot but be felt by all. It is again beyond doubt that the move of the Chinese Government is in the right direction. There certainly is a lot of difference between the fact of the existence of foreign troops and the possibility of its returning after withdrawal. In this context the United States Government's decision not to withdraw its forces from South Korea cannot but appear in an unfavourable light before the people everywhere. No international dispute can be expected to be solved from a position of obstinacy for that mutual compromise is required. The Chinese gesture should have been reciprocated by the West.

Korean Proposals

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Korea headed by Kim Il Sung in its statement of February 5, 1958, outlined a 4-point plan for the re-unification of Korea. The points are immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea; holding of elections for an all-Korean Government under the aegis of "a neutral nations' organ" (not under the auspices of the United Nations); resumption of mutual relationships between North and South Korea on the basis of equality to decide on matters concerning the all-Korean elections and encourage economic and cultural exchange; and the reduction of the armed forces in both parts of Korea.

The Chinese Government endorsed these suggestions in its declaration of February 7. The United States Government indicated that it would not agree to any proposal to hold all-Korean elections unless the elections were held under the auspices of the United Nations. It also declared that it could not agree to withdraw its troops from Korea without being sure of future political stability there.

Change in the Chinese Foreign Office

There was a major change in the Chinese Foreign Office on February 11, 1958, when it was announced that Chou En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister, had been relieved of his concurrent post as Foreign Minister. Mr. Chou had been known as a specialist in foreign affairs since the early forties and his skilful diplomacy in the Indo-China talks in Geneva and the Asian-African Conference at Bandung had earned him laurels even from his political opponents in other countries. There was no indication of his impending departure and the news was understandably received with surprise in the foreign capitals. Mr. Chou was replaced as Foreign Minister by one of the Vice-Premiers, Marshal Chen Yi.

To understand the significance of this change it was necessary to know who it was within the Politbureau of the Chinese Communist Party who was directing foreign policy—in so far as the real ruler in a Communist State is not the formal Government—nor the Parliament, but the Communist Party. Judged in this context it at once struck one as signi-

ficant that it was Marshal Chen Yi (and not Mr. Chou En-lai as Foreign Minister) who reported on foreign policy to the last Chinese Communist Party Congress in 1956.

Some tended to see in this change an index of Chou's political decline. Others were inclined to see in Chen Yi's selection Chou's effort to strengthen his position by placing a trusted lieutenant in a key post.

The weekly *China News Analysis* writes: "It is possible Chou En-lai is required for the internal affairs of the country now passing through a rather critical period after the great purge which is not yet ended. Chou En-lai is particularly suited to deal, in a shrewd but not soft way; with the educated classes and students whose revolt may be traced back to his speech in January, 1956, for the existence of a revolt against the Party leadership is now a commonly admitted fact. It is not impossible too that his help in economic affairs is needed . . ."

Referring to Chen Yi's rise as a foreign affairs man, the *China News Analysis* adds: ". . . In October, 1954, he (Chen Yi) visited Eastern Germany. In November, it was he alone who received the Polish Cultural Delegation and the Vietminh Communications Delegation.

"In 1955, in March, he received the Russian Minister for Public Health. In May, he reported after Chou En-lai to the Standing Committee (of the National People's Congress) about the Bandung Conference. He was at the side of Chou when he received a delegation from India. He himself received minor delegation from Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Egypt. Further, in the same year, he received delegations from Poland, Mongolia, Sweden, France, Soviet Russia, England and Korea. Most of these delegations were cultural or artistic groups or groups of scientists. He gave addresses to the Chinese Academy of Science and on the reform of writing. In September, he was among the first Marshals named by Peking.

"In 1956, he continued his cultural activities both inside China and in his contacts with foreign cultural delegations. In March, he was made the chairman of the newly-established scientific Committee of the Cabinet. In April, he was the delegate of the Government and the (Communist) Party in Tibet. There he

presided at the summit meetings and met the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama. In June, he flew from Lhasa to Sining in Chinghai province where he visited the Chaidam Basin works. In August, he received Japanese veterans and delegations from Singapore, Syria and Western Germany. In September, he reported on foreign affairs to the Eighth Party Congress. In October, he escorted Soekarno and accompanied him from Shanghai to Kunming, he took part in the Chou En-lai-U No negotiations about the Burmese border. He again became prominent in foreign affairs in the second half of 1957."

"A natural conclusion to this list of activities of Chen Yi," the *China News Analysis* adds, "would be that his activities ran on two lines, foreign policy and cultural, particularly scientific matters. This does not prove that Chen Yi would be better qualified for the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs than any of the Foreign Affairs Vice-Ministers or professional diplomats, would have been. Chen Yi, however, does not take up his post untrained and uninitiated, but, above all, he is a military man."

The Army in China and India

A Chinese Military Mission led by Marshal Yeh Chien-ying came on a friendly visit to India in February. In this context the role being played by the army in the national construction of China would be of some interest to the Indian public. An idea of the tasks undertaken by the People's Liberation Army (the official name for the Chinese Army) is given by the report of the official *Hsinhua* (New China) News Agency quoted below:

"Peking, February 7: How the Chinese People's Liberation Army units in Sinkiang have been building irrigation works in sub-zero weather, at times 20 degrees below freezing point, was described by General Tao Chih-yueh, Deputy Commander of the PLA Sinkiang Military Region, at the National People's Congress this afternoon. Their work in irrigation and in accumulating fertilizer, he said, was in preparation for a great leap forward in agriculture that was now being planned in Sinkiang.

"In the Second Five-Year Plan period, the General said, Sinkiang would be built up as a centre for cotton-growing, pedigree breeding, sugar beet-growing and sugar production.

In this, the PLA units were playing a big part, he said. They were aiming to reclaim another 530,000 to 660,000 hectares of virgin land during this period, a four-fold increase over what they had done in the First Five-Year Plan. Per-hectare grain output would be increased to an average of six tons . . ."

"During the past five years, the General told the Congress, the men had already opened up large tracts of land in what used to be deserts, north and south of the Great Tianshan Mountain, and made them fertile crop lands. They had built 44 State farms, 16 State animal-husbandry centres and 99 big and small processing plants. These provided good foundations for the future agricultural development in Sinkiang, General Tso Chih-yueh said.

"This year alone, the PLA men aimed to sow crop on 226,000 hectares, to yield a quarter of a million tons of food-crops, 65 per cent more than last year, and 25,000 tons of cotton, 78 per cent more than last year, and to reclaim 146,000 hectares of wasteland."

In India also consideration should be given whether the jawans could not be employed for nation-building purposes during a part of their normal peace-time duties.

The Middle-East Tangle

Power politics is in full play in the Arab States of the Middle East. The cold war has now shifted its focus thereon. The latest development has intensified the political rivalries, which reflected in the following editorial in the *New York Times* of February 2, under the caption "Cairo vs. Baghdad:"

"The turbulent Middle East is an arena of intense political rivalries. The Soviet Government, like the regime of the Czars, has pressed to gain a foothold in the Middle East. The West has been equally intent upon keeping the Russians out. Many Arab statesmen, for their part, have been trying to unify the region under the banner of a 'United Arab State' in the belief that the salvation of Arab nationalism lies in federation.

"The impact of the cold war on these Middle Eastern rivalries has split the Arab world. Egypt, Syria and Yemen, strongly anti-Western, have espoused a brand of 'neutralism' which is openly pro-Soviet. Lebanon, Jordan

and Saudi Arabia are anti-Russian but have avoided aligning themselves with the West. Iraq's government is staunchly pro-Western.

"Last week the interplay of these powerful forces was in evidence in a dramatic move in Cairo—the proclamation of the union of Egypt and Syria—and in a meeting of the pro-Western Baghdad Pact powers. This was the background and the development last week in the two areas:

"Eight hundred years ago Saladin the

Great, the Arab conqueror, made himself the Sultan of Egypt and Syria and defended his domains against the Crusaders of the West. Ever since the crumbling of Saladin's empire, some Egyptian and Syrian leaders have dreamed of the day when both countries would reunite under a single Arab flag. Egypt's President Abdel Gamal Nasser has cherished the idea of such a union as a first step toward the unity of the Arab world from 'the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf.' Shukri al-Kuwatly, the 65-year-old President of Syria, has nourished the same idea since his youthful days in the Arab nationalist movement.

"Three years ago Egypt and Syria signed a mutual defense pact which placed their armed forces under a joint command headed by an Egyptian general. Two years ago the Syrian Parliament voted unanimously to approve plans for establishing a committee to negotiate with Egypt for a federal union of the two countries. Talks on the federation have been in progress ever since.

"Yesterday, as wildly cheering crowds marched through Cairo, President Nasser and al-Kuwatly signed a joint proclamation which announced the merger of both nations under the name 'United Arab Republic.' The new country embraces an area of 500,000 square miles (386,000 of them Egyptian) and 28,000,000 people (24,000,000 of them Egyptians). Like Pakistan, the new state will have two parts separated by alien land, in this case Israel. Although full details have yet to be made public—and must be ratified by plebiscite in Egypt and Syria, probably February 20—the new state is to have a single flag, Cabinet, Parliament, Army and President—Egypt's Nasser. Mr. al-Kuwatly will be Vice-President. It will also have one foreign policy—'positive neutralism.' All other Arab states will be invited to join."

The Baghdad Pact

The *New York Times* gives in the same context a review of the position of the Baghdad Pact alliance. The effect of the delegation led by Mr. Dulles, is not yet fully apparent. But a summary of the U.S. stand is given in this note:

"The Middle Eastern Treaty Organization, which became known as the Baghdad Pact after it established its headquarters in the Iraqi capital, was formed in 1955 by Britain and four of Russia's southern neighbors—Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan. Although the pact was conceived by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles as a 'northern tier' for the Middle East and a bridge between the NATO alliance in Europe and the SEATO alliance in Asia, the United States did not become a full-fledged member. Washington felt that membership in the alliance would complicate its relations with Egypt and other non-member Arab states.

"The alliance has other limitations. The pact itself is loosely worded and the members are not firmly committed to act against aggression. Iraq is the only Arab member of the alliance and most of the other Arab states have denounced the alliance as an instrument of Western 'colonialism.' Moreover, the Russians leapfrogged over the 'northern tier' almost as soon as it was set up. They gave military and economic aid to Egypt, Syria and Yemen and began an intensive anti-Western propaganda campaign in the Middle East.

"Last year, in response to the growing Russian challenge in the Middle East, Congress adopted the Eisenhower Doctrine which authorized the President to use U.S. armed forces to help defend any Middle East nation requesting support against aggression by 'international communism.' The U.S. has also joined the Baghdad Pact's military, economic and political committees. Nevertheless, pressure on the United States to become a full-fledged member has been heavy, and in recent weeks the entire alliance was reported in danger of dissolution as a result of an Iraqi threat to pull out in order 'to preserve Arab unity'.

"It was in this atmosphere of crisis that the Baghdad powers met in Ankara last week for the fourth meeting of the Pact Council.

"Mr. Dulles headed the U.S. delegation of

'observers.' On Monday, at the opening session, he declared:

"The United States stands firmly behind the resolve of all Middle East nations to remain free and to reinforce the peace. We wholeheartedly support the Baghdad Pact.....The Baghdad Pact can be confident that (U.S.) mobile power of great force would, as needed, be brought to bear against any Communist aggressor.

"Mr. Dulles made no mention of full U.S. membership in the organization but the renewed—and strengthened—assurance of U.S. military intervention in the event of Communist aggression went far to allay the feeling of the pact members that the U.S. 'had only one foot' in the alliance."

Indonesian Affairs .

Indonesia is in turmoil. Part of it is the natural outcome of bitter political rivalries in that country. But it seems that outside influence has very much intensified the trouble. The following news-report in the *Statesman* supports that view:

"Djakarta, Feb. 21.—President Soekarno declared today that foreign countries were exerting pressure to force Indonesia, or part of it, to join one of the Power blocs, Reuter reports.

"President Soekarno was broadcasting to the nation six days after the province of Sumatra had proclaimed an independent Government. He announced his support for the Djakarta Central Government and appealed to the people to safeguard Indonesia against divisions and maintain national independence.

"Speaking to mark the occasion of his resumption of Presidential duties, Dr. Soekarno referred to the pressure from 'foreign countries holding important roles in international politics'.

"Since the recognition of our sovereignty this pressure has been on our State. Every misunderstanding and difficulty of the country—political, economic or military—has become a political target for outside nations'.

"The object of these nations was to include Indonesia, or part of it, in one of the Power blocs. The misunderstanding and revolt in the provinces had given foreign nations the opportunity to play their parts.

"If it were true that the demands of the provinces were sincere, then the question of relationship between the Central Government and the provinces could have been solved long ago. But there are signs that the demands of the provinces have become the instruments of outside nations."

"The efforts of a small clique to force the majority of the Indonesian people to submit to their demands had reached a climax.

"I wish to make it clear here that their actions are illegal, and that I am unable to recognize them.

"When I was leaving Djakarta, there was a strong movement to oust me, and I told the people that the President and the Prime Minister, Dr. Djuanda, together with the Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces and Police had made a decision and taken a firm stand. That firm stand is being maintained."

"Indonesia today announced an economic blockade of Central Sumatra and said sea and air links and telegraph and postal communications had already been cut. Dr. Djuanda, the Premier, told reporters the Central Government would increase its naval strength and air and coast patrols in the area. The blockade was a first step, he said. Military strategic measures had not yet been taken. The Government would try to avoid an armed clash, but this could not always be guaranteed."

The Tunisia Incident

The impact of the troubles in Algeria, on the mentality of the French officers in command in North Africa, seems to have been atavistic in effect. Else this bombing of an unarmed open town in Tunisia cannot be explained. We are unable to find anything in this "reprisal" which is capable of explanation in terms of civilized warfare. This is comparable to the atrocities of the last war.

"Tunisia, which won its independence from France two years ago, shares a border of about 500 miles with Algeria on the west. Both countries are largely Arab and have a common desire to see the whole of North Africa independent. But the French consider Algeria a province of Continental France and for three years they have been heavily engaged in putting down an Arab revolt there. The French have fielded an army of 450,000 troops in an effort

to quell the revolt. The rebels have replied by fighting a hit-and-run guerrilla war, often using Tunisia as a refuge.

"In recent months the French have grown increasingly incensed over the clandestine shipment of arms over the Tunisian-Algerian border and into rebel hands. The French have also accused the Tunisian Government of President Habib Bourguiba of giving the rebels sanctuary and supplies. In recent weeks the relations between France and Tunisia have deteriorated further as border incidents have increased.

"Ten days ago the French Army launched a major military operation at the northern tip of Algerian-Tunisian frontier in a determined bid to 'pacify' the country.

"Yesterday, in this charged atmosphere, twenty-five French warplanes bombed and strafed a Tunisian town on the frontier. Casualties were high. The French declared the raid on the town, which was crowded with Arabs from other countries, was undertaken in reprisal for anti-aircraft fire from Tunisia which downed a French plane on the Algerian side of the frontier."

U.S. and Soviet Science

The United States launched its first sputnik named "Explorer" nearly three months after the second Soviet sputnik. The delay in the fruition of the American efforts has naturally been commented upon by many. The United States had initially greater facilities than the Soviet Union to become the first producer of the sputnik. Yet it failed. What was the reason?

Mr. Max Ascoli, editor of the fortnightly *Reporter*, puts forward an interesting hypothesis. Mr. Ascoli writes: "In Soviet Russia, thinking about social problems or man's destiny is out of bounds, and as a substitute for it there are all the stereotypes of Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy. . . . Yet, this State-imposed atrophy of political or moral ideas may well be one of the causes of the spectacular progress of Russian science. The most vigorous brains find shelter—perhaps, a measure of privacy—in the intricacies of mathematics and of technology. Indeed, the greater the intricacies, the safer the shelter for the men barricaded behind abstractions and able to prove their worth to the regime with their scientific and technological achievements."

Mr. Ascoli says that everybody was "a slave in Soviet Russia but the scientists". In the USA, on the contrary, "everybody is free and only the scientists are kept on the leash. The Oppenheimer decisions have muzzled them. No wonder that in mathematics or in technology the Russians are getting ahead of us," he writes.

The Missile Race

The U.S. satellite has been launched. There has been some face-saving of the U.S.A. as a direct consequence. But does that mean that the U.S.A. has now caught up with the Soviets? The following editorial from the *New York Times* of February 2, gives an answer:

"Where does the United States now stand vis-a-vis Russia in missiles competition and the conquest of outer space?

"The thirty-pound U.S. satellite is a dwarf compared with Suptnik I and Sputnik II. Moreover, the rockets that put the Soviet satellites up were correspondingly more powerful than the Explorer's hybrid Jupiter-C vehicle. Jupiter-C had an initial thrust of 75,000 pounds. American scientists have estimated that the rocket for Sputnik II must have had an initial thrust in excess of 250,000 pounds, or in other words a rocket with an intercontinental range and more powerful than any tested in the United States up to that time. Coupled with earlier reports that Russia had successfully test-fired an intercontinental ballistic missile, the Soviet satellites produced grave concern in the United States over the possible distance of the Russian missile lead.

"The exact size of the lead is still a matter of debate and controversy. The U.S. last month successfully test-fired the first stage of its Atlas ICBM which is designed for a range of 5,000 miles. The success in putting Explorer into orbit has demonstrated considerable know-how in the missile field and larger U.S. satellites will almost certainly go into orbit before the year is out.

"On the other hand, Army witnesses last week told a Congressional committee they thought Russian ICBM's might be operational—that is ready to launch against targets in North America—by July of this year. They estimated that it would take the United States approximately two years to reach the same

point. At a press conference yesterday. Dr. Wernher von Braun, technical director of the Army's Ballistic Missile Agency, said he saw no reason to revise his estimate that it would take five years for the United States to overtake Russia in the missile and satellite art. 'Let's remember that Sputnik II had 1,120 pounds of payload,' he said. 'What we have in orbit now is only a rival in spirit to Sputnik.'"

The U.S. Loan

We append below an extract from the *New York Times* of February 2. It is part of the special report of its New Delhi correspondent A. N. Roenthal:

"New Delhi, India, February 1—The man in the deep ocean appreciates the life preserver thrown to him. But nobody can consider him really greedy if while treading water he entertains the shy hope that a rope will follow.

"That is pretty much the Indian reaction to United States proposals for a new loan of \$225,000,000. This is not the most diplomatically deft government in the world and there has been nothing much said about the loan publicly by high officials.

"But any foreigner who deals at all with the men in the Ministry of Finance or even who reads the Indian newspapers realizes rather quickly that Washington's gesture and Washington's interest are taken warmly to heart by this harried, near-desperate country. Set against these reactions, Prime Minister Nehru's strange outburst, a few days after the loan was announced, that India would not sell her foreign policy for foreign gold is not extremely important except as an indication of the turmoil and sensitivity of one overworked and overworried man."

Foreign Aid : Its Psychology

The Second Five-Year Plan in India has come up against great obstacles due to the paucity of foreign exchange required to finance the purchases of machineries and goods abroad. The crisis has led some to plead for more aid for India's plan and others to criticise the lack of it. From this perspective foreign governments have been praised or criticised by Indians. Others see in the aid offered by a particular State an antidote to the "threat" of Commu-

nism. Mr. Minoo R. Masani, in an article in the weekly *New Leader* of New York, even proposed for another U.S. "Marshal Plan"—this time for Asia. In this context the editorial article of the *Vigil*, February, makes some thought-provoking points:

"Mutual aid among nations and the lending of a helping hand by the stronger to the weaker," the *Vigil* writes, "are not only commendable but may even be regarded as obligatory on the highest principle of brotherhood of man. But like all good principles this one, too, is capable of being debased. By giving, neither the giver nor the receiver is always blessed. It can do harm as well as good to both, depending on the circumstances, the nature of the gift, the motives and the mental attitudes of the parties concerned. In the world's prevailing climate when 'foreign aid' is regarded by the governments of the giver-nations—whether they say so or not—as an instrument of policy the dangers, moral and other, should be obvious. Such dangers are simply courted by a government which in any planning of economic national reconstruction allots to foreign aid (or expectations of it) a *crucial* part, whatever may be its size in relation to the whole. This has been one of the main grounds of our objection to the Government of India's Five-Year Plan."

The Chinakuri Mine Disaster

On February 19 occurred one of the worst mine disasters in Indian history in which nearly two hundred people lost their lives and many more were injured. There were two more mine disasters in the wake of this great tragedy. The Central Bhowrah mine in Bihar was flooded drowning twenty-three people. In the Mahalbani mine, fifteen miners were trapped as water rushed in from the Damodar.

The tragedy defies consolation. The men who died were doing their duty. Death came to them by surprise and they had not the slightest opportunity to save themselves. The Government has ordered for an enquiry to be held to determine the causes of the accident. If the enquiry discloses any negligence on the part of anybody, it is to be hoped, the person or persons through whose fault these men lost their lives would be dealt with in the most severe manner.

The Chinakuri mine disaster has aroused the sympathy of many governments and some of them have made financial contribution for the rehabilitation of the family of the dead. Indians naturally feel grateful for this act of sympathy. The West Bengal Governor has also started a Relief Fund. We join her in the appeal to the people to contribute to the fund liberally.

Relief Fund for Miners

Shri Padmaja Naidu has issued the following appeal to the people of India:

"The whole of India must have heard with a sense of profound sorrow the news of the terrible disaster in the Chinakuri Collieries near Asansol which brought swift and sudden death to nearly two hundred persons. The peculiarly poignant circumstances that prevented the rescue operations aggravated the long-drawn out agony of the bereaved women and children.

The Government and authorities concerned have already started relief measures but the public dare not stand aloof at this moment and remain content with offering mere lip sympathy. Let us therefore express our sympathy in a concrete form which will give some small measure of comfort to the tragically stricken women and children in their hour of bitter need.

I have started a relief fund known as "The Governor's Relief Fund for Colliery Disasters" in aid of the families of the victims of the Chinakuri Colliery disaster. I appeal to the public to contribute generously to it. No contribution will be too small to be welcome and no contribution can be too big for the purpose of helping to rebuild the homes that have been broken. Contributions may be sent to me or my Secretary at Raj Bhavan, Calcutta, or direct to any Branch in any State of the State Bank of India."

The Chinakuri Explosion

This terrible accident that has shocked the nation, is now subject to an enquiry. The following report gives the reaction in the West Bengal Council:

"When the West Bengal Council met on Friday, Dr. Roy made a statement on the colliery explosion at Chinakuri. The statement was almost on the same lines as in the Assembly

on Thursday. The House observed two minutes' silence to mourn the miners' death, members rising in their seats.

"Dr. Roy said the Governor had opened a relief fund for the victims of the accident. In giving adequate relief to them, the Government needed the fullest co-operation of all.

"Their primary tasks now were to give relief to the victims and to take steps to prevent recurrence of such incidents. Although the State Government had no direct control on the management of the collieries—a Central subject—it had some responsibility in regard to things happening within the State, the Chief Minister added.

"His statement was followed by a controversy in the House over the members' right to discuss the statement. The Chief Minister having left the chamber, Mr. P. C. Sen, Food Minister, said: 'At this stage we have nothing further to add. Let us wait for a fuller report. Our Labour Minister has gone to the spot and on his return we shall be able to give you more information'."

Water and Power Resources

Every year vast areas in West Bengal are ravaged by flood—destroying life and property on a wide scale directly or indirectly. This naturally leads to the necessity of an examination of all the factors involved in the problem. It is, therefore, a pleasure to see the West Bengal Power and Water Resources development symposium number of the monthly *Indian Journal of Power and River Valley Development* which reproduces twenty-three papers by leading experts which were originally read at a symposium held under the auspices of the Indian Science Congress and sponsored by the *Journal* itself. The symposium and the publication of the discussions denotes a new awareness to the gravities of the situation. The symposium brought to the fore several important problems and issues which demand serious consideration by all. Several experts stressed the need for adoption of immediate protective and rehabilitative means in North Bengal where the catchment areas of the rivers were denuded of forests and vegetable cover and its topsoil loosened by harmful agricultural practices to an alarming extent. Some experts also stressed the role of meteorological factors in the North Bengal

floods. The suggestion that meteorological factors might be a primary cause of floods implies that protective or preventive measures should also visualise controlling or influencing the weather. Another important problem underlined in the discussions was the inadequacy of drainage conditions in lower Damodar which tended to aggravate further water-logging and salinity of cultivated areas in the context of the net-work of canals of the Damodar, Mayurakshi and Kangsabati Project. Should this happen on a large scale the utility of the capital construction in the area would be partially vitiated.

The efforts for the control and development of rivers and water resources in any State in India intimately affects the position in neighbouring States. It is more so in the case of West Bengal rivers—most of which originate outside and pass through several States before reaching Bengal. Any lasting plan can, therefore, be drawn up and executed only against the background of mutual co-operation between the States. Sadly enough such co-operation is not always forthcoming easily. We fully endorse the editorial remark of the *Indian Journal of Power and River Valley Development* that, "If the politicians care to go through this documentary material their first reaction should be to take this mighty problem as a non-partisan issue. Even, if this be done, and action taken on a large enough scale, in co-operation with adjacent States, it will take decades to recover the lost ground. But the more we delay in this, the greater and more proximate the danger becomes."

Public Health Problems

The 25th anniversary of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health was held in Calcutta about the middle of the last month. We append below a special report from the *Statesman*. We agree with all the remarks made by the dignitaries present at the function. But we would point out that Dr. Roy's remark that medical students should get training in the villages in rural health, is curious. He is still oblivious of the fact that students trained in colleges and hospitals of the great cities of India very seldom voluntarily go to the villages. This work was being done formerly by the students from the Medical Schools of the dis-

tricts. Dr. Roy has hastily destroyed the schools and very effectively *prevented* their being raised to college status. His remarks are quite futile therefore.

"Dr. Roy in his presidential address at a meeting in observance of the 25th anniversary of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health in Calcutta on Sunday emphasized the need to co-ordinate urban health measures with health services in villages.

"Such a function, he said, was being ably done by the Institute which was making a valuable contribution in research on public health problems. Medical students, he felt, should get training in villages in rural health services before they obtained their degrees.

"The Chief Minister said that with the advancement of medical science the necessity for a health institute to protect and improve the health of the people was being increasingly felt. It was essential to eradicate the root of a disease for a permanent solution of health problems.

"The Union Health Minister Mr. D. P. Karimkar, urged health workers to give 'up their 'feeling of estrangement' and make a more human approach to the people.

"Emphasizing the importance of the institute, the Minister said that an increase in the number of hospitals was not enough to cope with diseases. The Institute was trying to improve the people's health by trying to find the reasons for which diseases originated and spread.

"Referring to the contributions of the Institute's research workers, the Director of the Institute, Dr. N. Jungalwalla, said that their work on epidemic dropsy, cholera, plague, black-water fever and endemic typhus had won recognition throughout the world.

"Careful investigations into causes of maternal and child mortality and nutritional disorders of children had contributed greatly to evolving practices which had considerably reduced the death rate of mothers and children.

"Other work of the Institute, he said, included analysis of Indian diets and the value of certain local sources of food, prevention of water pollution through industrial wastes and evolving techniques of health survey now accepted throughout India. Subjects of present research were studies in family planning, plague, diphtheria, cholera, smallpox and on industrial

waste disposal, environmental sanitation, industrial health, nutrition of infants and organization of public health services.

"Dr. Jungalwalla said that altogether 921 students had obtained diplomas in public health and hygiene since the first course for the diploma started in 1932. Sixteen courses were now offered at the Institute, eight of which were for University degrees and diplomas and the rest for certificates.

"The shortage of health workers, he added, was being seriously felt. The Institute was training the maximum number of students in spite of a deficiency of 30 per cent in technical staff. With the increasing population in India health work was making greater demands on trained personnel."

Devaluation

Much has been said regarding further devaluation of the rupee. The following news-report from Bombay gives the view taken by Mr. Jacobsson, Chief of the International Monetary Fund:

"Bombay, February 15.—Mr. Jacobsson, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, said here today that devaluation of the rupee would not be the correct way of solving India's present balance of payments problems.

"Mr. Jacobsson, who was replying to a question at a Press conference, said: 'You should go to the root of the matter. You should tackle the credit problem and the question of the level of internal spending rather than touch the superficial aspect of the exchange rate.'

"When pressed to state his views on devaluation of the rupee specifically, he said: 'I should like to avoid devaluation. If you once resort to devaluation, when similar difficulties arise next time, people begin to expect another devaluation, and you go on from one devaluation to another and the people lose confidence in the currency. Experience in Europe has shown that ultimately, in the words of Voltaire, paper currency returns to its intrinsic value.'

"Asked what he thought of India's creditworthiness, Mr. Jacobsson said: 'My own feeling is that India has a modern banking system, a stable Government, and an efficient Civil Service that can compare favourably with any

other in this part of the world. These are the attributes of creditworthiness. One more great advantage this country has is the general political framework which forms an excellent foundation for creditworthiness.'

"Mr. Jacobsson reiterated that during his discussions with the Government of India no request was made for short-term borrowing from the I.M.F. as what India needed at present was long-term credit.

"I think that the Government of India are pursuing a correct policy. Particularly when they are getting long-term credit from countries like the U.S.A. it is quite correct that they should not seek such credit as has to be repaid in the near future,' he said.

"Asked what he thought of the extent of deficit financing envisaged in the Second Plan, Mr. Jacobsson said that when Lord Keynes advocated deficit financing, he had in mind creditor countries like Britain and the U.S.A. Lord Keynes did not take into account countries with balance of payment difficulties. European countries following Keynesian theory did not give sufficient attention to the balance of payments position *vis-a-vis* the extent of deficit financing and the thought that the same error was made by India while formulating her Second Plan. Deficit financing with an eye on balance of payments should serve the purpose, he said."

West Bengal Development Plans

The staff reporter of the *Statesman* gives the following report about the probability of this State's problems being considered by the Planning Commission:

"Dr. J. C. Ghosh, member of the Planning Commission, will meet Dr. Roy at Writers' Building, Calcutta, this afternoon when discussions are likely to be held on the financial implications of West Bengal's development projects and their working. Some Ministers and senior officers will attend.

"Among the subjects that may come up for discussion are the benefits derived by the State from the two river valley projects—Damodar and Mayurakshi. Money spent on these projects is covered by allocations under the Five-Year Plan.

"West Bengal attaches great urgency to another river valley scheme—Kangshabati—which will benefit mainly Midnapore and Bankura. As soon as the scheme was finalized, the State Government began working to implement it.

"But the Planning Commission has not allocated any money for it yet and the State Government has had to meet the past two years' expenditure, amounting to Rs. 12.7 million, from its own resources. It has been estimated that in the coming financial year expenditure of Rs. 3.5 million will be necessary.

"The scheme will cost a total of Rs. 255 million, which it is not possible for the State Government to meet. It is, therefore, likely that the urgency of allocation of finance for the scheme under the Plan will be emphasised before Dr. Ghosh.

"It is learnt that the German expert, Dr. Hensen, invited by the Centre to study the Ganga Barrage scheme, has submitted a report speaking of its importance, especially for Calcutta Port. The report is being examined by the Centre."

Pilferage of Metals

The following report shows how bold the thieves of railway material have become. The Government must take action against the multi-millionaire receivers of stolen material who are flourishing in Howrah and Calcutta. Until that is done this will continue on an ever-increasing rate:

"Pilferers have extended their operations to the overhead wires of the electric train services in Howrah Division. The first theft of wire was reported at about 5-30 a.m. on Friday. About 600 yards of wire were stolen between Dearsa and Sheoraphuli stations, about 15 miles from Howrah. The theft was detected by the divisional maintenance staff who replaced the stolen wire at 8-15 a.m. Between 5-30 a.m. and 8-15 a.m. electric train services on the line were seriously disrupted. Four Down trains from Tarakeswar were delayed by about two to 3½ hours. The Up Tarakeswar Local was detained for about 30 minutes.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad became a part of our consciousness so much so that it became

exceedingly difficult for any Indian to think he was no more. In the death of the Maulana, India lost not only an astute politician of the front rank—but a good deal more.

He represented a personality of rare combination of qualities. A great Muslim divine and religious thinker, he was one of the most liberal-minded of Indian politicians. No Muslim League leader in pre-partition days could come near him in his deep knowledge of Islamic literature and his attachment and devotion to the religion of Islam. Yet the great Maulana could never be convinced of the need for the partition of the country on the basis of religious affiliations.

Maulana Azad approximated Plato's definition of a scholar-statesman to a great degree. It was said that next to the books by Mahatma Gandhi, it was his works that gained the highest royalty to any author in India. His great scholarship added a touch of humanism to his politics.

Politically Maulana Azad was a member of the Congress Party. Yet his party affiliation never stood in his popularity even among his political opponents. He was one of those few Congress leaders who were respected by all irrespective of caste, community and politics. It was again a measure of his personality and popularity that he defeated his Jan Sangh opponent in an almost absolutely Hindu area by a majority of nearly a lakh of votes. It was an open question if any other Congress member could gain such an overwhelming majority of votes in that area which until then was generally regarded as the stronghold of non-Congress elements.

Maulana Azad was a great leader; yet his greatness never appeared as imposing on others. In his own Ministry of Education he gave the fullest scope for initiative to the officials, intervening only when the situation demanded so. Under his wise leadership the Education Ministry took measures of great foresight and value. The Visva-Bharati University, the Sahitya Akadami, the Lalit Kala Akadami, Sangeet Natak Akadami, the National Art Gallery and such other institutions would always remind the Indians of the foresight and wisdom of the great Azad and how much they owed to him.

"Law of the Sea" Conference

An international conference attended by representatives of eighty countries began in Geneva on February 24 to attempt to evolve a comprehensive international agreement on the law of the sea. The conference was being held on a diplomatic level and would last nine weeks. In this conference the delegates would try to work out one or more conventions covering matters of such paramount importance as the law of the high seas and of the territorial sea, including the controversial issue of the width of the territorial sea, fisheries and the conservation of the "living resources of the sea," and the continental shelf and the right to explore and exploit its natural resources. Included under these main headings were such subjects as the "right of innocent passage," penal jurisdiction in maritime collisions; the slave trade, pollution of the sea; piracy, including piratical acts by aircraft, if these were directed against ships on the high seas; also the nationality of ships and whether there should be a special United Nations registration, entitling a vessel under certain conditions to fly the U.N. flag and to receive U.N. protection.

In addition the conference would also discuss the question of the free access of land-locked countries to the sea.

The discussions on all the subjects except the one dealing with the access of land-locked countries to the sea which was recommended for discussion by the Legal Committee of the United Nations' General Assembly in 1956, would be based on seventy-three article draft prepared by the 15-member International Law Commission during the preceding eight years.

Both the International Law Commission and the resolution of the U.N. General Assembly said, the conference should be held "to examine the law of the sea, taking into account not only of the legal but also of the technical, biological, economic and political aspects of the problem and to embody the results of its work in one or more international conventions, or such other instruments as it may deem appropriate."

One of the most controversial matters before the conference would be the question of the limit of territorial waters of a country. Traditionally international law held up the three-

mile limit, but of recent many countries expressed their dissatisfaction with that rule. India was in favour of a twelve-mile limit; Indonesia also wanted 12-mile limit plus all waters, of whatever width, between the islands of the Indonesian archipelago. The British Government was one of the chief opponents of any change in the three-mile limit.

India's position was made clear by the leader of the Indian delegation to the conference, Shri A. K. Sen, Union Minister for Law. He said, India was interested in extent of territorial waters and rights of coastal States, navigation on and fishing in high seas extent of continental shelf and rights of the adjoining coastal States, and access to seas of the land-locked States. India agreed with the recommendations of the International Law Commission that a ship should be permitted to ply the flag of only one State and there should be a "genuine link" between the flag of the ship and the State.

About the determination of the limit of contiguous areas India's suggestion would be that the 12-mile limit must be subject to reasonable and customary rights with regard to certain ports. For example, in respect of the Calcutta Port, to ensure the safety of ships and clearance of channels, India was already exercising the right up to a limit of about 90 miles.

India agreed with the Commission that the continental shelf of a coastal State should be the limit where the depth of the sea was about 600 feet and that the coastal State would have the exclusive sovereign right to exploit the resources in this continental shelf subject to the right of other States to lay submarine cable. Where two States had a common continental shelf (India and Ceylon, for example) the Commission's recommendation was mutual agreement, failing which, arbitration.

UNESCO Discrimination

The Bombay Chronicle writes:

Not for the first time an Indian representative has protested against the inadequate representation of Asians on the staff of international organisations. This time it was Professor Humayun Kabir with respect to UNESCO.

Professor Kabir who was speaking at the third conference of the Indian National Com-

mission for co-operation with UNESCO said that he had been "advised that none of the Asiatic countries finds a place in any of the senior posts in the UNESCO's Programme Department." Very rightly he urged that if increasing mutual appreciation of eastern and western cultures was desirable, there should be adequate representation of the different cultural traditions in the UNESCO Secretariat.

India itself has not done too badly in certain departments of the UNESCO generally. Both at Avenue Kleber and in different countries like Cyrenaica, Ceylon and Philippines, Indians have served with distinction. The real trouble is with senior executive posts.

As with the U.N. departments, so with UNESCO, a mere periodical protest or appeal to Director-General seems insufficient. The Government must pursue the matter and see that suitable persons are seconded to the organisation.

Apart from this, it is well that India voices the grievance of all the countries of Asia and does not make a narrow national approach. The possibilities of a joint effort to secure the desired result should be fully exploited.

Automation and the Future

Automation is the talk of the day. How it would affect man and society? The following news report sent from Stockholm by *Nafen* on February 24, may represent one aspect. The report says:

Stockholm February 24.—What is believed to be the world's most complete automatic pulp processing mill, the Marma-Langror bleaching plant, is now in full-scale operation at Gavle, Sweden, after a test period of six months.

Automation has been applied to such an extent that the plant, which produces 70,000 tons of pulp annually, is virtually operated by one man.

The entire process, divided into 70 phases, is kept under constant supervision by automatic devices. Mixing of raw materials and the control of temperature are among the jobs done entirely by instruments.

Thirty-five miles of wires connect the processing towers with the control room.

"Abdullahs" in Goa

Recently twenty-three Goans residing in India issued a leaflet entitled *Manifesto* in

which they claimed *autonomy* for Goa, the Portuguese rule or sovereignty remaining unimpaired. This was a far cry from independence and integration with India.

Commenting upon this move the fortnightly *Goan Tribune* of Bombay writes:

"This is a clever move to support certain interests in Goa whose single aim is to secure some more powers for themselves, sheltered under the Portuguese umbrella. That's all there is to it.

"The men who are demanding more autonomy for Goa," the magazine continues, "are no nit-wits. They know perfectly well that under the present corporative system Dr. Salazar cannot grant such powers to Goa as would involve complete decentralisation. Salazar cannot give Goans what he denies his own countrymen in Portugal itself. Apart from the fact that any such large devolution of powers, even under Portuguese sovereignty, will have serious repercussions in Angola, Mozambique, and Cabo Verde. Salazar is not going to destroy the very basis of the structure of his quasi-Fascist regime, which he considers his political masterpiece, and the cohesion of the colonial empire which he considers the historic mission of his nation to preserve, for the sake of a handful of Goan aspirants for loaves and fishes of office."

Undoubtedly some of the signatories were mere self-seekers, the magazine writes:

"And yet, to our great astonishment, we find, apart from the chameleons who change their colour according to circumstances, several names of men who are known to be nationalists and some of whom have in the past suffered for the cause. They—men like Dr. Juliao Menezes, Prof. S. R. Salkar, Mr. Armando S. Pereira, Mr. Prabhakar Dalal, Mr. Arsenio Jaques, and Mr. L. M. Henry de Souza—should come out clear where they stand.

"What is even more astonishing is to find the name of such a shrewd public man—an ex-Mayor of Bombay to boot—in the list of signatories. Dr. Simon Fernandes is an Indian national and prominent member of the Indian National Congress. And yet he finds no difficulty in signing a document which demands something for Goa which is flatly against the whole policy and principles of the party! Dr. Simon may yet find that running with the hare and hunting with the hound doesn't pay."

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEM AND DEVALUATION

PROF. K. C. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

THE value of the unit of money depends on what it can purchase in terms of goods and services. The value of one rupee is said to have risen if the same rupee can command a larger quantity of goods and services and conversely, its value is said to have fallen if it commands a smaller quantity of goods and services. We value the rupee for what it can buy; foreigners also value the rupee for what it can buy. If Americans require Indian goods (tea, jute, mica, manganese, etc.) and the Indian rupee can buy these goods, then, the Americans will value the Indian rupee. The Indian rupee may be an inconvertible paper note, it is not the legal tender in America and as such it will not pass from hand to hand in that country but if its *purchasing power over goods* in India remains stable, traders of America will accept it.

At what rate will the rupee exchange for the dollar and when will that rate fluctuate? If A is equal to B, and B is equal to C, then A will be equal to C. On the same basis we can say that the rate of exchange fundamentally will be determined in the same way. If five rupees can purchase X quantity of goods and services in India and the same amount of goods and services in America can be bought by one dollar, then Rs. 5=X quantity of goods and services=dollar 1. Obviously, an American values the rupee for what it can buy. If he finds that one rupee can buy one-fifth of what a dollar can, in terms of actual goods, he will then consider one dollar as good as five rupees. Temporary disturbances in demand and supply may cause fluctuations but essentially the rate of exchange between the rupee and the dollar will tend to remain at this point.

The value or purchasing power of money in one country seldom remains stable. The value of the rupee in terms of actual goods and services was one thing before the war, it is a different thing today after the war. The price has risen some four times which means that the purchasing power of the rupee has fallen to one-fourth. Now, if the rise of price in America takes place in the same proportion, i.e., four times, then the relative position remains the same and hence the rate of exchange will remain at dollar 1=Rs. 5.

Let us suppose that the rise in prices in India and in America is not of the same proportion. Let us suppose that in India the price has risen by 400 per cent and the price in America has risen by 200 per cent. Relatively, the Indian price is, therefore, double and the value of the rupee is half. In terms of goods and services, therefore, the rupee in India can, now, buy one-fourth of what it did before and the dollar in America can buy half of what it did before. It, therefore, follows that the real worth of one dollar is now double compared with the real worth of the rupee. Against this new position of the rupee *vis-a-vis* the dollar, if the currency authority in India keeps the external value of the same as before, i.e., at Rs. 5=dollar 1, then the over-valued rupee will give rise to certain complications. An Indian will find that with his five rupees he can buy less in India, whereas if he can convert his five rupees into one dollar, he can buy more from America. An American, again, will find that with his one dollar he can buy more in America but if he converts his dollar into five rupees, he can buy less from the Indian market, because the value of the rupee has fallen in greater proportion.

In such a case, Indians will gain by buying more from America, because in terms of the rupee, American goods are cheap and Americans will gain by selling to India because in terms of the dollar Indian goods are costly. Everybody gains by selling in the market where the price is high and everybody gains by buying from the market where the price is low. The net result will be that the Indian imports from America will increase whereas Indian exports to America will decrease.

The rupee has an internal value; it purchases one-tenth of X quantity of goods and services in India. It has an external value; it can buy one-fifth of a dollar. But one-fifth of a dollar now can buy one-fifth (and not one-tenth) of X quantity of goods and services in America. The rupee's external value, i.e., when converted into dollar at the rate Rs. 5=1 dollar is higher and is not in harmony with its internal value. The rupee is said to be over-valued.

What is the wrong if the rupee remains over-valued? Or, why not change the rate fur-

ther and make it Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ =one dollar. In that case the price of American goods in India will be halved. We shall be able to get, at this new rate, American wheat, cotton, radios, fountains, plants, equipments, etc., at half the price. Will not India be gainer thereby?

In such a case, the difficulty, however, will be that the currency authority in India will not be able to maintain the new ratio. The ratio of Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ =one dollar, or to go to the extreme, the rate of one rupee=one dollar will be very attractive to us. We shall be able to purchase all American plants, equipments, food, medicine, etc., at one-fifth its present price. We shall purchase a Parker pen at Rs. 16, instead of Rs. 80, a radio at Rs. 100, instead of Rs. 500. But who will give American dollars at this new rate? If American goods become cheap and Indian goods costly, imports into India from America will increase and Indian exports to America will stop. But unless we sell to America and earn dollars how can we have dollars with which to buy from America? We have to earn them, and the only way to earn dollar is to sell our goods to America and receive from Americans their money. In the long run, an export pays for the import. Nobody can purchase from the foreign country unless one has earned foreign money by selling goods to the foreigners. The rate Re. 1=1 dollar will be very attractive to us but the supply of dollars in India being small, because Americans do not purchase from India, this rate Re. 1=1 dollar cannot be maintained.

In our example, things are, therefore, moving in this way. Americans do not value our rupee because a rupee can buy less. Its purchasing power has fallen, due to rise of prices in India. The official exchange rate of the rupee is kept artificially high and it is over-valued. Inside India a rupee buys less but when we exchange the rupee into the dollar, through the dollar we can buy more in America. We value the dollar more because its purchasing power in America has not fallen so much. Our total purchases from America, therefore, increase. When we sell to America, we get dollar in return. The supply of dollar to us comes from our sale to America and as this sale has decreased our stock of dollar is decreasing but as we buy more from America we have to pay in dollar and hence our stock of dollar is exhausted. We are

drawing heavily on our dollar stock which we are unable to replenish. This is known as the dollar crisis.

One remedy in such a case will be to prohibit American imports in India. If our stock of dollar is less, let us purchase only essential things from America. But who will decide and how to decide which commodities are essential? All these will give rise to the inconveniences of import control, quota, license, permit, etc. It gives wide discretionary powers to the government officials and leads invariably to corruption on a wide scale. This solution, again, is really no solution at all. If I require food and if I am unable to earn money to buy food and one advises me to keep fasts, then, that advice really is no solution of my food problem. Here also, we require foreign goods but we are unable to earn foreign money by selling our goods to the foreigners. The advice *not to buy or to buy less* does not solve my difficulty. Another solution will be to raise the internal value of our rupee. This can be done by lowering the price level. The price level can be made to fall by adopting a disinflationary policy. The banks will have to issue less credit and the Government will have to spend less. Not only wasteful expenditure by the Government has to be prevented but many of the so-called developmental works have to be stopped. Secondly, the price level can be made to fall by either reducing the salary and wage, or by increasing the efficiency of production. If the technique of production is improved and there are discoveries and inventions in the system of production the cost of production will fall, goods will become cheaper and our exports will be stimulated. This is the ideal solution but this is a question of time. The other remedy, lowering the salaries and wages, will be effective in reducing the cost of production no doubt, but such a policy will be vehemently opposed. In whatever way we go, the best solution will be to lower the price and cost within the country. This will stimulate our exports and earn more foreign currency. When the price level has fallen internally, it means that the internal value of the currency has risen and is in harmony with its external value.

There is another solution. If the present external value of the rupee (Rs. 5=1 dollar) is high and is not in harmony with its internal

value which has fallen, why not lower the external value at, say, Rs. 10=1 dollar. Our currency authority cannot easily increase the external value of the rupee. For one rupee it cannot give in return one dollar. At this rate wherefrom will it get dollars? It has no control over the supply of dollar. But it has fuller control over the supply of rupees. Therefore, against one dollar it can offer ten or more rupees.

This is devaluation and it means reducing the external value of money. Today the external value (in dollar) of the rupee is Rs. 4½ =1 dollar. If it is lowered and made, say, Rs. 9=1 dollar, let us see what will happen. The price of American goods will be high in India and import from America into India will decrease. For an article worth one dollar we used to pay Rs. 4½ formerly, but now for one dollar we shall have to pay Rs. 9. The American goods thus become costly. And in the American market the Indian goods are cheaper. For an Indian article worth Rs. 9,

an American formerly gave two dollars but now he will pay only one dollar. The net result will be that Indian exports to America will improve and American imports into India will decline and the difficulty of the balance of payments will disappear.

But an increase of our exports to America on balance, may not be a gain to India. Whether our total exports *in value* will increase depends on the elasticity of demand for our goods in America. Secondly, our main problem is not solved by such devaluation. We shall be able to import less from America because of the high price of American goods. Has it solved our difficulty? American goods will remain costly and we shall go without them. Keeping fasts is no solution of the food problem. Lastly, how frequently shall we devalue our rupee? Once in 1951 we devalued the rupee. If five years after, the price level in India rises again and the internal value of the rupee is not in harmony with its present external value shall we devalue the rupee again?

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PARLIAMENT AND THE PRESS

By S. C. SETH, M.A., B.Sc., C.S.S., Sahitya-Visharad

THE evolution of parliamentary democracy in all its manifold aspects has been the greatest single phenomenon in the realm of modern politics. It is a movement that today permeates the body politic of more than half the world and thereby registers the triumph of the principles of democracy. It is in fact an institutional effort towards reconciling the ever irreconcilable—the particular will of the individual and the Volante Generale—the General Will, of the society as a whole.

It is known at all hands that the problem of Parliamentary democracy has two very important aspects—the one is Socio-political and the other is the Politico-constitutional. The first concerns itself with the formation of the Public opinion whereas the second pertains to the field of legislation. We submit that the Press belongs to the realm of the former and the Parliament to that of the latter.

The Press is the standard vehicle for the dissemination of public opinion which is nothing but “one of the many manifestations of the social mind—one of the many ways by

which individuals think, will and feel together.”

The Parliament is the instrument that constitutionalizes the social judgement called public opinion after a conscious and rational discussion.

Thus both the Press and the Parliament serve the individual and the society, and consequently the cause of democracy. Obviously, in spite of their distinct field of action they are inseparably connected with one another. As a matter of fact it is the Press that is the main stay of a democratically-minded people. The work of legislation for a moment can be possible even without the Parliament but the work of Parliament will be incomplete without the Press. Taken together the two are not only indispensable for a live Democracy but they are equally indispensable to each other. In fact the two constitute the most important elements that go to make Parliamentary democracy an ideal success. If the Press on the one hand screens the prevailing thought in the country; if it suggests the way in which the political consciousness of the people of a particular Society should

go; if it provides an opportunity for the practical exercise of the fundamental right of liberty of thought and expression then on the other hand it is the Press alone that is the real medium which conveys back to the people the fruits of the Parliamentary Legislation. It once again screens back to the people the true form in which their aspirations, their urges, their needs—whether social, economic, cultural, religious or political—have been given a due enactment by the Sovereign instrument, *viz.*, the Parliament of a particular nation. Thus the Press acts both ways. It would not be wrong to say that the role of the Press is that of a screen between the people and the Parliament. It is a screen which gives a picture to the Parliament and once again reflects the same picture in its constitutional form to the people.

Clearly, therefore, the role of the Press is a very delicate, a very difficult and a very important role. It is delicate because it has to be true and accurate in its interpretation of the wishes of the people to the Parliament and the views of the Parliament to the people. It has to correctly give vent to the voice of the people and also to give equally true representation to the legislative echo.

It is indeed a delicate work, because it would not be wrong to imagine that the Press may fail to be true to both the people and the Parliament. The story of the two men in the railway carriage, one of whom was reading *The Times* and the other of whom was reading the *Manchester Guardian*, is quite suggestive in this respect. The conversation went as follows:

Manchester Guardian reader: '... I'm very sorry to see that this actor fellow, John Gielgud, has got into trouble.'

The Times reader: 'No, no, it is not the actor. The fellow is a clerk.'

Manchester Guardian reader: 'Not at all' It says quite plainly here that it is the one who is an actor and who was knighted recently.'

Daily Express reader (breaking in from corner): 'That's right. It is what it says here.'

Daily Telegraph reader: 'That's what the *Daily Telegraph* says too.'

The Times reader: 'Thank goodness you told me. I was just about to ask him to become the patron of our Boys' Club.'

The above might be a wonderful example

of four-penny journalism, yet the fact remains that time and again the Press has failed to come up to the standards that the "freedom of the Press" envisages.

It is this "freedom of the Press" that brings all the delicacy, because quite often it is misused. As C.E.M. Joad says:

"This is a freedom exposed to attack and hard to retain. It is exposed to attack precisely because it is, or can be, peculiarly offensive to governments. It is hard for a government which has the power of suppression not to use it against a press which continues in season and out of season to criticise and to oppose, twisting the utterances of ministers, printing extracts from their speeches without the contexts in which they occurred, including some facts and omitting or playing down others, so that the fact included assumes a false meaning, setting itself, in a word, to discredit the government by every device of innuendo, misinterpretation, falsification, omission, commission, or sheer fabrication in the armoury of skilful and unscrupulous journalism—it is hard, I say, for a government not to use its power to remove such a gadfly. And because the stings of the press can be so galling to the government, the first act of every non-democratic government is to curtail its liberty."

The above is not an academic possibility, but history amply bears it out that the Press has often faltered miserably. It has not only led to social disruption and disharmony but it has occasionally led to international schism.

Nevertheless, since a free Press is essential to free democracy the role of the Press becomes an extremely delicate and difficult role. It becomes difficult because the Press has to work under certain limitations. These are both internal and external. The internal limitations are caused by the dictates of the pressure groups and the vested interests who set the 'Press-line,' which has to be toed, irrespective of its consequences and the impact on the members of the society.

Externally, although the Press feeds the Parliament not unoften it becomes a slave to it. Parliamentary legislation does not spare the Press. History can be cited to prove that the voice of the Press has been gagged and stifled not once but a thousand times; not in one country

but in most of them; and not in one society but almost in each one of them. It is apparent that these natural and unnatural curbs make this important architect of the modern democracy a complete failure.

The role of the Press in its particular relationship to the Parliament being so delicate and so difficult, obviously, becomes extremely important. It is important because with all its inherent and adopted vices, in the world of today the Press remains one of the greatest civilizing forces. It performs a function which if it steps to do the great edifice of Parliamentary democracy will fall from its glorious heights. It is the Press alone that provides the background needed to make the work of the Parliament a real success and in tune with the demands of the time.

Carefully examined, the Press, in relation to the working of Parliamentary democracy, performs three main functions:

1. The first important function of the Press is a moral function. I call it moral because firstly, its functioning has an aspect of duty about it and secondly, because the Press helps every citizen to make up his mind about the rival policies and programmes which different parties put before him. It puts forth facts as also the standards of right and wrong not only in the field of politics but in the multiple aspects of the human activity. The Press by enabling the people to decide the way in which they may exercise their freedom of choice assists them in performing a moral function.

2. Secondly, the Press is a great educational force particularly in the realm of politics. A free Press forms the main channel of people's information. For millions the Press provides the only reading in the newspapers, which are for them, "the only window which opens upon the world, the sole means of escape from the prison whose walls are private interests, personal ties and domestic concerns."

It is the Press alone that today mirrors the totality of our society as also imparts sufficient knowledge to an average citizen to appreciate and understand the working of its own sovereign, viz., the Parliament. It is obvious that the educated and enlightened people can alone in their turn return parliamentarians worthy of the trust and responsibility given unto them.

It need not be stressed how much a few

young democracies today need the help of the Press for the above purpose.

3. However, the most important function of the Press lies in its role of a guardian—the role of a saviour of the liberty of the people. It is here that the Press keeps a check even on its master, viz., the Parliament. The Parliament if it so desires can go in a direction which may not be the direction in which the society wants it to go. The Press by its constant vigilance points it out to the people as also to the Parliament if the latter has deviated from its original trend. Thus the Press keeps both the people and the Parliament awake and informed and thereby it also strikes an equilibrium between the public opinion and the political legislation.

Assuming therefore, that, in an age which has made the individual its corner-stone and which is wedded to the concept of social welfare as its prime objective, the Press has to play an important role, it would not be wrong to say that it is up to the Parliament to see that the Press is given those conditions which may enable it to fulfil the above laid objectives. But here a very pertinent question can be asked, whether it is correct to assume that there exists a conflict between the Parliament and the Press?

This question is a misfit today. In the history of the evolution of Parliamentary democracy there did pass a time when there certainly existed a conflict between the Parliament and the Press. If we look back to the eighteenth century England, we come across a very funny situation which reflected a curious ambivalent attitude of the Parliament towards journalism. The freedom of the Press was counted to be one of the three great principles upon which the superiority of the British Constitution over all others depended—the other two being the right to petition Parliament and the right of public meeting. Not even in the period of a crisis such as the Napoleonic wars, was any attempt made to re-impose the censorship abolished in 1695. Yet such a free Press was denied an access to the proceedings of the Parliament. The publication of Parliamentary reports was treated as a grave issue of privilege. However, this attitude of Parliament received an indirect challenge from Edward Cave, the founder and editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, who made use of a reporter on his staff named Guthrie,

who possessed to a high degree that attribute of all good reporters, an excellent memory. By judicious bribery of the door-keepers Cave used to get Guthrie smuggled into the House of Commons. Once inside Guthrie's phenomenal memory enabled him to secure a substantially accurate record of the main subjects debated, the names of the members taking part, and the chief arguments advanced on either side. However, it did not eliminate the danger of prosecution for a breach of Parliamentary privilege. Cave used to avoid it by delaying the publication of Guthrie's material until the end of the Parliamentary session and by publishing only the initials of members.

All this evinced a great public interest in the Parliamentary affairs and simultaneously caused a great confusion in the political circles and immensely disturbed the Parliament. The result was that in 1738 the publication of the reports of the Parliamentary proceedings was expressly prohibited under the most serious penalties not only during Parliamentary sittings but at any time thereafter.

This was certainly a case of conflict between the Press and the Parliament, and the struggle continued. Cave was a man of great journalistic ingenuity. He was not prepared to relinquish so valuable a feature of his magazine. He paid higher bribes to the Parliamentary door-keepers and smuggled Guthrie into the House of Commons as before, and the reports were now presented in fictitious shape as a record of the proceedings in the senate of the Lilliputians and provided the various speakers either with Roman names to suit their characters or with fictitious ones in the form of anagrams of their real names.

It is interesting to note that the great Dr. Johnson also served as a sub-editor with Cave for a number of years specially to add polish to Guthrie's rough notes of the Parliamentary affairs. In Dr. Johnson's house one evening at dinner when discussions turned to oratory the guests kept on lauding a speech by Pitt. For a while Johnson remained silent until the tributes were ended and then he surprised his audience by remarking, "That speech I wrote in a garret in Exeter Street." What! Dr. Francis, Murphy and other guests received a little setback. When

they expressed their amazement and asked for an explanation Dr. Johnson replied:

"Sir, I wrote it in Exeter Street. I never had been in the gallery of the House of Commons but once. Cave had an interest with the door-keepers. He, and the persons employed under him, gained admittance, they brought away the discussion, the names of the Speakers, the side they took, and the order in which they rose together with notes of the arguments adduced in the course of the debate. The whole was afterwards communicated to me, and I composed the speeches in the form which they now have in the Parliamentary debates."

Only a few are aware, yet till today, such revised versions are the only records available of the Parliamentary proceedings of that time and form part of the Parliamentary history which Cobbett edited before Hansard.

"I am certain," comments Francis Williams, "many a member of Parliament of those days must have had occasions to be grateful to the then Press reporters for translating their stumbling sentences into passable English with a beginning, a middle and an end."

Be it as it may times have tremendously changed today. Now the Press need not bribe the door-keepers of the Parliament in any part of the world wherever free democracy prevails. The Press today is a welcome guest of either house.

The truth is that the present relations between the Press and the Parliament reminds one of the prophecy of Croker, one of the most talented of the now all-pervasive family of public relations officers made in the beginning of the nineteenth century, which has now come true in every democratically-minded country.

Croker declared:

"The times are gone by when statesmen might surely despise the journals, or only treat them as inferior engines which might be left to themselves or committed to the guidance of persons wholly unacquainted with the views of the Ministry.

"The day is not far distant when you will (not see or hear) but know that there is some one in the Cabinet entrusted with what will be thought one of the most im-

portant duties of the State, the regulation of public opinion."

The relationship between the Parliament and the Press is now to be determined by the extent of the 'regulation of public opinion' on the part of the State.

Whereas it should be seen that the Parliament through its Legislative measures creates those conditions which are a pre-requisite for the successful and true working of the Press, it is also essential that the Press does not misuse those facilities and concessions and avoids being dubbed as a propagator of sensational and scandalous falsehood.

Glancing at the position of the Press and its relationship with the Parliament in India and comparing it with other countries, we can certainly feel some sense of satisfaction on the most congenial and constructive lines on which the Press is doing its job.

The Parliament of free India does not think in the old imperialist terms which were once described by Sir Thomas Munro in his minute entitled "Danger of Free Press in India" in the following words;

"I cannot view the question of a free Press in this country without feeling that the tenor with which we hold our power, never has been and never can be for the liberties of the people . . . A free Press and the domination of strangers are things which are quite incompatible, and which cannot long exist together."

The Indian Parliament wedded to true principles of democracy and co-existence does not suffer from any such apprehensions. Today the Press is an honoured and progressive element of the Indian society which is endeavouring its very best to serve the larger interests of the people and the Parliament. The Indian Press certainly abhors the assumption that the "greatest lie is the greatest national service."

When all is said we have to admit that the limits of the control of the Press cannot and perhaps can never be specified. The Press as they say is the fourth estate but it is also true that it is a very dangerous estate. Its scope is unlimited. From sex to sputniks, it covers everything conceivable under the sun and as such in any politically organized society, however important the position of the Press may be

it has to live under certain limitations that the Parliament may envisage from time to time.

It has neither to corrupt public taste nor to blackmail the Parliament. Its objective is moreover to serve both the people and the Parliament.

The Press should now "no more think of itself as an instrument of opposition than as part of the mechanism of government." It need not play a judicial role but it should certainly attempt to give "a voice that even the largest administrative monster will hear above the grinding of its own machinery." Yet it cannot possibly be true to itself or to the creed of social service if it does not work free from doctrinal and commercial limitations. It has to emancipate itself from the wire-pulling of the vested interests. The Press must have its own soul. The Press has also to raise its moral stature before it can perform any moral function unto the people and the Parliament.

It need not for once follow the instructions incorporated in the journalistic code devised by one Mr. Christansen, the Editor of the *Daily Express*, who among all other things recommended that

"There is no subject, no abstract thing that cannot be translated into terms of people; our feature pages should be sprinkled with star dust or whatever it is that women wear that catches the light at first nights and whenever possible print a woman's age."

I do believe that the Press can well afford to ignore or to go hysteric about women's dress and age. But when it deals with the affairs of the supreme instrument of the State, it should try to remember the classic statement on journalism by C. P. Scott that "Comment is free but facts are sacred."

The freedom of the Press is the possession of the community, not of the proprietor. Yet this demand for the freedom of the Press will be meaningless if the Press does not act as a good screen—a screen that not only truly reflects the two worlds—the people and the Parliament, but also acts as an honest interpreter.*

* The paper was read at the Second All-India Seminar on Parliamentary Democracy held under the auspices of the Indian Bureau of Parliamentary Studies at the Central Hall, Parliament House, New Delhi; on December 7th, 1957.

INDIA'S MORAL COMMITMENT

By Dr. J. EDWARDS, M.A., L.T., A.M. (Columbia), Ph.D. (N.Y.U.)

INDEPENDENCE Day or Republic Day is a reminder of India's moral commitment. On such day we pledge once again our whole-hearted support to all the unfree, down-trodden and exploited nations of the world in their fight for freedom. Our support to Egypt in her hour of trial when she was a victim of Anglo-French-Israel aggression was in keeping with our belief that "where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place we cannot be neutral." The storm of protest all over India when the Indian Representative remained neutral in the voting on the resolution condemning the Russian intervention in Hungary and actually opposing the proposal that the Soviet troops should be asked to withdraw, was because that conduct appeared inconsistent with our diplomacy of Truth and Non-Violence.

Three hundred and seventy million people, one seventh of the human race, have committed themselves to a democratic way of life. The Indian National Congress bases its foreign policy on Panch Shila and aims at the establishment of a socialist pattern of society, both emanating from ethical democracy. A dozen or so minor political parties claim to base their programme on democracy. For instance, the Praja-Socialist Party desires the establishment of an equalitarian social order; the Revolutionary Socialist Party wants to achieve complete socialist transformation of the country; the Communist Party of India approves Panch Shila and wants social equality, political freedom and abolition of economic privileges; the Akhil Bharat Hindu Maha Sabha wishes to establish "a really democratic state in India"; the All-India Scheduled Caste Federation hopes for the scheduled castes to have a status equal to that of others in all walks of life; Bharatiya Jan Sangh insists on the freedom of the individual and the functioning of the rule of law; the Bolshevik Party of India aims at complete civil liberty; the Mazdoor Kisan Party desires the establishment of socialism; the Peasant Workers Party wishes women to have equal rights with men, etc. The significant thing is that no political party dares to dispense with democracy. The logical outcome of universal acceptance of democracy should be a

drawing closer together of all political parties in India in an ever-increasing degree and making India an effective spearhead of genuine democracy.

We who have stuck to Panch Shila with dogged tenacity in the past and do not mean to give it up 'either for money or out of fear' now or in the predictable future should find some satisfaction in the fact of ever-growing Panch Shila-mindedness of the world. In the beginning it was India and China. Then U.S.S.R. The Bandung Conference attracted more votaries. The Cairo Conference increased their number still further. On 19th Dec., 1957 the United Nations declaration embodied and affirmed the five principles of Co-existence. Only in 1956 India the largest democracy in the world and the United States the second largest agreed 'to share common dedication and devotion towards developing the kind of world in which individuals can be free, in which nations can be independent and in which peoples can live together in peace.' The recent visit of the British Prime Minister to India should lead to further extension of the area of application of Panch Shila. Not only satisfaction but unbounded encouragement and invincible faith in the universal acceptance of Panch Shila should make India press forward with humility and determination towards the goal which appears most likely to contribute to the moral enrichment of the human race.

Addressing the 63rd Indian National Congress, Dhebar noted the great jump from 'a hundred per cent imperialist framework to a hundred per cent democratic one.' This complete right-about-turn is the inevitable result of a long historic process. Today we reap the fruits thereof in terms of a comprehensive democratic Constitution suited to the needs of a Democratic Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth, in terms of a new direction to life 'with a definite goal and ideology' so necessary to meet the challenge of casteism, communalism, provincialism and narrow nationalism and all other isms that enslave man to the local and deprive him of the enjoyment of the life universal in regions of *Satyameva Jayate* (Truth Alone Conquers), the

metto of the Indian Republic. It is the compulsive power of the democratic urge that liquidated six hundred odd princely states, evolved a united Republic in which each citizen is expected to respect not only his own rights and views but the rights and views of everybody else including his opponents. The individual who was hitherto a victim of unthinking obedience to authority and external dictation is today placed at the centre of an equalitarian social order as of worth and dignity. He is recognised as being unique, possessed with an individuality, capable of making his own peculiar contribution to the good of society and for whose growth and development society is morally bound to create an atmosphere of genuine freedom, so that the genius of each may have fullest opportunity for growth and development.

India's moral commitment not only obligates her to keep clear of international entanglements through her policy of 'non-alignment' but make non-alignment positive and dynamic so that an all-out effort may be made to free all enslaved peoples and nations of the world anywhere. During the past ten years or so nineteen new nations, including Gold Coast becoming Ghana, have become politically free, thus enfranchising over 704 million people altogether. But much still remains to be done, for freedom is indivisible and 'the world cannot continue for long partly free and partly subject.' We also need to be clear in our mind in regard to methodology. Ours is 'Non-Alignment'. Hence India made "no secret plots or arrangements formal or informal with any country. The only kind of treaties India has made with other countries are treaties of friendship or cultural or trade treaties which have been published." Those who disagree with our methodology, for example, U.S.A., and believe in the importance of military alliances "to keep free nations strong and to maintain their independence" and in pursuance of this policy make collective defence treaties with as many as forty-two nations during the past ten years are welcome to their own point of view even though India is unable to agree with them.

India's 'secular and non-sectarian outlook, her faith in democratic values of life and her determination to work for her destiny through 'those values,' "approaching problems in an

atmosphere of good will, seeking peaceful objectives by peaceful means" has made it incumbent upon her to leave the solution of the Goa problem to the pressure of world opinion. The Portuguese need to revise their policy if they think that the Russo-American Treaty of Alliance provides moral justification for practice of colonialism. The tragedies in Egypt and Hungary show that countries much more powerful than they are, cannot revert to old colonial methods and impose their domination over weak countries. World opinion has shown that it can organise itself to resist such outrages.

The preservation of peace being the central aim of India's policy and India's faith that nations can solve their differences across the conference table, have made her desist from armed aggression against Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. In the present context India is obliged to inform Pakistan that 'the talk of demilitarisation and plebiscite is irrelevant in the context of continuing aggression.'

On the credit side, in addition to the above, India has had two nation-wide elections, the largest that the world has ever seen. She carried out successfully the First Five-Year Plan and framed an even more ambitious Second Five-Year Plan. In trying to march towards the ideal of socialist pattern not only has she awakened to the need of taking practical steps to eradicate untouchability but also to the need of establishing equality between the sexes through Hindu Succession Act which provides for "the right of succession to daughters as well on par with the sons." One only wishes that the Act could be extended in its application to non-Hindus also. The flexible and practical approach to the language problem, giving equal encouragement to fourteen of them at present may possibly lead to the recognition of English as the fifteenth after 1965, because English is international, our own inter-provincial and language of educated Indians, surely replaceable by Hindi or any other language which really replaces it in the fullness of time. Our efforts in the cause of world peace trying to persuade Russia and United States to "stop the present plunge towards more and more destructive weapons of war and turn the corner that will start our step firmly on the path towards lasting peace" have been fully in keeping with our cultural traditions coming down from

Buddha 2,500 years ago to our own day of Gandhi, the Prophet of Peace, and Nehru, the Angel of Peace. These efforts admirably fit in our adherence to moral and spiritual approach to life leading ultimately to the creation of a world order, a genuine Commonwealth of Nations.

On the debit side may be mentioned a few of our striking failures from which we ought to learn a lesson for future guidance. India's moral commitment requires consistent application of the elective principle to every aspect of life, not accepting that at the top where 'nomination' still operates. We have still to dispense with governors that don't govern. The salaries that we give to ourselves, particularly at the top rung of the ladder are still extremely disproportionate with reference to salaries at the lowest rung. Shall we wait for more Nambudripads to show us the way? Our mixed economy is still erring on the side of capital and calls for accelerated nationalisation. We have grievously erred in the matter of religious liberty by letting Madhya Pradesh proceed with Christian Missionary Activities Enquiry. The Committee managed to draw a red-herring of proceeding "in an open, public, impartial and judicial manner to find out the truth" following "the usual *modus operandi* of Law Courts" across the path of the Central Government and then contravened all the rules of democratic procedure though its chairman, Dr. Niyogi, was an ex-Chief Justice of the Nagpur High Court. The Committee did not care to cross-examine witnesses nor permitted the accused to cross-examine them. Protests against this procedure went unheeded. The final report published in 1956 is a masterpiece of bigotry and religious fanaticism. It evoked universal protest both by Christians and non-Christians all over India and its repercussions were felt even by the United Nations, the world's guardian of human freedoms.

The Indian Prime Minister naturally refused to act as the Grand Moghul in the earlier stages of the inquiry but suggested widening its scope to make it more representative of the various interests involved but the

Committee promptly refused to accede to his request. And how could it permit the widening of the scope of the committee? It would have jeopardised comfortable arriving at predetermined conclusions.

The criticisms of the report which appeared in the *Leader* of October 14, 1956 by Justice James of Allahabad High Court are worthy of note:—1. The Committee violated the fundamental principle of judicial process by accepting testimony of witnesses without adequate cross examination. 2. The Committee preferred the 'interested evidence of obviously interested individuals. 3. Odd actions of individuals were interpreted as characteristic of an entire class. 4. The report is not a judicial document. 5. The methods used are reminiscent of the Inquisition.

The report in two volumes produced by the Committee can only be consigned to wastepaper basket. "Under freedom of speech which the Constitution guarantee it will be open to any religious community to persuade other people to join their faith," points out K. M. Munshi. Dr. Niyogi after recording his recommendation against conversion became converted to Buddhism, becoming a living refutation of his own recommendation.

The Madhya Pradesh Government do not seem to realise that India is a Secular State of which they are a part. The kind of inquiry they started and the manner in which they allowed the Committee to proceed and finally to make the recommendation subversive of religious liberty guaranteed by the Constitution hardly reflects credit on them. Finally, it is baffling indeed to note that after "the Rajahs and their kingdoms were gone, their liberal enactments against Christian missionaries were kept alive by the Congress Government of C.P. and Berar" (the present Madhya Pradesh). In such a climate one can only expect repetition of religious hooliganism, desecration of Churches, burning of "Gass Memorials" and blackening of the fair name of the Secular State. Wake up Madhya Pradesh! Your destiny is rising to the moral stature of the Secular State of which you are a part.

THE LEFTWING IN THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

By DR. L. P. SINHA, M.A. (Phil.), M.A. (Pol.), Ph.D. (London)

THE undaunted, heroic and self-sacrificing participation of the Left-wing elements in the mighty struggle for Indian freedom has only rarely been seen in its true perspective; not unoften attempts having been made to belittle their role in that movement. It is indeed one of the tragic paradoxes of the modern Indian history that the forces of the left, who suffered so much and offered so much to the cause of the national emancipation, should find so little a place in the niche of the Nationalist Movement. It is surprising also in view of the fact that throughout the turbulent years of the national struggle the predominant urges of the Left were concentrated on the speedy realization of national Independence.

Be that as it may, the Leftwing, first in its communist variant, arose immediately after the World War I against the background of the Nationalist Movement. The situation in post-war India was marked by a number of new and important features which combined together to produce an atmosphere favourable to the development of the Left. These were: the impact of the Russian Revolution bringing forth a new vision of freedom, peace and prosperity before the Colonial peoples of the world, thus shattering the ideological monopoly so far exercised by the West over Asian's mind; the growing industrial unrest leading to an epidemic of strike in 1919-20. It was this period of militancy which gave rise to the first trade unions leading ultimately to the formation of A.I.T.U.C. in 1920. In the political field the nationalist movement, under Gandhian leadership, took a challenging attitude and assumed a mass character.

At this stage a few educated Indians, inspired by the ideals of the Russian Revolution, started groping towards Marxism, their motive at the outset being a desire to promote more effectively the national struggle. They had all participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement and were enthusiastic supporters of Gandhi's technique of struggle. But as the movement was drawing to a close without having brought the desired result despite Gandhi's slogan of 'Swaraj within one year,' a sort of scepticism came over the youth regarding the method of struggle. Dange's book *Gandhi-vs.-*

Lenin was written in 1921 in this vein, the path formulated being a compromise between Gandhi and Lenin.

The Hijrat Movement provided, along with other Indian exiles in Europe and Asia, a group of educated Indians who were indoctrinated in communist strategy and tactics in the U.S.S.R., and were later sent back to India. The first communist groups were established in 1921, their programmatic basis being provided by the Colonial Thesis of the Second Congress of the Communist International held at Moscow in 1920. The thesis called for support to the revolutionary National Movement, as against such movements that were not revolutionary, though simultaneously the organisation of peasants and workers, and formation of Communist Party were also advocated.

The emergence of this group moving towards Marxism was an expression of a certain dissatisfaction with current political ideologies and methods and was indicative of a search for a more revolutionary outlook. It came in with the slogan of complete independence at Ahmedabad Congress (1921). It appealed to the National Congress to adopt a more revolutionary programme by making immediate demands of Trade Unions and the programme of the Kisan Sabhas its own demands. From 1921 onwards it started bringing labour problems before the National Congress though the Congress never encouraged the idea.

The suspension of the non-co-operation movement in 1922 provided specific direction for criticism and discussion. Like other leftwingers that took concrete shape later on, the communists were against its withdrawal. They wanted the Non-Co-operation movement to be carried to its logical conclusion; to them non-co-operation meant suspension of the operation of all productive forces, carrying with it the implications of a mass movement supporting the no-tax campaign and leading upto a general strike all over the country.

Material for criticism of a more severe nature was provided by the Bardoli resolutions of the Congress which were seen more to satisfy the vested interests. This does not mean that they regarded the Congress as reactionary,

rather they were still loyal to the movement and believed that it should be supported. To them criticism of the Congress did not mean antipathy to it. They started work in both the trade-union field and the political field; the purpose of both being to make the national movement more effective and revolutionary. This policy continued upto 1928.

After the Sixth Congress of the Communist International (1928), the communists adopted a new tactical line, keeping aloof from the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-32) and leaving the Indian National Congress, calling it a bourgeois organisation. The other factors contributing to this estrangement of relationship with the Congress were the indifferent attitude of the National Congress towards the great strike-wave (1928-29), and the withdrawal by the Congress in 1930 from the National Defence Committee formed to conduct defence of Meerut Conspiracy case prisoners. However, the adoption of this line led to their isolation from the Nationalist movement.

Meanwhile a third force moving in a Socialist direction began to take shape as a Left-wing inside the Indian National Congress largely under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru. It was very much an amorphous group rather than a well-organized and coherent leftwing and it consisted of Nationalists whose primary allegiance was to the Indian National Congress. They felt that the goal of national freedom as defined by the Congress was vague and unrealizable, unless the Congress was brought in touch with the masses (peasants and workers). They came gradually to believe that mere political concept of freedom devoid of social and economic concepts was not enough.

Their starting point was dissatisfaction and disappointment with the programme of the Indian National Congress and in point of time they started coming to surface after the withdrawal of the Non-cooperation Movement in 1922. Their point of departure was that the Movement should not have been withdrawn simply because an infuriated band of peasants in a far-off village had committed an act of violence. Most of them were believers in non-violence. There might have been an undercurrent of sympathy with the methods of armed struggle, but it was explicitly ruled out because it was an impossible path to pursue under the circum-

stances existing in India. But while most of them believed in non-violence as an ethical virtue they were not prepared to keep their political behaviour on the same unqualified 'ethical' plane as Gandhi; to them, in politics, non-violence was rather to be a policy than a creed as with Gandhi.

They opposed Gandhi's withdrawal of the Non-co-operation movement because they regarded it as predominantly peaceful and non-violent. Thus in his *Autobiography* Nehru wrote:

"Were a remote village and a mob of excited peasants in an out of the way place going to put an end, for sometime at least, to our national struggle for freedom. If this was the inevitable consequence of a sporadic act of violence, then surely there was something lacking in the philosophy and technique of a non-violent struggle. For it seemed to us to be impossible to guarantee against the occurrence of some such untoward incident. Must we train the three hundred and odd millions of India in theory and practice of non-violent action before we could go forward? If that was the sole condition of its function then the non-violent method of resistance would always fail."

Their other point of departure was a difference over the concept of *Swaraj*, which they criticized as something that in practice imparted weakness to the movement. The Leftwing believed that the Congress should set itself the aim of complete independence, with no equivocation on this fundamental matter of policy. They commenced an agitation to bring this about. In the economic field the Congress suffered from a lack of definite policy. They wanted the Congress to define its goal economically and declare itself to stand up to the economic grievances of the masses; for the support of the masses was necessary for the strengthening of the nationalist movement.

It is from 1927 onwards that this leftwing started taking organized stand on all these issues. At Madras Congress they successfully moved a resolution for complete independence. In 1928 this group of Nehru, Bose, Iyenger, Nariman, etc., founded 'Independence League' whose object was, (a) achievement of complete independence for India, and (b) reconstruction of Indian society on the basis of social and economic equality.

Under the influence of the League the U.P.

Provincial Congress in April 1929 passed a resolution in favour of making revolutionary changes in the present social and economic structure of society. The A.I.C.C. adopted this resolution in 1929.

Nehru's nomination for Presidentship of the Lahore Congress in 1929 was a reflection of the growing importance of this Left group inside the Congress. It was here that Congress came in for *Purna Swaraj* (complete independence).

The same process of radicalisation led to the emergence of various other organisations of the younger section of Indians, such as All-India Youth League, Swadhin Bharat Sangh, the Socialist Youth League, All-India Volunteer Corps. The Left leaders of the Congress were prominent in these, and they came into prominence in connection with demonstrations organized for boycott of the Simon Commission (1929). During the Civil Disobedience movement it is this group which was in the vanguard and which bore the main brunt of imperialist repression.

The activities of the Congress Left were markedly seen at the Karachi Congress held in 1931. This Congress was being held immediately after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact to which the Left was opposed. The feeling of the left also ran high because of the execution of Bhagat Singh and Guru Dutt. As a concession to the left this Congress passed the now famous resolution on 'Fundamental Rights and Economic changes' by which, for the first time in its history, the Congress tried to define the economic and social concepts of *Swaraj*.

This third force found organisational expression in the founding of the Congress Socialist Party in 1934 as a Leftwing of the Indian National Congress. It professed faith in Marxism, class struggle and revolution but valued national freedom above all and regarded the Indian National Congress as the only organization capable of leading to that goal.

But like other leftists the Congress socialists saw fundamental weaknesses in the Congress as an organisation which rendered it ineffective as an instrument of the national movement. Congress was not a mass organisation in the proper sense of the term. Ideologically speaking the Congress really had no socio-economic programme for the uplift of the masses of peasants and workers, except vague

utterances. Hence the latter could not be enthused into the nationalist movement. Therefore as nationalists the Congress Socialists felt the need of a more dynamic orientation in the outlook and programme of the Congress and to bring it into organic relationship with the organisation of peasants and workers.

During the mid-thirties there came on to the political scene in India, as in a number of countries, a new political alliance, the United Front. This United Front was mainly directed towards the creation of a broad Anti-Imperialist United Front. The situation in India, heightened by the failure of the successive Congress movements, was peculiarly favourable for this move. A feeling was growing among the left elements that the unity of all genuinely anti-imperialist forces was a condition for the success of the nationalist movement. It was this over-riding interest of the nationalist movement, more than anything else, which produced the unity-atmosphere so characteristic of this period. The main issues on which the United Front was sought to be forged were: To establish a United Anti-Imperialist Front; to start work on the basis of the National Congress for that purpose; to make National Congress a truly mass organisation; to advocate for this purpose association of mass organisations of peasants and workers through collective affiliation; to compel the Congress to adopt a minimum programme for that purpose; to check the drift of the National Congress to constitutionalism, and to oppose the New Constitution embodied in the Government of India Act (1935). The participants were: the C.S.P., the Communists, Roy Group, A.I.K.S., A.I.T.U.C., and to a lesser degree a few left Congressmen like Nehru and Bose.

The real concerted action of all these left elements became clearly discernible from the time of the Lucknow Congress (April, 1936). The Congress was presided over by Nehru who was in agreement with their aims. The Lucknow Congress brought the opposite wings in the National Congress in clearer definitions.

One of the issues that came before this Congress was the policy to be adopted regarding the New Constitution. Both the Right and the Left were opposed to the Constitution but differences arose when it came to deciding how it should be

opposed in practice and as to whether participation in the legislatures and acceptance of offices were suitable methods of opposition to it. The Leftwing was not opposed to parliamentarism as such provided it was backed by extra-parliamentary force and involved no acceptance of offices. Nehru, Bose and Leftwing held that any acceptance of office was a compromise with imperialism. They came out with the slogan of Constituent Assembly. In the end a compromise resolution, moved by Gandhi, was accepted, though not without protest from the left, which authorised policy of fighting elections but postponed decision on office-acceptance till the next Congress.

Another issue that the left raised at the Congress was the desirability of the Congress establishing close contacts with the masses and mass organizations. The left was putting emphasis on mass struggle. For the first time All India Kisan Sabha was formed. The left was also insisting on the collective affiliation of the organizations of peasants and workers to the Congress. Nehru himself proposed such an affiliation but the resolution was defeated in the subjects committee and a mass contact committee was formed instead for further consideration of the problem. Under the pressure of the left the Congress also re-iterated the fundamental rights resolution.

The Congress having decided to contest the forthcoming elections to the new legislatures, the next duty of the left was to see that it adopted a really radical Election Manifesto as according to it election was one of the means of increasing contact with the masses. A battle royal raged over the preparation of the Manifesto, and though the Manifesto which was issued in August, 1936 was not satisfactory to the leftwing, it nevertheless welcomed it as a sufficiently positive document and pledged to fight elections in full support of it.

It was in the midst of preparation for elections that the Faizpur session of the Congress met in December 1936. The Congress was again being presided over by Nehru. During his first year of Presidentship, the leftwing had considerably strengthened its position so that by the Faizpur Congress it not only had its four members on the Working Committee but it also constituted roughly one-third of the A.I.C.C.

The question of collective affiliation was practically shelved at Faizpur.

When the postponed question of office-acceptance came before the Congress, the leftwing again opposed the idea. Its amendment was to prepare for mass struggle in order to make possible the realization of the Constituent Assembly.

However the Congress fought the election as a united body. The broad democratic programme embodied in the Manifesto played a big part in mobilizing the over-whelming mass support that won the elections. In spite of the opposition of the left, the A.I.C.C., in March 1937 authorized office-acceptance. The three socialist members of the Working Committee resigned in protest and the left organized a Protest Day on 1st April, 1937, the day on which the Constitution was to be inaugurated.

The assumption of office by the Congress set a wave of joy and enthusiasm throughout the country. The Congress Ministries, in their earlier period, had some praiseworthy achievements to their credit to justify this unbounded enthusiasm of the people. But these measures fell far short of what the people expected or what even the Election Manifesto had promised. Hardly a year had passed when the workings of several ministries came in for severe criticism by the left nationalists, socialists and labour and peasant leaders. They criticised them for restricting civil liberties and adopting repressive measures. The effect of disillusionment became clearly discernible inside both the peasant and labour movements. The peasantry was not satisfied with the inadequate measures that had been taken. There were a number of protest meetings, conferences and demonstrations organised by Kisan Sabhas to bring pressure on Governments. A similar wave of unrest was to be seen among the industrial workers.

The period from Haripura Congress (1938) to Tripuri Congress (1939), both presided over by leftist Bose was marked by this atmosphere of mutual mistrust and suspicion. On the burning issues of policy to be pursued in agrarian and industrial fields, the attitude to be adopted towards Federation, the attitude to States Peoples struggle, and the general policy towards imperialism, the left criticized the right for reformist and compromising outlook. The left generally was in favour of preparing a mass struggle. Its

feeling was that the Congress was settling down to working the constitution.

The Tripuri Congress which saw the high water-mark of the leftwing inside the Congress, also marked its decline and disunity. For four years the left groups worked in a united manner on many issues and the election of Bose to Tripuri Congress was a measure of its strength. But it had not been under a fully united leadership and when it came to deciding issues at critical and crucial moments, it could not come to an agreement.

With the declaration of World War II, the leftwing, with the exception of the Royists, came out with the slogan of launching a mass struggle for capture of power, but in the beginning the Congress gave little support to the idea. With the German declaration of war on the Soviet Union the Communists came forward with the slogan of People's war and when the August, 1942 movement came, the spearheads of struggle were the Congress socialists and the Forward Blocists. Their leadership of the movement earned for them undying fame.

In their treatment of the various negotiations for the transfer of power that took place in 1947, all the left groups except the Radical Democratic Party of Roy took their stand on the fundamental assumption of all left politics so far, that it was impossible to gain complete independence through any process of negotiation and compromise with imperialism.

This study leads readily to the following conclusions. The different leftwing movements in India first arose against the background of the nationalist movement, their aim being to evolve ways and means of making that movement more effective. They pointed out flaws in the approach of the National Congress and declared that so long as the Congress stuck to it, the National Movement could never be successful. They urged the adoption by the national movement of a comprehensive programme of democratic freedom embracing the immediate basic demands of the masses, and capable of rallying them under the banner of the national movement. They did not draw a Chinese wall between national revolution and social revolution. National freedom to them meant social, economic and political emancipation of the Indian people.

They were convinced that only the adoption of the revolutionary method of national struggle they advocated could end in transfer of real power to the people.

The National Congress maintained that it stood for the unity of the entire nation in the cause of freedom and independence. The leftwing movements, however, emphasized the social and economic problems of the Indian peasantry and workers, and sought to bring them to the front of the national movement. Here, therefore, lie two different conceptions concerning the character of the national movement.

The particular contribution made by the leftwing in the approach to the national problem was the inseparability of the struggle for the national freedom from the struggle for the interests of the working people. It was their main purpose to emphasize this, and to shape the policy and tactics of the nationalist movement in accordance with this. While, of course, there were a great many differences of outlook, which separated the one leftwing party or group from the other, it is the application of their socialist beliefs to the national problem that gives to them a distinctive part in the evolution of Indian politics. *Ipso facto* the same characteristic breeds a common difference with the standpoint of the Indian National Congress, which opposed the entry of these questions into the national movement.

Their emphasis upon the social and economic pattern that would succeed the achievement of independence gave rise to an acute anxiety that power should not be transferred in a manner that would strengthen the position of Indian vested interests. They all opposed the agreement that was reached in 1947 between the British Government and the Indian leaders, and they did so because they believed that a settlement of the kind that was being arranged would serve to strengthen and promote the development of capitalism in India.

A contribution of all the left groups was their emphasis on secular and scientific outlook. In a country like India where religion and traditional moral values bordering on dogmatism and fanatic superstition play so predominant a part, this was an uphill task. The leftwing elements in India generally moved very cautiously in this matter because not only had they to keep

in view the susceptibilities of the national cause they were trying to secure, but also they had to guard against the criticism of the Right which always was eager to rouse the passion of the people on these issues.

Closely connected with this attitude and following from their socialist world outlook was their attitude towards the communal problem that besmirched the face of India, and was ultimately to result in the partition of the country. They regarded the communal problem not as a problem intrinsic to India, but as an artificial growth with definite historic roots; the communal problem having been connected with the speci-

fic features of development in the modern Indian history under the aegis of imperialism.

True, the leftwing movement, neither singly nor collectively, exerted a decisive influence on the nationalist movement. An outstanding reason for this was the very diversity of outlook between the left group themselves. The very number alone of left groups is evidence of a general weakness that afflicted the leftwing movement. But that does not detract from the fact of their selfless service and sacrifice in the cause of national freedom. That could only be done by distorting facts and twisting history.

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MEDIAEVAL METHODS IN A SCIENTIFIC AGE

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

INDIA uses much less cloth per capita than the average consumer in the world. There is much to do in connection with the manufacture of cotton fabrics to meet the entire requirements of an already huge population and that also growing at a tremendous rate.

Yarn is essential for the manufacture of woven cloth. In all the countries except India it is obtained from the spinning machines and this is in turn woven in factories or mills. This is the trend in modern production technique and it has eliminated all other methods as they have been found to be slow and comparatively expensive. The world has reached the atomic age and speed is now the creed of life.

This is a background which cannot be overlooked. But the more cautious economists find in this explosive situation possibilities of a great danger where speed, a by-word for mechanisation, is allowed to overshadow every form of human labour especially where there is plenty of men (and women) with no work to keep them engaged even with a mere pittance.

India is faced with both the problems,—shortage of woven cloth (and other consumer goods) and plenty of idle labour. She has passed the stage when spinning, sometimes exceedingly fine, was done with the help of fingers followed by an "instrument" in the shape of *takli*. *Takli* held its place for long when in due course it was replaced, and rightly too, by a

highly efficient—considering the age when it made its appearance—machine, the *Charka* or the spinning wheel. On the other side, weaving was done by the crude method of interlacing warp and woof which operation was later on transferred to looms, another marvel of invention demanding more ingenuity than the *charka*.

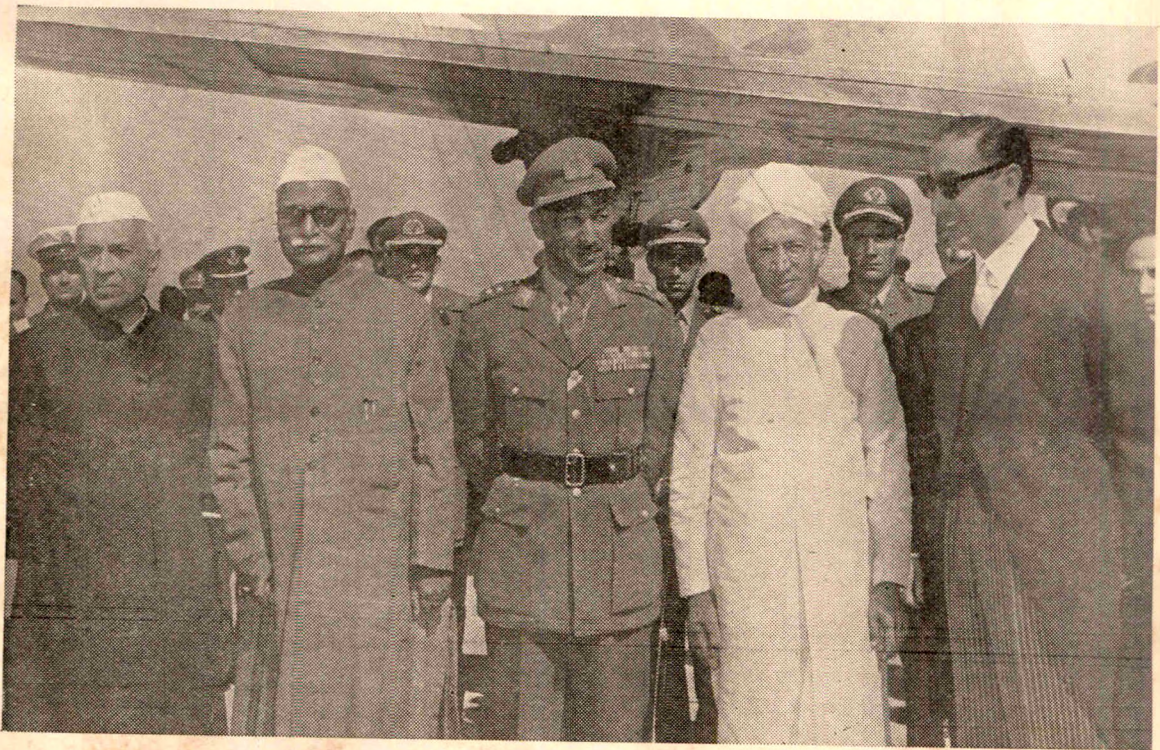
In India, there is a mixture of the mediaeval days and the scientific era. She has both the *charka* and the handloom against highly mechanised spinning and the weaving mills.

It would have been an ideal combination, a model to be copied by every country or State with a vast unemployed population, if *charka* could meet all the requirements of the handloom industry. It is a tragedy that handloom has permanently to depend upon a great rival of *charka* for the supply of yarn. Handspun rather *charka* yarn forms only a fractional part of the total yarn used in the handlooms. The weaving mills which produce more than three-fourths of the total production of woven goods have nothing to do with the 'handspun' yarn.

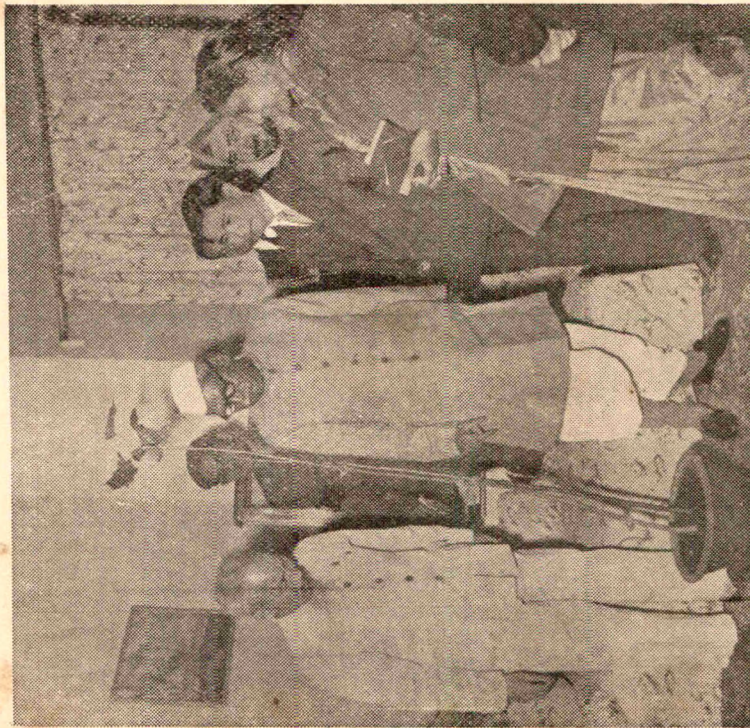
Besides the inherent strength that the handloom might possess, thoughtful men have intervened to save the age-old industry and the workers dependent on it from a threatened existence. Efforts are being made to inject vitality to a weak constitution and it has been able to produce some effect however feeble. But the



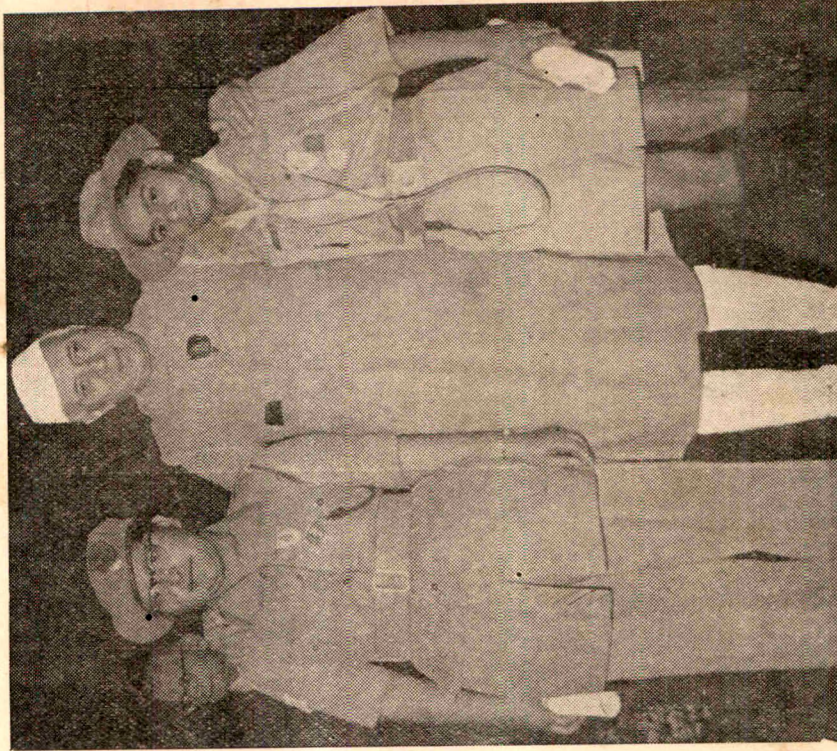
Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in conversat'on with the tribal leaders from Tripura



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, President Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Vice-President Dr. S. Radha-
krishnan receive the King of Afghanistan at the Palam Airport in Delhi



A branch of the famous Bodhi tree was presented to the President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Dr. Ho Chi-Minh, by President Dr. Rajendra Prasad at Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi



Avinash Kaur and Harish Chandra, two school students of Delhi, with the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, after the presentation ceremony of Republic Day Awards in New Delhi

spinning wheel has fared the worse. *Takli* is completely out of the picture. *Charka* is carrying on a losing game. But for Mahatmaji's support during the Non-co-operation Movement and thereafter during his life time, *charka* would have been a specimen of some by-gone days. Still, it could not gather sufficient strength to take care of itself without extraneous help, pecuniary and otherwise, i.e., a good deal of public sentiment for the support of small industries and their half-starved workers. It is also a case with a large number of users of *khaddar* whose main aim is to secure preferment from official circles for his coarse fabric of handspun yarn.

Leaving aside for our present discussion the problem of heavy and heavier taxation making cloth a luxury in a poor and even in a middle class family, it is quite certain that mills could maintain an abundant supply at a cheaper rate if there had been no restrictions on its production and a heavy excise duty to subsidise handloom products. The patent fact is ignored that it is an unwise step to go on pampering industries which would never be able, unless spoon-fed, to take care of themselves. On the other hand it causes imposition of heavy taxes on the essential goods required by the poorer classes forcing them to deny many of the articles without which life is not worth living.

It is a fact that mills will be able to oust the spinning wheels completely and the handlooms largely, throwing out a considerable number of men out of employment. The same question, with a good deal of difference in degree, crops up in relation to all industrial products which are manufactured both in the cottage and the factory. As handloom is the biggest cottage industry and engage the largest number of rural workers in a single group of industry, the light obtained from the analysis of its economy in relation to the common man, may illumine the path of other problems of similar nature groping for solution.

The policy of the Government and the Planning Commission seems to be overweighed by the thought of more unemployment when the efforts of both have miserably failed to touch even the fringe of the cursed problem. It seems to be quite wrong to stick to age-old methods of production which is quite incapable of keeping pace with the march of time. The poor tax-

payers' money is wasted to satisfy the fad of a few influential persons who every now and then use (or abuse) the name of the "Father of the Nation" whose ideals of truth, simplicity, sense of sanctity for public money, frugality, etc., have been drowned in the seven seas. His name has become an instrument of convenience. It may be pertinently asked as to how many of the advocates of *charka* do ply it themselves except on ceremonial occasions (even then, not all) to be photographed and flashed in the next morning's papers and Government periodicals and publications. It is now a big joke to proclaim adherence to old methods in some of the most essential goods required by the masses.

This obstinacy is doing immense harm not only to the economy of the country but spoiling the chances of more income to the workers in the traditional lines of production. The Report on Small Industries in India by the Ford Foundation Team states, "Without rationalisation, the natural talents of Indian workers and craftsmen are being wasted in a hopeless race against modern technology." The Recommendations of "the Team" are for out and out modernisation which might frighten a large section of those who hold the destiny of the millions of people in the palm of their hands.

It is a bad policy to waste money on inefficiency for any reason whatever it might be, and the incalculable hardship it entails upon all concerned should be viewed in its proper perspective. It is absolutely useless to think that the *Ambar* or any other modification of the present day *charka* can meet the demands of the huge and growing population. It may be that one has to wait till Doomsday for a *charka* that would be able to compete with the spinning mills which have been developed with the ingenuity and efforts of technicians of different lands. Indian technicians have so far failed to produce any *charka* of acceptable design even against a prize of Rs. 1,00,000 offered first by Mahatmaji and then by the Government of India. Other advanced nations won't think of wasting their time over an impossibility. Indian and other technicians would better engage themselves without any further delay in effecting alterations to spinning mills to suit requirements of the rural areas. This is the only acceptable and effective way that lies before the country.

Similar is the case with handlooms. It is really hopeful that permission for starting power-looms is being liberalised but the rate is rather slow for the exigencies of the situation. At the same time some form of power-driven automatic unit may be invented or imported, if needs be, to gradually supplant the handlooms and the power-looms. In the last exhibition organised by Czechoslovakia in Calcutta, the working of a small automatic loom was demonstrated which proved its efficiency to the technologist and the layman alike.

Machines whether it be of the Japanese type or of any other sort, which can fill up the void between the age-old ones on the one hand and the most modernised type of machines on the other, will for some time to come be able to keep the economy of production and employment in the balance. This is not impossible as is evidenced by such machines, to mention only a few, as the chaff-cutter, the blower (in smithy), flour (wheat) milling, the Persian wheel (in water raising), mixers (in road making), printing and binding, sewing, typewriting, peeling (veneer) and saw-milling machines indicate. It is quite necessary that small units for the manufacture of match, dairy produce, metalwares, woodwork, paper and pulp board, etc., ten times more productive than the crude tools of the present moment, should be manufactured and put into use within a very short time. The aid of foreign experts in the line will be of immense value to the country. A nation which wants to protect the old *ghani* and the hand-pounding (of paddy), spinning, etc., by embargo on production of factories for all times to come without substituting them with the modern types of machines, is certainly faced with stagnation of thoughts and ideas, a sure sign of decay.

India has already progressed a good deal after huge expenditure in the way of generating electricity at various dam centres and wants to supply cheap power to distant rural areas. If industrial consumption is lacking, it will be a poor return if it remains limited to domestic lighting (and perhaps, heating) only. India's technologists will be failing in their duty if they, while there is still time, cannot produce small machines to be driven by electrical energy. One is not certain if any attempt is being made in this direction. The great Planners, the architects of India's destiny, are too busy protect-

ing a by-gone and tottering economy and manifesting superb unconcern about what is most likely to take place in the near future. Small things on which the fate of small and poor people depends have been overlooked by big people who have got big plans for which very big things that reverberates throughout the world have been generated. They are very big in the realm of begging and let us not hope that their failures would be so big as signs all a signifying.

A courageous step, more than at any other time, else, for the adoption of more efficient methods of production wherever possible, is needed. As the population is growing very fast, the preservation of cottage industries bereft of possibilities of expansion have not been able to play its traditional role. Agriculture has almost reached the saturation point in respect of employing more labour. Further expansion of the fields for growing crops is bound to be slow because there is not much land left for the purpose. Moreover, the present number of persons depending on agriculture will be found more than sufficient for manning such plots and mechanisation is bound to come in steadily inroads on the methods of agricultural production and causing partial unemployment to many.

New employments are made only in small development projects and for big manufacturing concerns. Unfortunately, due to the complexities in the application of the new laws, small business concerns have suffered and depression and more and more people are out of their established means of livelihood. The number of the unemployed is swelling rapidly and at least they cannot be offset by the number of persons securing new jobs in governmental undertakings or institutions. Some developmental schemes are nearing completion and there is already a problem regarding the employees of the Damodar Valley Corporation and such other schemes. No rapid expansion of new undertakings of like nature can take place due to exchange difficulties. The number of big industrial units to come into being in the public and private sectors will, because of the peculiar nature of the prevailing circumstances, be very limited.

Hope lies in the establishment of new industries. But there must be a change in the traditional type of articles as well as

methods of their production. This principle does not apply to goods which are required in small numbers or goods which are so artistic that machine is no match for the deft human fingers. An examination of a few of the old type of industrial products makes the position clear. The earthenware, from the common clay, is rapidly being replaced by aluminium, enamel, glass, porcelain, papier mache, celluloid and plastic goods. Let them hold on to those that have some economic value but at the same time efforts should be made to find gainful occupations for those who are finding it difficult to eke out their existence by pursuing the antiquated mode of production of outmoded articles. They should be trained to switch over to new industries. New ideas are more necessary than anything else at the present moment. The case is not quite different with brass and bell-metal, village iron and steel goods, toys and buttons, sola products, and so on and so forth. It is essential that the new

articles which are replacing the old should be carefully noted and the new line of manufacture with new type of raw materials that they involve should be adopted without any further loss of time.

In going for the new industries or in introducing some new techniques with improved machinery in the present pattern of production, an amount of unemployment may take place at the initial stage. It will certainly be compensated by the opening of bigger avenues of employment and bigger income not only to the industries but will result in an all-round economic improvement to all concerned including the producers of raw materials, stockists, dealers, etc., of finished goods. Sooner or later this risk of temporary unemployment has to be taken and it is much better if it is adopted before any further harm is caused to the interests of small and cottage industries and the workers depending on them.

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FOOD PRICES IN INDIA

Producing and Consuming Centres

By DR. P. C. BANSIL, M.A., Ph.D.

THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

THE chief source of energy in India being the cereals, they alone represent the staple food of the country. Again, from among the cereals, while rice and wheat account for nearly 50 per cent of the total food-grains consumed, all the other coarse-grains like maize, barley, gram, millets small as well as big and subsidiary foods like tapioca, potato and groundnut are the source of food supply to the remaining half of the population. We would thus restrict ourselves to only wheat and rice in this study.

The other and much stronger reason of restricting the scope of our present study is the relative unimportance of other grains for the country as a whole so that the price quotations of various coarse grains have no significance for the major consuming centres in India. The production of these coarse grains being further intended more or less for local consumption,

they cannot play any important role in a comparative study for the whole of India.

THE OBJECT

Food prices have been playing a major part in the economy of India where as much as 70 per cent of the total cropped area is under food-grains. Ignoring the distant past, a glance over the previous 25 years would show four clear and distant phases in the food prices of India. The pre-war period was marked by a depression when the Indian agriculturist was the hardest hit and food prices were at the lowest ebb. With the breakout of the war in September, 1939, they began to look up and the problem of soaring food prices continued to haunt even after the cessation of hostilities after 1945. This trend backed by the partition in 1947 and the Korean War in 1950 continued right up to 1952. With the launching of decontrol in that year, a new chapter opened in the food

history of the country, the previous two years, 1956 and 1957, again showed an upward swing. While during the war and the period of controlled economy food prices were under the influence of an inflationary spiral, the decontrol experiment in 1952 brought prices toppling down and the subsequent years caused anxiety because of falling prices. The Government had to enter the market to purchase rice, wheat, and gram in order to safeguard the interests of the cultivator. The prices have again had a hardening tendency only recently.

We propose to study in this paper price spreads between the major surplus and deficit States of India during these periods, find out what changes were brought about by the food control on the pricing system in the country, and how far normalcy has been restored.

FOOD TRADE PATTERN

Before we do so it would be necessary to examine the channels along which the movement of food-grains (rice and wheat in our present case) has been taking place. From a study of the rail and river-borne trade of rice and wheat for the period before the war, we find that the chief importing States of wheat were Bengal and Bombay; Bengal being supplied by U.P. and the Punjab and Bombay by the then Central Provinces and the Punjab. Most of the Punjab trade to both Bombay and Calcutta was by sea through the port of Karachi while small quantities of wheat were also moved by rail. The whole of the U.P. and Central Provinces trade on the other hand was by rail.

As for rice, the highly deficit States were Bihar, Bombay, Madras and Bengal while the surplus ones were Orissa, Assam, Central Provinces and the Punjab. Besides these surplus States mentioned above, Sind and Burma which were then a part of India were among the highly surplus provinces. Assam was supplying to Bengal and Bihar, while Orissa along with these two Provinces also met the requirements of Madras. Bombay was mainly being fed by the Punjab and Mysore. All the same there were many a cross movement of rice like Bengal sending rice to U.P. and U.P. to certain other areas. This was due to the particular and specific varieties that were grown and consumed in different areas. A major portion of the crop is locally consumed in practically all the growing

areas. What enters the inter-State trade is only some specific variety with a specific demand in the consuming area.

Besides this, rice was also being supplied to the coastal States of Bengal, Bombay and Madras by Burma, and Sind was also supplying sufficient quantities through the port of Karachi. In this discussion we shall, however, restrict ourselves to only those States which form a part of the existing geographical area of India. Burma and Sind have thus been excluded.

PRICES

Having thus examined the various surplus and deficit States it would be interesting to know how food prices varied from State to State. In the very early period before 1861, when road and rail communications had not as yet developed, there were wide fluctuations in food prices not only over time, but also over space representing local scarcities and surpluses.¹ With the development of communications and the opening of foreign trade, these wide fluctuations were smoothened. Not only that, a sort of stability was established throughout the country, but they were influenced to a great extent by outside prices in the world. Rice and wheat have a world market and Indian prices in these commodities continued to be influenced by those prices.² They had a direct effect on the prices of coarse grains as well which moved in sympathy with the former. The result was that there was a trend towards more or less in the whole of India. We are to examine, how far this one price level was disturbed during the period of controlled economy and to what extent it has been restored after decontrol. The decade before the war has been taken as representative of the normal period.

We have two sets of prices available with us. One is the harvest prices for the various States based on the averages of the district prices during the harvesting period. The other is the average yearly wholesale prices for important centres of trade in the various States. Although harvest prices are only the prices of cultivators and do not represent the actual prices at which the commodity goes to the consumer, yet in the absence of the market

1. Brij Narain: *Indian Economic Life, Past and Present*, 1929, p. 109.

2. S. Y. Krishnaswamy: *Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras*, p. 342.

prices during the controlled period a study based on harvest prices throughout the period will give us a better idea of the local conditions prevailing at different times. Since the external supplies of food-grains from Indian States or outside are intended more or less for the consumption of city population in the respective States, a study based on harvest prices will be a better guide to understand the real food situation in rural India which has mainly depended on its own internal resources.

It would, however, be necessary to have some idea of the definition of the term 'harvest prices,' before we place much of reliance on them. The methods of collection of these prices were till recently governed largely by local customs and usages and as such differed from State to State. In Assam, for example, they were just the wholesale prices prevailing at the four important markets in the State during harvest time; in Madras, they were the retail prices ruling at two or three principal markets in each district except those of rice and some other non-food crops which were based on wholesale prices; in Punjab, they were the prices received by the farmers for their produce during harvest period and were collected from selected villages; in Orissa and West Bengal, they were computed as the average of the prices ruling during harvest time at two or three

principal markets in each district.³ There was thus no uniformity in the country. A new scheme has, however, been introduced with effect from 1950 to bring about this uniformity. Although a number of States have already adopted the new system, there still remains some lacuna and during all our discussions we have to bear this in mind. The study based on such prices will thus at most be only rough.

There is also a second series of harvest prices which are collected through the branches of the Imperial (State) Bank of India. They relate to wholesale prices of different agricultural commodities, prevailing during a period of about two months after the arrival of the new harvest in selected principal markets where the branches of the Bank exist. They are known as "Harvest Season Prices" and wherever used have been termed as such.

THE PERIOD BEFORE THE WAR

The year 1930 opened with a worldwide depression which affected Indian price structure equally. This deflationary phase of the cycle with a short interval continued till the war broke out in 1939. The fact that prices of food-grains in the various States of India for the period before the war were following a steady trend is obvious from a study of harvest prices of rice and wheat for the quinquennium ending 1928-29 and 1938-39. Table I studies this trend.

TABLE I

Harvest Prices of Rice and Wheat in some of the important States.

(All prices are in Rs. per maund)

State	Rice				Wheat			
	Average harvest price during quinquennium ending.		Index with Orissa as 100		Average harvest price for quinquennium ending.		Index with Punjab as 100	
	1928-29	1938-39	1928-29	1938-39	1928-29	1938-39	1928-29	1938-39
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Assam†	6/6	3/0	143	117	..	..	..	..
Bengal	6/15	3/6	156	140	6/1	3/4	133	140
Bihar	6/3	3/6	140	140	6/3	3/11	136	159
Bombay	8/2	4/10	197	190	7/8	4/3	164	180
C.P. and Berar	6/2	3/4	138	134	5/5	3/1	73	127
Madras	7/4	3/13	163	157	..	..	..	..
Orissa	4/7	2/7	100	100	..	..	..	..
Punjab	5/3	2/11	117	110	4/9	2/5	100	100
U.P.	7/5	4/2	162	169	5/6	3/0	118	124

Source: *Famine Commission, Final Report*, p. 480.

3. From *(Harvest) Prices of Principal Crops, Supplement to Agricultural Prices in India, 1951-1952*.

Columns 4 and 5 under rice and 8 and 9 under wheat show a remarkable degree of unanimity. Although there is a wide variation between the various States, the price parity as between the two periods remains practically the same. The general price-level practically in all the States came down in 1938-39 by half that of 1928-29, but the trend is practically the same throughout India. As regards our general statement of one price-level for the country as a whole, we have to examine the price spreads as between the various States more closely.

According to the *Reports on the Marketing of Rice and Wheat*, the costs of handling and transport together amount in the case of wheat and rice to about 26.3 per cent respectively.⁴

Detailed data is available with regard to these actual costs in the case of wheat during the forties. Such costs per maund from Lyallpur to Bombay *via* Karachi were Rs. 1-5-2, from Lyallpur to Calcutta, both *via* Karachi and direct by rail Rs. 1-7-0, from Chandausi (U.P.) to Calcutta Rs. 1-3-0, and from Indore and Sagour in the Central India to Bombay about Rs. 1-2-0 and Rs. 1-4-0 respectively.⁵

Price differences to the extent mentioned above between the producing and the consuming States would thus be just a normal feature. If it is, however, much more beyond this, the matter will need further investigation.

THE CASE OF WHEAT

Taking the case of wheat first, Table II gives the harvest prices of wheat in the important States between 1931-32 and 1942-43.

We have already seen that wheat supplies to Calcutta were being made from U.P. and Punjab, while the requirements of Bombay were being met by C. P. and Punjab. Table III will study the price spread between these importing and exporting States.

(See Table III, p. 211)

It would be seen from Table III above that up to the year 1940-41 price differences between the producing and consuming centres were invariably less than the cost of handling and transportation which varied from Rs. 1-2-0 to Rs. 1-7-0 as already stated. But for abnormally high prices in Bombay for the quinquennium ending 1928-29 and a very slight margin in the case of Bengal and U.P., the difference in the prices throughout the period remained practically within those costs. These variations may be due to the different varieties quoted. If we could get these quotations for the commoner varieties which enter into inter-provincial trade, the price spreads would, perhaps, have approximated to the costs of transportation, etc.⁶

This, in other words, means that for so long as normal transport facilities were available within the country, wheat prices tended to keep a certain level and moved practically parallel from one centre to the other.

The war broke out in the year 1939 which was followed by a slight increase in the food-grain prices. As the internal transport system remained intact for about 2 years after the break-out of hostilities, the pricing pattern also

TABLE II
Annual Average Harvest Prices of Wheat

State	1931-32 to 1942-43				
	1931-32 to 1934-35	1935-36 to 1938-39	1939-40 to 1940-41	1941-42	1942-43
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Bengal	3 2 0	3 4 0	4 0 0	5 0 0	15 0 0
Bombay	3 12 0	4 4 0	5 0 0	6 11 0	16 6 0
U.P.	2 9 0	3 1 0	3 10 0	5 5 0	10 11 0
Punjab	2 4 0	2 6 0	2 14 0	5 0 0	10 0 0
C.P. & Berar	2 10 0	3 3 0	3 11 0	5 15 0	12 6 0

4. Prices Sub-Committee Report, *Op. Cit.*, p. 69.

5. *Report on the Marketing of Wheat in India*, pp. 440-41.

6. JJ Anjaria, DT Lakdawala and Dr. Samant: *Price Control in India*, with special reference to food supply, Bombay, 1946; p. 79.

TABLE III

Price spread of wheat between the Importing and Exporting States

(In Rupees per maund)

States	Average 5 years ending 1928-29	1931-32 to 1934-35	1934-35 to 1938-39	1938-39 to 1940-41	1941-42	1942-43
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Bengal and U. P.	0 11 0	0 9 0	0 3 0	0 6 0	0 5 0	4 5 0
Bengal and Punjab	1 8 0	0 14 0	0 14 0	...	...	5 0 0
Bombay and C.P.	2 3 0	1 2 0	1 6 0	1 5 0	0 6 0	4 0 0
Bombay and Punjab	2 15 0	1 8 0	1 14 0	2 2 0	1 11 0	6 6 0

(Based on Tables I and II)

remained practically undisturbed in all the States under study. Table IV gives a comparative study of railway traffic for this period.

(See Table IV below)

The year 1941-42 saw a further increase in the prices and the strange thing as would be seen from Table III was that the increase in the producing States of the Punjab, U.P., and C.P. was much higher than that in Bengal and Bombay; so much so that the Bengal price was lower than U.P. and equal to that of the Punjab. The Bombay and C.P. difference was also reduced to only a few annas.

We are not in a position to pin down the responsibility for this phenomenon to any specific point. What we find is that after a downward movement of wheat prices for the first five months in 1941, Lyallpur and Hapur markets rose sharply from July, 1941. The wholesale price Index for wheat, for example, went up to 198 in September and 214 in December, 1941, at Lyallpur with August, 1939,

as the base. In the case of U.P. with the same base it rose from 131 in July to 167 in December,⁷ 1941. The only possible explanation for all this seems to be due to adverse war news, the 'freezing' order of Japanese assets and exaggerated rumours about exports to countries in the Middle East. Army Purchases of wheat had also increased and stood at about 88,000⁸ tons in 1941-42. All these factors combined together, coupled with a slightly adverse *rabi* crop of 1941-42,⁹ seem to have created a sort of shortage psychology in the producing centres, the result being a sudden rise in the wheat prices. The U.P. representative at the Third Price Control Conference held on October 16 and 17, 1941, pointed out that all this was due to the fact

7. S. C. Chaturvedi: *Wheat Statistics in the UP*, Bulletin No. 22, Department of Economics and Statistics, UP, 1953; pp. 166-67.

8. *Famine Inquiry Commission Report on Bengal*, p. 18.

9. Season and Crop Reports for 1940-41 of the Punjab and U.P.

TABLE IV

Railway and Road Statistics, 1938-39 to 1940-41

	Three years average ending 1938-39	1939-40	1940-41
Railways			
Route mileage open for traffic—			
Broad Gauge ('000 miles)	.. 21.2	21.2	21.0
Metre Gauge " "	.. 15.8	15.9	16.0
Narrow Gauge " "	.. 4.1	4.1	4.0
Rolling stock—			
Locomotives, Steam ('000)	.. 8.4	8.4	8.4

Source: *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1936-1937 to 1940-41, pp. 439-40.

that "speculators were forcing up prices since producers had disposed of 80 to 90 per cent of their produce and during July and August no exports from the Province were observed."¹⁰

To add fuel to fire, an order was issued on December 5, 1941, by the Central Government fixing the maximum price of wheat at Rs. 4-6-0 per maund at Lyallpur and Hapur and authorised the Provincial Governments to determine the maximum price at other places, having regard to normal parities.¹¹ Naturally this created a sort of panic. A Wheat Commissioner for India was appointed on December 31, whose function was to advise provincial price control authorities, to regulate the distribution of wheat, and to acquire wheat when necessary for sale through provincial agencies.

Before the Wheat Commissioner could do anything in the matter, a period of local scarcities beginning from January, 1942 to April 1942, followed particularly in the producing States. It was only on April 30, 1942 that a wheat control order was notified regulating rail-borne movements of wheat from producing provinces to consuming areas by permits issued by the Wheat Commissioner for India.

The changed relationship of wheat prices between surplus and deficit States in the year 1941-42 may thus be found in greater pressure on the producing States and abundant supplies

to the consuming ones. Table V will be of interest in this connection.

(See Table V below)

Table V will bring out clearly that in so far as the external wheat supplies were concerned, the consuming States were better off in the year 1941-42 and the drain on the producing States was the maximum. Possibly this had the natural effect of reversing the trend of price parity between the producing and the consuming States.

Having examined the position in detail for the year 1941-42, we find from Table III that the year 1942-43 shows a marked increase in the price differential between the producing and the consuming States. This seems to be natural in the presence of hindrances to the normal flow of trade and restrictions. In fact, from this year we enter into a new phase in the food history of India and will discuss the position shortly in detail.

THE RICE POSITION

Coming to rice now, Table VI studies the position with regard to harvest prices.

(See Table VI on page 213)

Besides Sind and Burma which were then a part of India, most of the internal supplies of rice were made by Orissa, Assam, C.P. & Berar and the Punjab. Table VII will study the price spread between the producing and the consuming States.

(See Table VII on page 213)

TABLE V

Rail and River-borne Wheat Trade of India between certain States

Net Import (+): Export (—) in the year

(In thousand tons)

State	Average 1933-34 to 1935-36	1936-37 to 1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42
Bengal	+ 12.9	+ 4.0	+ 7.4	+ 8.0	+ 11.1
Bombay	+ 59.0	+ 68.3	+ 67.5	+ 62.5	+ 66.7
U. P.	+ 35.3	—114.6	+ 19.6	—111.2	—117.5
Punjab	—261.5	—507.5	—493.9	—569.7	—507.5
C.P. & Berar	—147.5	—140.9	—213.9	—177.4	—191.6

(Source: Adapted from *Supplement to the Report on the Marketing of Wheat in India, 1946*, pp. 86-87).

10. Proceedings of the Third Price Control Conference, quoted by Bengal Famine Report, *Op. Cit.*; p. 20.

11. Proceedings of the Third Price Control Conference.

TABLE VI

Annual Average Harvest Prices of Rice (Winter)

1931-32 to 1942-43

(In Rupees per maund)

State	1931-32 to 1934-35	1935-36 to 1938-39	1939-40 to 1940-41	1941-42	1942-43
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Assam	3 0 0	5 3 0	4 0 0	4 4 0	8 12 0
Bengal	3 0 0	3 7 0	4 14 0	5 6 0	14 0 0
Bihar	3 2 0	3 6 0	4 6 0	5 7 0	8 0 0
Bombay	4 10 0	4 12 0	5 7 0	8 0 0	12 13 0
C.P. & Berar	3 1 0	3 4 0	3 8 0	6 6 0	9 0 0
Madras	3 11 0	3 13 0	4 8 0	5 6 0	8 6 0
Orissa	1 15 0	2 9 0	3 6 0	4 3 0	6 3 0
U. P.	3 14 0	4 3 0	4 14 0	6 11 0	10 0 0
Punjab	1 12 0	2 0 0	2 6 6	3 9 0	5 15 0

Source: *The Food Statistics of India, Op. Cit.*, p. 139 and *Famine Inquiry Commission Final Report, Op. Cit.*, p. 478.

TABLE VII

Price Spread between the Producing and Consuming States of Rice

(In Rupees per maund)

States	1931-32 to 1934-35	1935-36 to 1938-39	1939-40 to 1940-41	1941-42	1942-43
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Orissa & Bengal	1 1 0	0 14 0	1 8 0	1 3 0	7 13 0
Orissa & Bihar	1 3 0	0 13 0	1 0 0	1 4 0	1 13 0
Orissa & Madras	1 12 0	1 4 0	1 2 0	1 3 0	2 5 0
Punjab & Bombay	2 14 0	2 12 0	3 0 6	4 7 0	6 14 0
Assam & Bengal	0 0 0	0 4 0	0 14 0	1 2 0	5 4 0
Assam & Bihar	0 2 0	0 3 0	0 6 0	1 3 0	0 12 0

(Based on Table VI)

Table VII reveals practically the same difference in the rice between some of the producing and consuming centres, and the pattern remains unchanged right up to 1940-41. But rice is a peculiar crop in the sense that Bengal, Bihar and Madras which enter into the import trade of India are themselves the major producers of rice. All the three States combined account for nearly 50 per cent of its acreage and

production. The price differential between them may thus be more a representative of the various qualities of rice which are innumerable¹² than the handling and transport charges as in the

12. Orissa alone has more than 1,000 varieties. (Dr. H. K. Nandi: *Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the Crops and Soils Wing of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry*, 1948, p. 293). Bengal as against this has 4,000 varieties according to John Kenny (*Intensive Farming*, p. 246).

case of wheat. But for the Punjab, where very few people have rice as their staple diet, a major portion of the crop is locally consumed within a comparatively circumscribed area. This being the case the price of rice in the various markets show a very little tendency to move in close sympathy.¹³ This single factor is also responsible for shooting prices in scattered pockets of the country in case of local crop failure or a break-down of the transport system. Notwithstanding all this, a study of Tables VI and VII would reveal that for the period before the war, rice was the cheapest in the Punjab and Orissa, practically at the same level in Assam, Bengal, Bihar, C.P. and Madras and a little high in U.P. and Bombay.

SUMMING UP

Summing up the position for the period before the war we find that there was a certain price level throughout the country and specific parity between the prices of various food-grains in the producing and the consuming States. We have examined the position in respect of wheat and rice. The prices of coarse-grains like jowar, bajra and maize are generally governed by those of wheat. The exceptions to this rule as stated by the *Report on the Marketing of Maize and Millets in India* are few and far between.¹⁴

It may be noted that the general conclusions reached above remained undisturbed for the decade studied above which was otherwise a period of many disturbances in prices. There are four clear phases to be witnessed.¹⁵ First is the depression period from September, 1929 to March, 1933. With July, 1914 as the base, the Calcutta annual average index of cereals which stood at 133 in 1928 came down steadily to as low a figure as 66 in 1933.¹⁶ A wide disparity was witnessed between prices and cost of production so much so that the prices of agricultural commodities fell by more than 50 per cent while reduction in the cost of production was

only of the order of 15 to 20 per cent.¹⁷ Second was the partial recovery period from April 1933 to August 1937, when prices showed a slight recovery as a result of an improvement in the general economic conditions in India as well as abroad and the gradual depletion of stocks of primary commodities. The effect was felt to a striking degree during the first half of 1937 owing mainly to the influence of heavy expenditure on armaments in many countries. With a sharp recession of prices of primary commodities, which commenced in USA about April, 1937, and which gathered momentum as the year wore on, Indian prices also showed a setback from September, 1937. This recession in prices in the movement continued up to August, 1939, and presents a third phase in the movement of prices. With the outbreak of war in September, 1939, prices again started looking up and entered into the fourth phase. With all these ups and downs the general pattern within the country was not disturbed. The only possible explanation for all this would seem to be the absence of any disturbance in the transport system of the country. There being practically settled conditions not only in India but the world over, the internal trade continued to flow along set channels. Changes in the general price level could not thus affect the set pattern of price parities of various food-grains between the various producing and the consuming centres.

THE PERIOD OF CONTROL

Although the Second World War started in September, 1939, Indian economy, particularly in respect of food, remained practically undisturbed for about two years till Japan entered the war on December 8, 1941. We have seen that there was almost a set pattern of internal as well as external trade in food-grains, guided more or less by the price parities between the producing and consuming centres on the one hand and the importing or exporting countries on the other hand.

The whole system, however, received a rude shock from 1942 onwards for about a period of 10 years. The disturbing factors were a dislocation in the internal transport system, the introduction of food control and rationing system, and the partition of the country. Mr. S.

13. *Report on the Marketing of Rice*, 1941, p. 154.

14. *Report*, 1954, p. 26.

15. For a brief but lucid description of these trends refer to S. G. Beri, *Price Trends During the Last Decade and Their Effects on Indian Economy*, 1940.

16. *Statistical Abstract for British India from 1926-27 to 1935-36*, p. 550.

17. S. G. Beri: *Price Trends During the Last Decade*, Op. Cit., p. 8.

G. Beri while discussing the food situation in 1943¹⁸ thus observed;

"Unprecedented transport difficulties in the country and the excessive pressure on the railways owing to military movements and diversion of traffic from the road and the coast have hampered the free flow of commodities from surplus to the deficit areas and have thus served to intensify local shortages."

A study of rail and road transport during this period would reveal that a considerable number and quantity of wagons, locomotives and rails, were sent from the country to some near theatres of war. Table VIII will explain this.

(See Table VIII below)

This fall in the number of locomotives was not much. But there was a tremendous increase in military traffic. While such traffic amounted to less than half a million tons in 1938-39, it was 12.9 million tons in 1942-43. Some 200 locomotives and 1,000 wagons were sent to the

Middle East. A total mileage of 776 was dismantled to meet defence needs.¹⁹

That was not all, the length of road mileage in the country in 1938 was 54,892 metalled and 220,889 unmetalled. On account of many difficulties of importing new vehicles, the commandeering of many vehicles for military use, rationing of petrol and tyres, etc., the road transport was unable to maintain its pre-war efficiency. Similarly, in the case of coastal transport while the annual average value of coastal transport during 10 years preceding the war was as much as 151.05 crores of rupees, coastal trade in private merchandise was reduced to insignificance.²⁰

In the light of the whole of this, let us examine how far prices parities were disturbed in the country during this period.

THE POSITION OF WHEAT

Taking first the case of wheat, Table IX will give its harvest prices during the period.

TABLE VIII

Rolling Stock as on 31st of March

Year	Broad Gauge		Metre Gauge		Narrow Gauge	
	Locomotive	Wagon	Locomotive	Wagon	Locomotive	Wagon
1938*	5,300	1,49,131	2,323	52,259	296	3,587
1942*	5,313	1,47,947	2,212	46,777	281	3,478
1943**	5,314	1,48,243	2,240	46,626	274	3,369
Difference	+14	-888	-83	-5,633	-22	-218

Source: *Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao: *War and Indian Economy*, 1944, p. 44.

**Report of the Railway Board for 1942-43.

TABLE IX

Harvest Price of Wheat, 1942-43 to 1951-52

(In Rupees per maund)

State	1942-43 to 1944-45	1945-46 to 1946-47	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50 to 1951-52
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs. a.p.	Rs. a.p.	Rs. a.p.	Rs. a.p.	Rs. a.p.
Bombay	15 8 0	13 4 0	29 12 0	20 8 0	16 6 0
Madhya Pradesh	11 3 0	10 7 0	26 0 0	22 8 0	17 10 0
Punjab	9 3 0	10 13 0	15 1 0	14 10 0	14 4 0
U. P.	11 10 0	12 5 0	17 12 0	22 14 0	16 0 0
West Bengal	13 2 0	13 4 0	20 8 0	25 0 0	24 10.00*

* Average for the two years 1949-50 to 1950-51 only.

Source: *Indian Agricultural Price Statistics*, 1950 and 1950-51; *Agricultural Prices in India*, 1951 and 1952; and *Farm (Harvest) Prices of Principal Crops*, 1947-48 to 1951-52.

18. S. G. Beri: *A Review of Price Control in India*, New Book Company, Bombay; p. 12.

19. C. N. Vakil: *Price Control and Food Supply*, 1943, pp. 44-45.

20. Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao: *War and Indian Economy*, p. 49.

A comparative study of Tables II and VIII will show wide differences not only from year to year but also between the producing and consuming States. In fact, there were no producing and consuming States as such. The whole of the food trade was under Government control during this period. The surpluses of surplus States were procured by the Government and were moved to the deficit States in accordance with the Basic Plan which was formulated every year. The question of any parity in the prices between the producing and the consuming States would not, therefore, arise on the basis of handling and transport charges as we studied for the period before the war. This would be apparent from Table IX which gives price spreads between the producing and the consuming States.

See Table X

A study on these lines would seem to be all the same useless when we find that UP, Punjab, and Madhya Pradesh which had been the main surplus States right up to 1943-44, became net importers of wheat from 1944-45 and the position remained unchanged practically for the whole of the controlled period.²¹ The total shortfall

21. Based on the data in *Supplement to the Report on the Marketing of Wheat, Op. Cit., Indian Food Statistics, 1949*; and *Food Situation in India, 1939-53*; 1954. It may be pointed out that Punjab in this discussion refers to East Punjab only.

between the rationing commitments which were represented by the off-take of the particular grain and the procurement was being met during the period from foreign imports. No specific price level could, therefore, exist even in the different parts of one State. Harvest prices given in Table VIII do not represent the real state of affairs in the open market. If those prices could be obtained they would show still wider variations. This is all the more clear from the price data for the years 1947-48 and 1948-49. Food-grains were decontrolled in December, 1947 and they were not recontrolled till late in 1948. There being thus no controlled price for them, Bengal, Bombay and Madhya Pradesh prices went up by even more than 100 per cent, while the rise in the case of U.P. and Punjab was hardly of the order of 50 per cent. All this shows only the existence of local shortages. Prices in the different parts of the country were thus governed not by any sort of normal trade principles under which the surplus of one area could flow to the deficit area and keep a certain price level.

Practically the same was the position of rice or that of other coarse-grains, which invariably failed to keep any parity with the prices of fine grains like wheat and rice. Table XI studies the prices of rice.

(See Table XI, p. 217)

TABLE X

*Price Spreads of Wheat between the Producing
1942-43 to 1951-52*

State	(In Rupees per maund)		and the Consuming States—		
	1942-43 to 1944-45	1945-46 to 1946-47	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50 to 1951-52
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Bengal & U.P.	1 8 0	0 15 0	2 12 0	2 2 0	8 10 0
Bengal and Punjab	3 15 0	2 7 0	5 7 0	10 6 0	10 6 0
Bombay and M. Pradesh	4 5 0	2 13 0	3 12 0	2 0 0	1 4 0
Bombay and Punjab	6 5 0	2 7 0	14 11 0	5 14 0	2 2 0

Source: Based on Table VIII.

TABLE XI

Harvest Price of Rice, 1942-43 to 1951-52

(In Rupees per maund)

State	1942-43 to 1944-45	1945-46 to 1946-47	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50 to 1951-52
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Assam	12 6 0	11 10 0	14 8 0	17 5 0	18 2 0**
Bihar	10 11 0	11 12 0	15 4 0	21 8 0	19 4 0**
Bombay	16 1 0	14 15 0	16 14 0	27 9 4	27 10 0
M. Bharat	10 4 0	9 2 0	12 10 8†	14 10 6†	17 11 0†
Madras	9 3 0	10 4 0	12 12 0	16 5 0	13 11 0
Orissa	8 4 0	8 12 0	11 12 0	14 0 0	13 5 0
Punjab*	7 6 0	9 4 0	8 13 0	11 3 0	10 12 0
U. P.	15 8 0	17 12 0	17 12 0	26 11 0	26 0 0
W. Bengal	13 10 0	11 13 0	16 4 0	18 8 0	19 7 0**

* Prices in the case of Punjab are for unhusked while in the case of other States for cleaned rice. In the case of Assam, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal, these are the averages for both winter and autumn prices which have otherwise wide variations among them.

** Averages for 1949-50 and 1950-51.

† Figures are for Madhya Pradesh which is practically in the same position as Madhya Bharat with regard to rice prices.

DECONTROL

The year 1952 marked a new epoch in the food history of the country when in the month of June, a policy of partial decontrol was launched under the bold leadership of the late Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai. The subsequent years found further relaxation in this policy and even the last vestige of control was completely abolished with effect from 18th March, 1955. We shall now examine the position with regard to prices during this period. Table XI gives the wholesale prices at some of the selected centres in the various States. It may be added that harvest prices for this period are not available, hence our resort to wholesale prices.

Bihar	25 15	20 13	15 4	13 0
Bombay	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	16 2
M. Pradesh	15 13	16 4	14 14	13 0
Madras	20 4	19 12	15 8	14 10
Orissa	13 0	N.A.	N.A.	11 12
U. P.	25 14	21 5	16 4	14 7
Punjab	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	15 0

TABLE XI (B)

Wholesale Prices of Wheat in some of the Important States (1952 to 1955)

State	1952	1953	1954	1955
	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.
West Bengal	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	16 0
Bombay	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	11 15
U. P.	18 12	17 12	13 11	11 14
Punjab	N.A.	13 15	14 1	12 5
Madhya Pradesh	17 5	17 10	13 14	11 6
N.A.—Not Available.				

TABLE XI (A)

Wholesale Prices of Rice in the Important States (1952 to 1955)

(In Rupees per maund)

State	1952	1953	1954	1955
	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.
Assam	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	15 9
West Bengal	18 9	18 0	13 13	15 11

A glance at Tables XI A and XI B would reveal that both in the case of rice and wheat, prices are not available for some of the important States so that it is not possible to make an appraisal of price spreads between the important producing and consuming centres. Such data are available only for the year 1955. Table XII gives the spread for the year 1955 both in the case of rice as well as wheat.

TABLE XII

Price Spreads for Rice and Wheat between the Important Producing and Consuming Centres (1955)
(In Rupees per maund)

States	RICE	
	Price spreads Rs. a.p.	
Crissa and Bengal	3	15 0
Crissa and Bihar	1	4 0
Crissa and Madras	2	14 0
Punjab and Bombay	1	2 0
Assam and Bengal	0	2 0
Assam and Bihar	2	9 0
	WHEAT	
Bengal and U.P.	4	2 0
Bengal and Punjab	3	11 0
Bombay and Madhya Pradesh	0	9 0
Bombay and Punjab	0	6 0

It would be seen from Table XII that the difference in prices in the case of some of the States compares quite favourably with those in the pre-control period in Tables III and VII, but that a normalcy had not yet reached. This shows that the policy of decontrol succeeded to

a large extent in reducing the variation between the prices in the producing and the consuming centres, but the disease had not yet been fully cured. This may be due to many complications from which agricultural economy of the country is suffering today. The vagaries of nature which stand in the way of our having a balanced food production level in the country is one of the major stumbling blocks. Added to this is the underdeveloped nature of the country where the producer, the consumer and the trader are frightened out of their wits even on small matters like a slight increase or decrease in rainfall, floods or any other such thing. Their psychology plays a great part in determining prices in India and a little hoarding tendency on the part of the producer or the consumer is liable to bring about a large difference in the prices at the two ends of the supply-line, the producing and the consuming centres.

THE ZONAL SCHEME

With the formation of three wheat zones and one for rice with effect from July, 1957, a new chapter has opened in the food history of the country. Since the Punjab or U.P. wheat cannot go to the eastern borders of the country and has to be consumed in the neighbouring areas, the price gap between the producing and the consuming centres has now been bridged to a large extent. For so long as the Indian economy is subjected to strains and stresses of planning as well as hazards of nature, a successful working of the zonal scheme along with a well-thought-out transport policy would seem to be the only solution of the problem.



TAJ MAHAL AND AGRA MONUMENTS

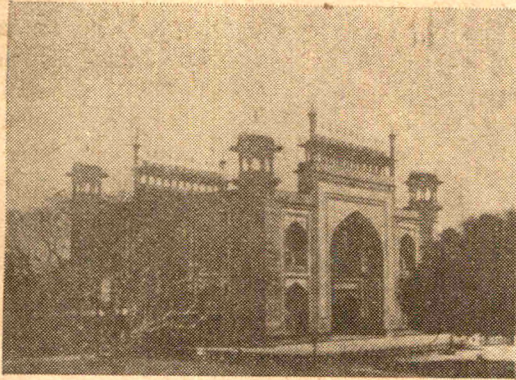
By MANIK LAL MUKHERJI

THE panorama of India has always attracted travellers from abroad and overseas.

Taj Mahal is one of the few wonders of the world that has survived the ravages of time and vandalism of foreign hordes. A visit to Taj will be incomplete if the tourist misses the Agra monuments at Agra Fort, Sikandra and Fatehpur Sikri.

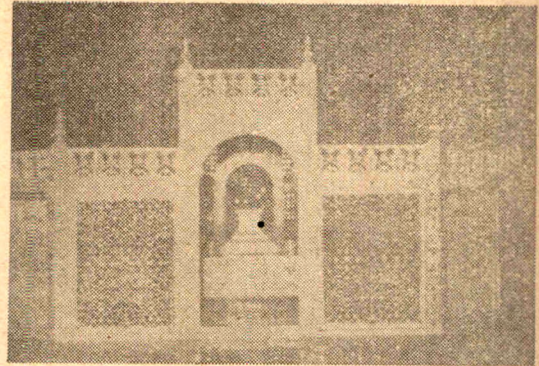
with inscriptions from the Holy Koran inspires the traveller with awe and wonder. There is beauty everywhere.

As the tourist carries his footsteps further inside he reaches a marble staircase which leads him down to an avenue that in turn leads him up to the base of the Taj Mahal itself while his eyes begin to feast upon its majestic beauty and



Gateway of the Taj Mahal

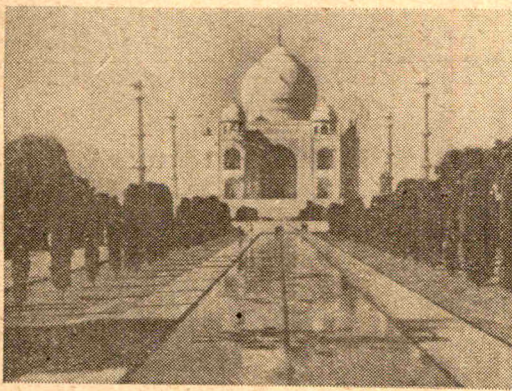
Exquisite in beauty the Taj Mahal is a poem in marble that has enkindled the emotion and genius of many a painter and many a poet. It is an Emperor's dream in white marble. Built up in the year 1648 A.D. by Emperor Shajahan in memory of his beloved consort Banu Begum (Noor Jahan Mumtaz Mahal) at a cost of



Cenotaph inside the Taj Mahal

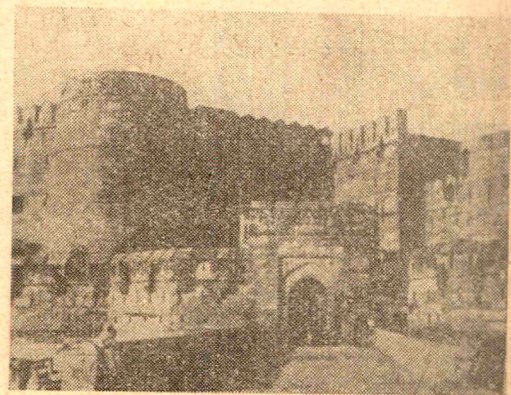
grandeur. Blessed is his life that he finds himself before the Taj Mahal.

The guide who is satisfied with one or two dibs will accompany him to the base of the main pavillion over which stands the brilliant edifice of Taj Mahal, that looks grander on a moonlit



Front view of the Taj Mahal

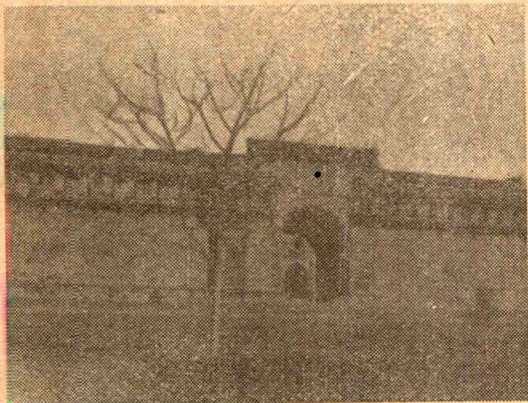
Rs. 3,00,00,000 it stands out to this day as one of the wonders of the world. Its majestic gateway, one hundred and fifty-one by one hundred and seventeen feet and one hundred feet high



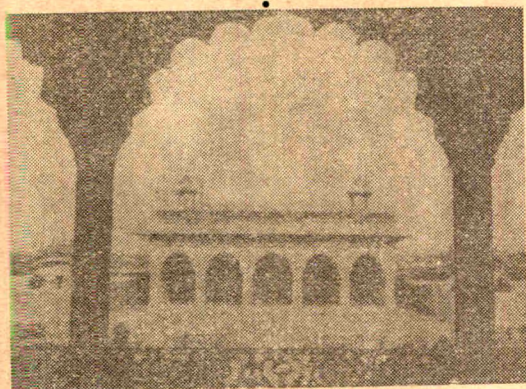
Amar Singh Gate
(Main Entrance to the Fort)

night. Here the tourist has to put off his shoes and leave them in charge of some boys who volunteer to keep them and who are pleased if they are paid some copper coins in return,

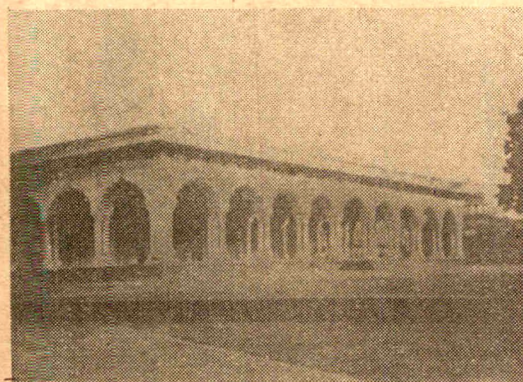
Barefooted we entered the Taj Mahal and saw the upper replica of the cenotaph, the origi-



Jahangir Mahal



Khas Mahal



Diwan-i-Am

nal one lying just below. As we stood in silence looking at the original cenotaph below, my mind turned to the pages of history, and the poet in me woke up and I muttered in ecstasy:

"Emperor!

Thou art mightier in love.

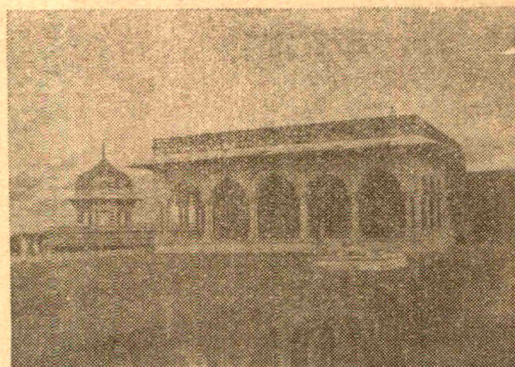
Empress!

Let man bow unto thee

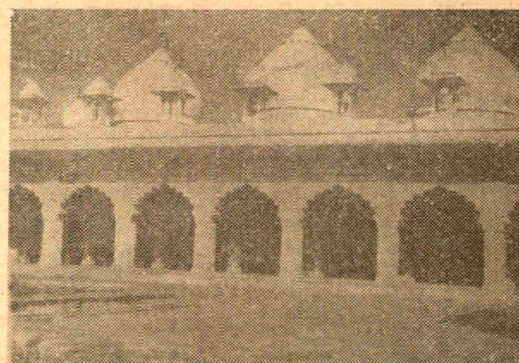
That proveth what wonders love can work.

Thy beauty shall never perish,

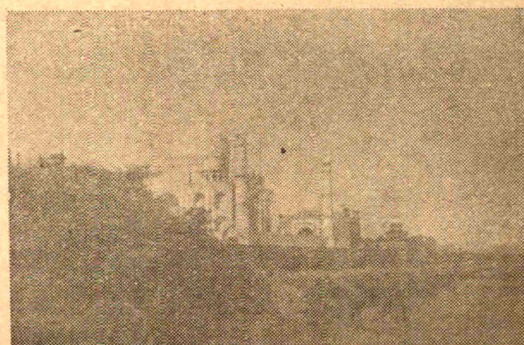
But guide man to love again!



Diwan-i-Khas



Moti Masjid



Akbar's Mausoleum at Sikandra

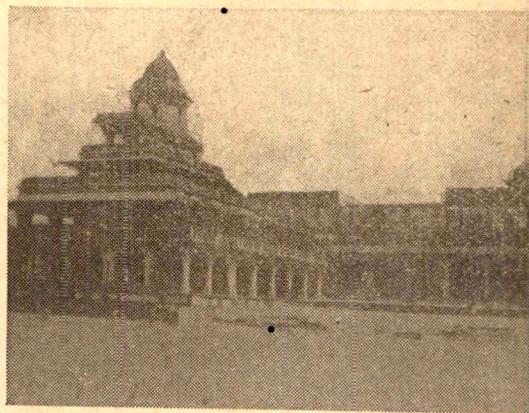
Readers may please follow me to the Agra Fort. Here we enter by the Amar Singh Gate, the main entrance, and as we go leisurely with eyes open to admire each and every object that comes to our view, the Jahangir Mahal, Khas Mahal, Diwan-i-Khas, Diwan-i-Am and the Moti Masjid provide a feast of beauty and wonder to our eyes.

sat in four different causeways to discuss scientific and religious subjects. The Panch Mahal is a grand edifice, a five-storied building erected by Emperor Akbar, each storey of which, reckoned upwards, has got respectively 84, 65, 20, 12 and 3 pillars. One must not miss Sheikh Salim Chisti's tomb erected by the



Buland Darwaja
(Fatehpur Sikri)

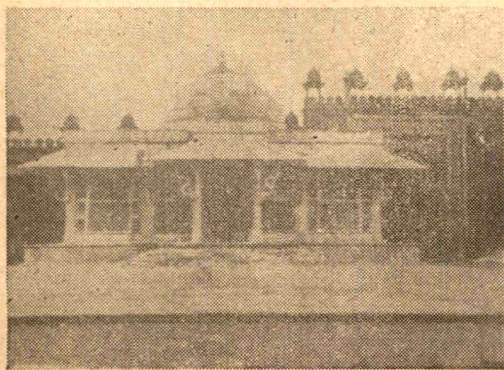
Some miles away from the city at Fatehpur Sikri the tourist will find the beautiful edifice, the Buland Darwaza erected by Emperor Akbar in 1602 A.D. to commemorate his conquest of the Deccan. The Diwan-i-Khas built in 1575 is really admirable. Here the Emperor used to sit to consult his four wise courtiers who



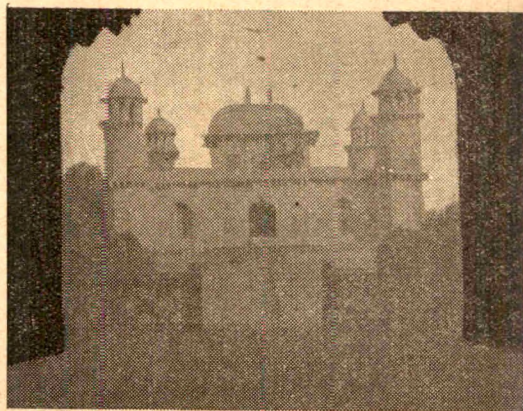
Panch Mahal
(Fatehpur Sikri)

Emperor Akbar in commemoration of his beloved saint in the year 1581 A.D.

The Moti Masjid is entirely built of white marble at a cost of Rs. 3,00,000 and it took seven years to construct the Mosque. It is two hundred and thirty four feet by one hundred and eighty-seven feet in area. The Khas Mahal (in Fort) is a drawing room built of white marble where the Emperor used to meet his daughters and the chief ladies of the harem.

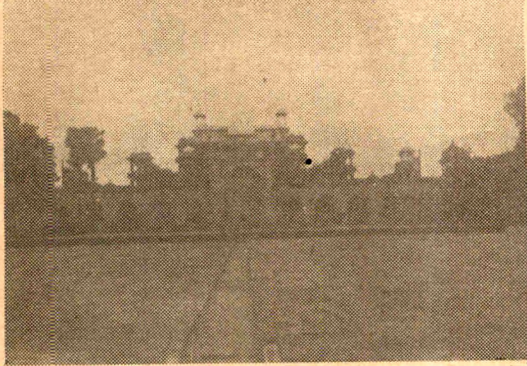


Sheikh Salim Chisti's Tomb



Mausoleum of Itmad-ud-Daula

Very near to Agra is Sikandra where the great Emperor Akbar was enshrined after his subsequently completed by his loving son Jahangir in 14 years. It cost the treasury Rs. 15,00,000.



The Taj from across the river Jamuna
demise in the mausoleum the construction of which had begun in his own lifetime and was

—:O:—

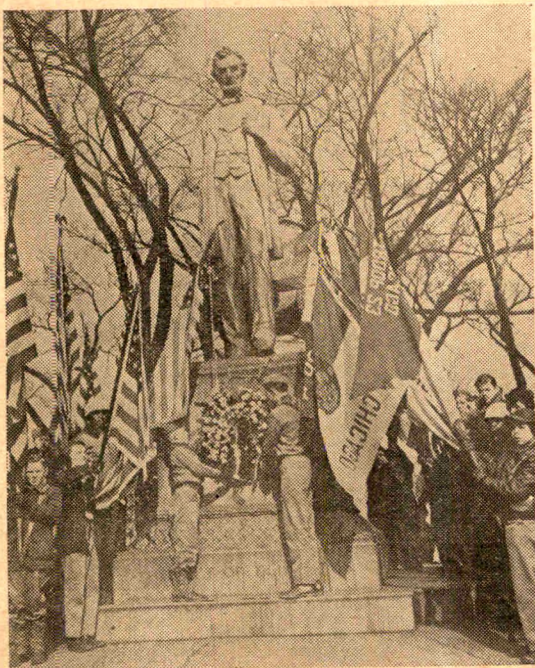
Visitors will find it convenient to purchase picture postcards from the Archaeological Department, but for photos they may contact Sri Ganeshilal Rai at Taj Mahal Gate who have been courteous enough to furnish me with the photographs published in the body of this article.

Agra is connected by a network of railways and is 787 miles from Calcutta, a journey of some thirty hours by the Toofan Express.

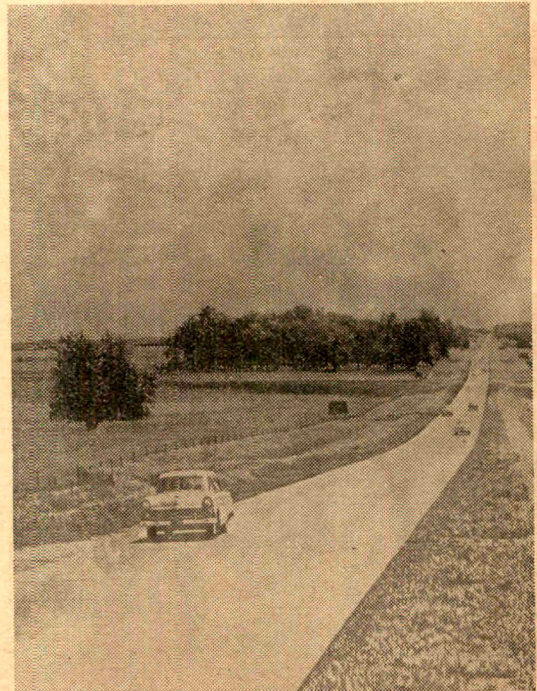
As the Express train guided its way back towards Tundla from Agra Cantonment the Taj appeared again and again within our admiring sight till it disappeared like a vision to reappear in my dream for times without number.

THE NAME OF LINCOLN LIVES

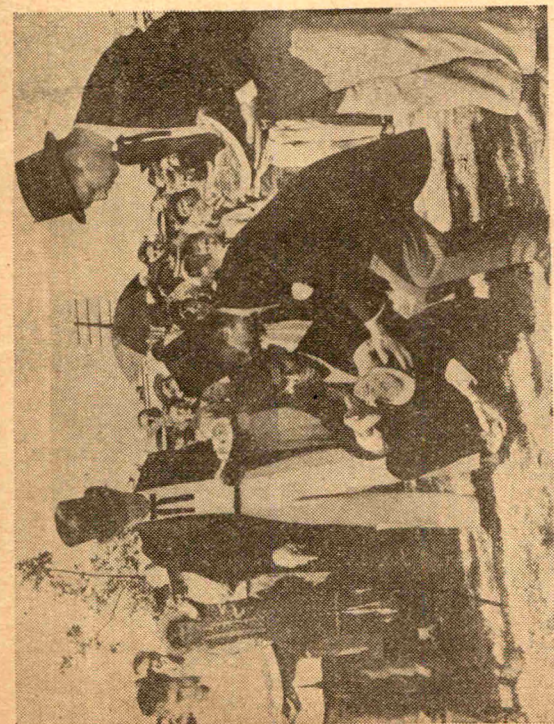
THE name of Abraham Lincoln lives today in people. On February 12 each year, they celebrate his birthday but they remember him every the affection and memory of the American



Abraham Lincoln's statue stands at the entrance to the Chicago park and Zoological gardens named after him



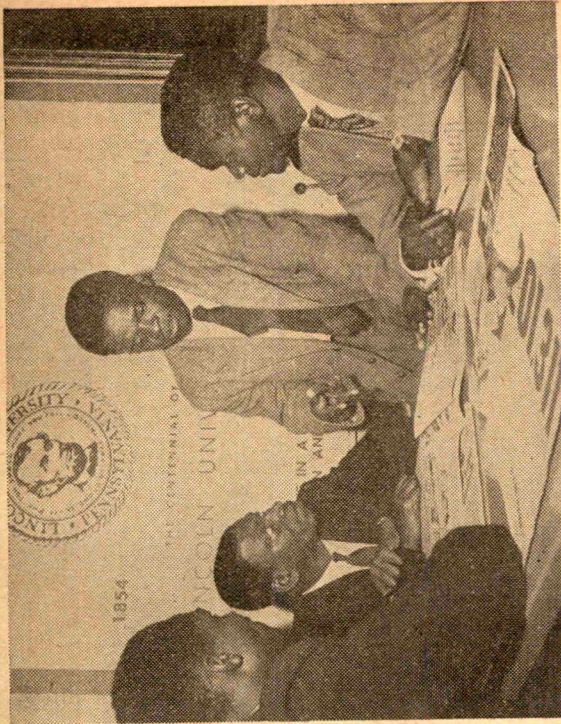
The Lincoln Highway stretches from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific uniting by road a nation whose constitutional unity Lincoln preserved



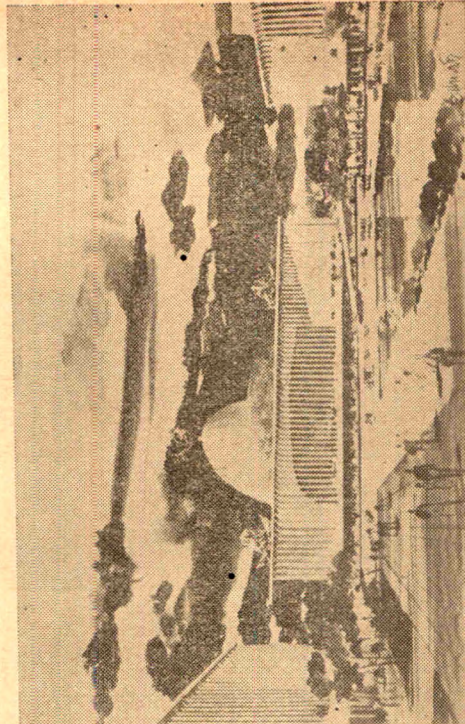
Lincoln, Illinois, was the only town named after Lincoln during his lifetime and with his knowledge



Lincoln Logs are a favourite toy of American children



Lincoln University, the first institution established for the higher education of Negroes, seeks to develop the spirit of International understanding among its students



The Lincoln Square Area in New York City has been chosen as the site for a great new cultural centre

day as they use and see and read about the things named after Lincoln. National mounments and neighbourhood carpentry shops; a continent-spanning highway and a U.S. coin; encyclopaedias and toys; universities, automobiles, banks and cities bear his name. Thus Americans commemorate a great president and a great human being.

Living in the tradition of equal opportunity, the American people remember what Lincoln

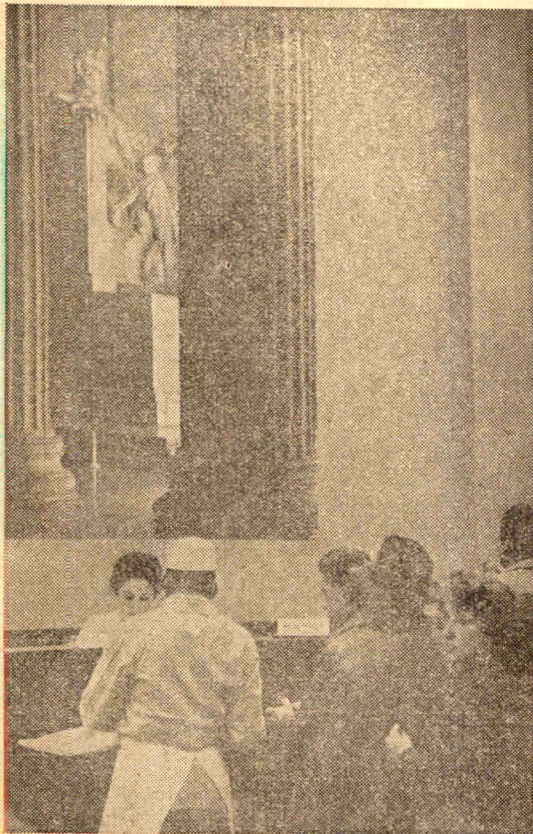
did to strengthen that tradition. He once said, "I want every man to have a chance in which he can better his condition." Three universities and hundreds of elementary and secondary schools named after Lincoln are helping to carry out that desire. Hundreds of small businesses have adopted the name of the man who always encouraged the "prudent, penniless beginner."

Lincoln himself was once a penniless beginner, working to establish a law practice. Among his jobs was the preparation of deeds for new settlements.

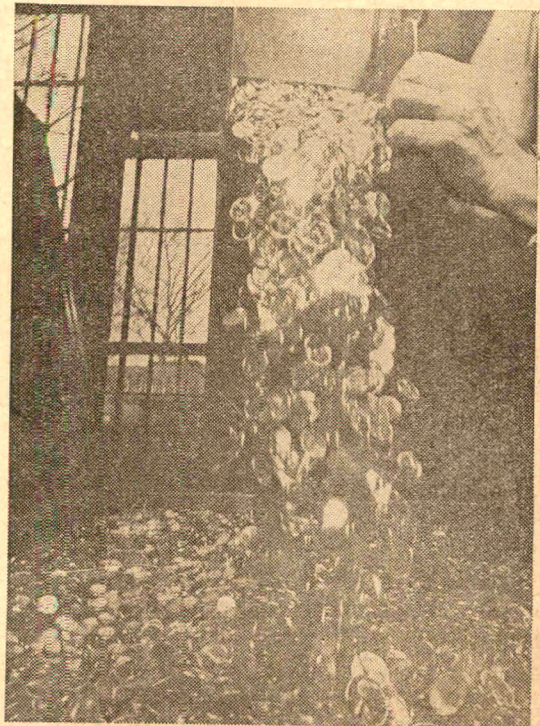
After one such job the landowners suggested calling the new town after him. He demurred, saying that "nothing named Lincoln ever amounted to very much." However,



In Lincoln, Nebraska, the State Legislature meets to make laws for the "government of the people, by the people, for the people"



The Lincoln National Bank transacts business for many people in Washington, D.C.



Lincoln Pennies, shiny and new, tumble out of a chute in the United States Mint in Philadelphia

they insisted, and the town thereafter was known as Lincoln, Illinois. Shortly after his death, the new State of Nebraska christened their yet-unbuilt capital city for him, and, in succeeding years, many more cities and towns were named in his honor.

A favorite part of Lincoln folklore is the account of his walking miles through the wilderness to return a few cents to a woman he had unknowingly over-charged at his store. Perhaps this story was in the minds of the men who decided to place Lincoln's profile on the one-cent coin and make his face an everyday sight to all Americans who handle money. Certainly, the hundreds of thousands of Americans who

entrust their earnings to Lincoln banks know that the institutions will maintain the Lincoln integrity.

The diversity of things named after Lincoln, some of them seemingly insignificant, recalls the essential democracy of Lincoln's character. To him, all men were innately equal and each one's honest endeavor was worthy of respect. No man was too humble for his concern. One biographer said, "He attained a position of lofty eminence and moved among the great without making other men feel small." These other men, each in his own way, have kept his name alive. —USIS.

—————:O:—————

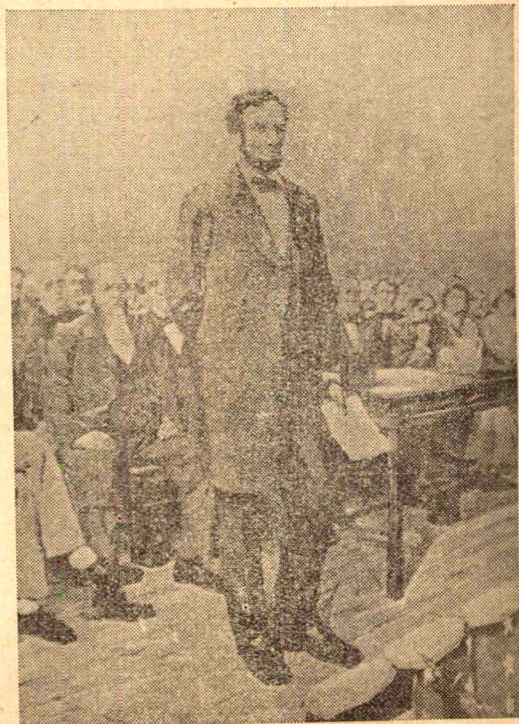
FOOTNOTE TO HISTORY

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address

By B. N.

WHO was it that said that history is a box of letters from which we could make anything we please? His *Obiter Dictum* is the natural reaction to the perusal of a variety of contradictory evidence bearing on the same matter. That only proves how hard it is to get at truth in history. If we suffer from paucity of material in judging the forgotten past we are confronted with the no less difficult problem of discovering truth in the plethora of conflicting accounts in contemporary records. It is like searching for a needle in a bundle of hay. The same objects seen from different angles appear different to different people; but the spectator no less than the participant also brings his own coloured glass in viewing them. The man who would view things objectively is seeing many things instead of one. And before we are able to judge a thing or situation objectively, as it is, we have to use our ready-made minds to its interpretation which also depends so much on our moods and temperaments, apart from our inherent or acquired capacity to judge. Passion or prejudice warps our judgment, and who knows there may be honest differences of opinion arising from the nature of the problem. And then, only the wearer knows where the shoe pinches. India and Pakistan may honestly view the Kashmir question from diametrically opposite

standpoints just as Egypt and Israel can see no common ground in their approach to the crisis in the Middle East. Each may be right individually and wrong collectively.



Abraham Lincoln

I am led to these reflections as I re-read the other day the fascinating biography of Abraham Lincoln by the well-known American writer Carl Sandburg. To be great is to be misunderstood, said Emerson. Sandburg is describing the reactions of contemporary opinion on the now-famous Gettysburg Speech* of President Lincoln. The speech itself was a marvel of brevity and beauty—packed with thought and feeling appropriate to the occasion. As we read it today it is sweet as a sonnet and sadly soothing as an elegy.

Sandburg reproduces the very atmosphere of the place consecrated to the hallowed memory of the fallen heroes. The Orator of the day Dr. Edward Everett—a celebrated speaker—made the most of the occasion. He spoke for two hours, his voice rising and falling like the cascade of great waters, his arms out-stretched and his body swaying to the rhythmic flow of his eloquence. Fully alive to the solemnity of the occasion his gaze wandered over the far outlines of sky and earth, now fixed on the great mountain ranges beyond and then down the green valleys below where lay gathered for ever the last remains of the departed heroes. Not did he forget—in his prepared script—to draw inspiration from the picturesque surroundings as he waxed eloquent on the immortal deeds of those sleeping in the bosom of eternity, and the thunder of his eloquence echoed through the vaults of heaven and hill. Sandburg quotes appropriately:

"Overlooking these broad fields now reposing from the labors of the waning year, the mighty Alleghenies towering before us, the graves of our brethren beneath our feet, it is with hesitation that I raise my poor voice to break the eloquent silence of God and Nature As my eye ranges over the fields whose sods were so lately moistened by the blood of gallant and loyal men, I feel as never before, how truly it was said of old that it is sweet and becoming to die for one's country."

Everett concluded:

"Down to the latest period of recorded time, in the glorious annals of our common country

there will be no brighter page than that which relates the Battles of Gettysburg."

When the applause had died down and the audience recovered from the somnolent spell, and silence was restored, Lincoln rose and read his ten sentences in less than three minutes. But the few simple sentences came as it were from the depths of his heart and touched the heart of the listeners. There were no gestures and it was no time for a flourish of eloquence. "The world will little note nor long remember what we say here," said the President, "but it can never forget what they did here." The whole thing was so simple and felicitous, so earnest and so becoming that it was felt as part of the nature of the solemn occasion. Deep in feeling and compact in thought the words fell like the morning dew drenching the fresh ears of corn. "His little speech was a perfect gem . . . tasteful and elegant in every word and comma," said an admiring reporter, "then it has the merit of unexpectedness in its verbal perfection and beauty."

Yet what do you think were the crazy comments of the boisterous press? Sandburg himself has pilloried in his book—cruelly rescuing their verdicts from a merciful oblivion.

The press in general, with its habitual cocksureness, unashamedly went on recording in its full fury and foolishness. It is diverting at this time of day to read what the lions of the American press thought of that great speech.

Patriot and Union of Harrisburg: We pass over the silly remarks of the President; for the credit of the nation we are willing that the veil of oblivion shall be dropped over them and that they shall no more be repeated or thought of. (How merciful!)

Chicago Times: The cheek of every American must tingle with shame as he reads the silly, flat, and dish-watery utterances of the man who has to be pointed out to intelligent foreigners as the President of the U.S. (Poor Lincoln!)

London Times: American correspondent: The ceremony was rendered ludicrous by some of the sallies of that poor President Lincoln Anything more dull and commonplace it would not be easy to produce. (So omniscient!).

Lincoln himself, in his modesty, told his friend Lamon: "That speech won't scour. It is

* It is here that we find the famous and ever-memorable definition of democracy: ". . . that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that the government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

a flat failure and the people were disappointed.”

But Everett was thrilled. The greatness of that little speech was not lost on him. He wrote to Lincoln the next day:

“ I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near to the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes.”

Lincoln knew better. He replied immediately:

“ In our respective parts yesterday, you could not have been excused to make a short address, nor I a long one. I am pleased to know that, in your judgment, the little I did say was not entirely a failure.”

—:O:—

GURU GOBIND SINGH

(1666-1708)

BY PROF. BALWANT SINGH, M.A.

GURU Nanak and his successors lived and strove to propagate the gospel of *Nam* or God-Realisation and its allied gospel of the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man. The holy Granth is one unbroken, colourful, rainbow-hued, melodious symphony of Guru Nanak's gospel of *Nam*, while the Gurus' sufferings and sacrifices mark their unquenchable zeal to realise the objective of the Equality and Brotherhood of Man. There was inequality and untouchability in the religious—as well as political sphere. Excrescences and corruptions had crept into Hinduism and ritual and ceremonial was treated by millions as the essence and core of Hinduism. The rulers behaved as aliens and the Hindus were treated more or less, as inferiors, because they happened to be Hindus. The Gurus did not choose the rosy path of telling of beads and mumbling of prayers in a secluded corner. On the one hand they preached the path of direct communion with God through constant *simran* and stainless personal purity, without getting entangled in the meshes of ceremonial and ritual and on the other, they would not tolerate oppression of man by man. Guru Nanak condemned in words that burn and blaze the atrocities committed by Babar's troopers on helpless Hindu and Muslim females. Guru Amar Das refused to pay the pilgrim-tax at Hardwar and his stout resistance ended in the abolition of the odious tax by Akbar. Guru Arjan refused to accept the law of Shariat as was announced by Jehangir. This law, as it was practised then, relegated non-Muslims to an inferior status and Pakistan continues those old traditions even today. How could the Gurus accept this vassalage? According to historian Sharma, Jehangir and Shah Jahan demolished Hindu temples and

unlike Akbar were intolerant. This accounts for Guru Arjan's and Guru Har Gobind's resistance. Guru Har Rai was drawn to the mystic catholic-minded Dara Shakoh as against bigoted Aurangzeb. Guru Tegh Bahadur laid down his life to resist Aurangzeb's bigotry, which prompted his persecution of Hindus and demolition of their temples. Guru Gobind Singh inherited from his predecessors the twin gospel of *Nam* and defiance of the forces which ground down his fellow-men and discriminated against them on account of their religion. The Gurus could not tolerate oppression nor religious intolerance. This was the legacy inherited by the Tenth Guru.

HELPLESS PUNJAB

Even as a boy, the Guru had seen the voluntary suffering of his great father. He had witnessed the cremation of the severed head of his sweet, inoffensive, saintly sire. He had seen the helplessness of the Hindus and the arrogant, insolent, autocratic might and intolerance of Aurangzeb. The Hindus were emasculated. They had to be vitalised and galvanised. Buddha's problem was how to remove pain from human life. The Guru's problem was how to make the Hindus virile while like Guru Nanak he believed in *Nam* as the panacea for human ills. For centuries the Punjab had been the door-mat of Muslim invaders, who carried fire and sword wherever they went. Centuries of this bitter experience had dispirited and demoralised them and the decadent descendants of the once virile Indo-Aryans had helplessly watched the driving of their wives, sisters and daughters like flocks of sheep and goats into the distant mountain fastnesses and homeland of the ruthless in-

vaders. Guru Nanak started the work of making his people virile by purifying and uniting the Hindus and the Muslims. Had rulers like Akbar succeeded him on his throne, Guru Nanak's dream of Hindu-Muslim unity would have been realised. But Jehangir's changed policy and the martyrdom of Guru Arjan as a sequel to the change, turned the course of History. Aurangzeb's intolerance and the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur made the breach unhealable and unbridgeable. The Hindus and Muslims were thrown apart. Aurangzeb's proselytising craze set India ablaze. The Mahrattas in the South, the Rajputs in the centre and the Sikhs in the Punjab stood up to fight. Guru Gobind Singh took 24 years to prepare the Sikhs to take up the challenge.

HIS QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE TERRIBLE TASK

As the Guru himself records, his father "had given him instruction of various kinds." He was widely-read. He had an intensive and extensive knowledge of old Sanskritic lore. He knew Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian and Punjabi. He wrote stirring, peerless poetry in Hindi and gathered round him 52 scholars and poets, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, at Anandpur. For long years he and his literary proteges were engaged in producing a great literature in Gurumukhi script. He had a prodigious memory and could reproduce the whole of the *Adi Granth*. He was skilled in riding, hunting, swimming, tent-pegging, archery and sword-fencing. He had great friends among Hindus and Muslims. Pir Budhu Shah at a critical time joined the Guru with his four sons and 700 disciples. In 1699 the Guru finalised his plans to design his Khalsa or puritanic Sikhs, physically fit, intellectually alert and spiritually one with God. The Khalsa was designed as Saint-soldiers. Before he initiated the Khalsa he called together the Rajput Rajas of the Punjab Hills at Rawalsar, now in Kangra district, and urged them to band together to resist Aurangzeb's high-handedness and religious fanaticism. The Rajput Rajas quailed at the very idea of resisting the mighty potentate. The Guru was consequently thrown upon his own resources and he designed his puritanic Sikhs.

PERIOD OF PREPARATION

In order to militarise the Sikhs he himself undertook their training. He drilled them. In

the initial stages, he would divide the Sikhs into two opposing divisions in freshly ploughed fields and the Sikhs would pelt the opposing ranks with earth-clods. They would storm mud-forts, on foot and on horse-back. He trained them in riding, tent-pegging, archery, fencing and sword-play. He inspired and inspirited them with his own stirring poetry and with Puranic tales of heroism versified by himself. *Simran* and purity of life were the crown and climax of his training. First and foremost, his Sikhs, as was designed by Guru Nanak and his eight successors, were to be men of *simran* and stainless purity. The Puritanic Sikhs, lost in God, were to fight His battles, which were of course, defensive.

HIS BATTLES

Among the Guru's five Beloved ones, three came from the so-called low castes, one was a Jat and one a Khatri. The Hindu Rajas were wroth with the Guru for his welcoming Sudras in his fold. Nor could the Guru tolerate the intolerance and tyrannous autocracy of Aurangzeb. The Hindu Rajas joined hands with Aurangzeb and the imperial forces, reinforced by those of the Rajas, besieged Anandpur from 1701 to 1704. It was a terrible ordeal for the besieged and they heroically bore the trial and tribulation of the siege for three long years. Assured by Aurangzeb and his Commanders that he would not be molested if only he vacated the Anandpur fort, he vacated the fort. But the foe unabashedly broke the solemn pledge and pursued him. The Guru, with his two sons and forty followers, took his stand in a frail mud fort at Chamkaur and fought against over-whelming odds. The Guru bade his two sons to go out to fight and die. Only five Sikhs were left and they besought him to leave the place and work for the cause so dear to his heart. The two younger sons who had got separated from the Guru, fell into the hands of the Nawab of Sarhind and were bricked up alive and when a tremor of the earth demolished the wall and the children, aged nine and seven, were yet found alive, they were mercilessly butchered, in spite of the spirited protests of the Nawab of Malerkotla, who then protested to Aurangzeb against the inhumanity. His protest was unavailing, for the children had been done to death, before the Nawab's letter could reach Aurangzeb. Thus the Guru's four sons laid down their lives and not in vain, for

it served as a perennial inspiration to the Sikhs who never forgave or forgot the great tragedy. Bahadur Shah who succeeded Aurangzeb undertook to punish those who were guilty of the slaughter of the two innocent boys but somehow the promise was never honoured. Banda Bahadur subsequently came armed to punish the evil-doers and was for a while triumphant. He defeated the Nawab of Sarhand, and the Nawab and his co-assassins were executed.

GURU GOBIND SINGH'S LAST DAYS

Guru Gobind Singh addressed two historic letters to Aurangzeb in Persian verse, wherein he acknowledged Aurangzeb's personal purity of character but severely reproved him for his fanaticism and his oppression of his own subjects. Aurangzeb was then in the Deccan. On receiving the second letter called 'Zafar Nama' or Epistle of Victory, Aurangzeb invited the Guru to see him personally at Ahmad Nagar. Royal orders were issued to the Rajas of Rajasthan to receive him right royally, when the Guru should happen to pass through their territory. The Guru started on his journey but before he had reached the destination, Aurangzeb's end was announced and the meeting never took place. Aurangzeb passed away in 1707. The Guru's end came in 1708. Guru Gobind Singh passed the last year of his life at Nandar on the bank of the Godavari. There are still over three lakhs of his followers among the Banjaras in the neighbourhood of Nandar.

GURU GOBIND SINGH'S ACHIEVEMENTS

"The harvest which ripened in the time of Guru Gobind Singh had been sown by Nanak and watered by his successors. The sword which carved the Khalsa's way to glory was undoubtedly forged by Govind but the steel had been provided by Nanak."—Narang's *Transformation of Sikhism*.

Guru Nanak found his people weak, timid and superstition-ridden. He started the process of purification and consolidation. By instituting congregational worship and community kitchens he sought to abolish the caste-system and untouchability. Guru Nanak's successors carried on his reformist work. Guru Nanak's dream of Hindu-Muslim unity, however, could not be realised on account of Jahangir's and Aurangzeb's executing Guru Arjan and Guru Tegh Bahadur respectively. Guru Gobind Singh transformed his weak, timid people into Saint-soldiers. His great sacrifices and the heroic death of his four sons proved a source of unfailing inspiration to the succeeding generations, who had thus the soul to dare and the will to die. They struggled and suffered for sixty years and in 1765 became masters of Lahore, while Maharaja Ranjit Singh extended his sway from Gilgit to Dera Ghazi Khan and from the Sutlej to Jamrod, thus making the Punjab and India safe against the inroads of invaders. It was verily a miracle worked by Guru Gobind Singh.

GURU GOBIND SINGH'S CATHOLIC OUTLOOK

The following quotation from his compositions illustrates Guru Gobind Singh's cosmopolitan views:

"The temple and the mosque are the same; the Hindu and the Muslim forms of worship are the same; all men are the same, although they appear different under different local influences.

"The white and the dark, the ugly and the beautiful, the Hindus and the Muslims have developed themselves according to the fashions of different lands.

"All have the same eyes, the same ears, the same body and the same build—a compound of the same four elements."—*Akal Ustai*.



PROPORTION OF THE BRAHMAN'S IN INDIA'S POPULATION IS DECREASING

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.SC., B.L., F.R.S.S. (London)

THE recorded census population of India (*i.e.*, Bharat and Pakistan taken together, but excluding Burma) at the different censuses have been:

Year of Census	Population (in 000's)
1891	279,593
1901	283,870
1911	293,041
1921	305,730
1931	338,171

The recorded numbers of the Brahman's at the different censuses have been:

Year of Census	No. of Brahman's (in 000's)
1891	14,822
1901	14,893
1911	14,599
1921	14,255
1931	15,237

The proportion of the Brahman's to the total population and to the total of Hindus has been as follows:

Year	Percentage of Brahman's in	
	Total Population	Hindus
1891	5.30	7.33
1901	5.24	7.45
1911	4.82	6.95
1921	4.66	6.81
1931	4.50	6.59
	0.80	0.74
Decrease during 40 years		

The proportion of the Hindus in the total population has been as follows:

Year	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Hindus (%)	74.32	72.31	70.34	69.31	68.41	62.24

While the relative decrease of the Hindus as a whole between 1891 and 1931 has been 5.6 per cent., that of the Brahman's during the same period has been 15.1—almost three times more. The Brahman's are decreasing even relatively to the Hindus. There has been an actual decrease in their number between 1891 and 1921—the amount is not negligible, it being some 4 per cent.

While the total population increased by 20.95 per cent during the 40 years, 1891 to 1931, the Brahman's increased by 2.80 per cent. only calculating the rate of increase by geometrical progression, the rate of increase of the total population has been 4.53 per cent per decade, and that of the Brahman's has been 0.69 per cent per decade. The rate of increase of the Brahman's is some 15.4 per cent or about one-sixth of the total growth.

So far as is known, no extensive census enumerations were made in either ancient or medieval India. We hear of regulations for enumerating house-holders in villages; and *sumars*—estimates of persons residing or cultivating lands in a village being maintained by the Zamindars; but no data have so far been discovered. The *Gajapatis* of Orissa, who ruled from Trichinopoly in Madras to Tribeni in Bengal, claimed to have 90 million persons as their subjects, and traditions of some sort of census; but excepting the claim no factual data or the basis for such claim has yet been discovered.

A careful investigation of such information as to the extent and intensity of agricultural activities, and the sizes of military forces in various parts of India at the time of Akbar (1565-1605) led Mr. W. H. Moreland to an estimate of about 100 million persons at the beginning of the seventeenth century. (See Moreland: *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 9. 12). Carr-Saunders in *World Population* commented on this estimate thus:

"Moreland's figure has been quoted with

favour in the census reports of India; no better estimate is available, but its factual basis is of the most slender kind." Kingsley-Davis in *Population of India and Pakistan*, however, has accepted this estimate as of having approximate validity.

S. Chandrasekhar in *India's Population*, following Shirras give India's population in 1750 to be 130 million (see p. 14). But the reference given by him is wrong. We have not been able to find out what was Shirras' estimate for 1750. We, however, accept it on the authority of Chandrasekhar. In 1800 the population according to Playfair's *Statistical Breviary* was 130 millions—a figure accepted by Kingsley-Davis.

We take India's population to have been:

1600	..	..	..	100	million
1750	..	..	..	130	"
1800	..	..	..	130	"
1890	..	..	..	280	"

The rate of growth of population has been calculated on geometrical progression to be:

Period	Rate per decade
1600—1750	1.76 %
1750—1800	0.00 %
1800—1891	8.90 %

A part of the very rapid increase during the nineteenth century is due to the inclusion of outlying areas and tribal areas, which were very likely not taken into account in the earlier estimates.

And the rate of growth of the Brahmans taking it to be one-sixth, as now of the total growth during the entire period 1600-1891; or taking it to have been one-fifth (on the assumption that in earlier times when the religious feeling was strong the conditions of their growth were more favourable), would be:

	at 1|6th rate per decade	at 1|5th rate per decade
1600-1750	0.29 per cent	0.35 per cent
1750-1800	0.00 "	0.00 "
1800-1891	1.48 "	1.78 "

Calculating backwards, the number of the Brahmans would be in—

in 000's @ 1|6 in 000's @ 1|5

In 1800	12,991	12,651
„ 1750	12,991	12,651
„ 1600	12,445	12,005

The percentage of the Brahmans to the total population would work out to—

1600	12.4	12.0
1750	10.0	9.7
1800	10.0	9.7
1891	5.3	5.3

In our calculations above we have taken the population of India as a whole as well as the Brahmans to have increased in geometrical progression. The actual growth may have been according to different laws.

What is important to note is that the proportion of the Brahmans in the total population has been decreasing during the last three centuries; and is now less than half of what it was at the death of Akbar.

The social implications of our conclusions, even if they are approximately correct, are serious from the cultural and religious point of views to the Hindus.

We shall now try to discuss briefly why the growth of the Brahmans had been slower than the general population.

First, the proportion of widows amongst them is higher than that among the Hindus or the total population. In 1931 the figures are—

	No. of females	No. of widows	%
Total population	162,386,913	25,496,660	15.70
Hindus	116,426,119	19,681,068	16.90
Brahmans	6,461,878	1,396,429	21.61

Secondly, the proportion of females amongst them is less than that among the Hindus or the general population. The figures for 1931 are—

	No. of females per 1,000 males
Brahmans	902
Hindus	953
Total population	940

Thirdly, their food-habits, they being more orthodox, are restricted to a fewer items of food, mostly non-animal food. Even in Bengal, where the Brahmans take fish, they do not take certain kinds of fishes, crabs, mussels, etc. They are more vegetarian than the general mass of the Hindus. Even with vegetables they were and even now in rural areas are averse to take certain new vegetables introduced in India. .

"The cultivation of potatoes was first introduced into Bengal by the English towards the close of the 18th Century. For a long time the potato was objected to as an article of food by orthodox Brahmans upon religious grounds—it is not admitted in the *Bhoga* of the temple of Jagannath; but now (1912) all who can afford to do so, eat it without prejudice."

"Cabbages were only introduced into the district half a century ago, and they are still mostly grown from imported seed. For a long period the upper classes of Hindus had a great objection to eating them, but this prejudice has almost entirely died away, and cabbages are now a favourite article of food with a large portion of the population."

"Turnips are also cultivated, but are eaten chiefly by Europeans and Muhammadans. This is the most recently introduced of European vegetables, and Hindus have not yet become accustomed to it as an article of food."

[*Hooghly District Gazetteer*, 1912, p. 144, *et seq.*]

What is true of Hooghly District is equally true of the rest of Bengal.

Cauliflowers are said to have been cultivated by Carey at Serampore in the early years of the nineteenth century. It became popular by the middle of the nineteenth century; and when offered as an article of food to the God Sri Sri Gopal Jai Thakur at Cossipore by the founder Rani Katyayani about 1864, the local Brahmans criticised her action. Harasundar Dutt of the Hatkhola Dutt family of Calcutta

(died 1821) was seriously displeased with the husband of his only daughter for taking cauliflower. He was a Kayastha.

Beet-roots are said to have been introduced into Bengal by a certain German prince while he was acting as the Consul-General shortly after the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

Tomatoes, known popularly as *Bilati Begun*, were taboo, as an article of food for good Hindus even as late as 1910 in Calcutta. It lost its unpopularity during the First Great War; even then orthodox Hindus did not take to it favourably as late as 1930.

Celery was first introduced about 1920; and is even now eschewed by the orthodox Hindus.

Certain kinds of *dals* (pulses), like *Musuri*, are not looked upon favourably by the orthodox Hindus.

As to meat, only goat and sheep, when offered to the Goddess Kali and Durga at certain auspicious times, are taken. Buffaloes, even when offered to the Goddess, are not taken. Other meat was absolutely prohibited to the Hindus.

It is believed by many that a varied diet helps the growth of population; a restricted diet slows down such growth.

Fourthly, of the religious mendicants and Sadhus and Brahmacharis, a large proportion, more than half according to reliable estimates, is recruited from the Brahman males. As the total number of such religious mendicants and Brahmacharis is comparatively small, any slower growth due to this cause is of minor effect; especially as polygamy is permitted to the Brahmans.

Their slower growth during at least the last few centuries may have helped them in maintaining their religious conservatism and following traditional occupations. But this is a big question; and it has got to be freely investigated.



THE ART OF GANDHARA

By PROF. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A.,

Member, Asiatic Society

EVERY high art has to deal with the question of Truth and Beauty, and the Gandhara art is no exception to the general rule. The great authority Mr. Alfred North Whitehead writes:

"Art is purposeful adaptation of appearance to reality. Now 'purposeful adaptation' implies an end, to be obtained with more or less success. This end, which is the purpose of art, is two-fold—namely, Truth and Beauty. The perfection of art has only one end, which is Truthful Beauty . . . In the absence of Truth, Beauty is on a lower level, with a defect of massiveness. In the absence of Beauty, Truth sinks to triviality. Truth matters because of Beauty."¹

He further writes:

"Goodness is the third member of the trinity which traditionally has been assigned as the complex aim of art—namely, Truth, Beauty, and Goodness."²

This is very plainly the endorsement of the traditional Indian ideal—*Satyam-Sivam-Sundaram*—which is exemplified in Indian philosophy and art, and to a great extent in the art of Gandhara. This is all very good and true, but the art of Gandhara had a more difficult task to perform. Here the orthodox Hindu art had to adapt itself to the Mahayan Buddhist art, as also the Indian art had to adapt itself to the occidental Greek art. Very diverse and dissimilar elements mingle here,—making the task of the Gandhara art difficult but interesting. The amount of success attained here has been a matter of controversy. In the next few paragraphs we shall try to understand the nature of this controversy so that we may form a perspective and may be better able to judge as to the extent of success attained by this art. Suffice it to note for the present that Gandhara art is one of the recognised and most well-known arts in India, much admired by the entire world.

We can best open the discussion of one of

the problems facing the Gandhara art in the words of Prof. Arnold Toynbee. He writes:

"As the Greek art of the 'Hellenistic' and early 'Imperial' age spreads eastward, across the dead body of the defunct Persian Empire, until it reaches Afghanistan, it becomes more and more conventional and commercial and lifeless. And then something like a miracle happens. The fast degenerating Greek art collides in Afghanistan with another spiritual force which is radiating out of India: the Mahayan form of Buddhism. And the degenerating Greek art unites with the Mahayan to produce a distinctively new and intensely creative civilization: the Mahayan Buddhist civilization which has travelled north-eastward across Asia to become the civilization of the Far East."³

This is the Gandhara art. Greek and Buddhist arts and cultures mix freely in the creation of the famous Gandhara art. We shall see later that in this creation the body is Greek whereas the spirit is Indian. But before that we shall consider another important question that the learned Professor takes up in another context.

"The fateful question is, of course: Can one manage to adopt an alien civilization partially without being drawn on, step by step, into adopting it as a whole."⁴

Now, this is a very important and at the same time difficult and controversial question, I must confess. And also, I have no authority to challenge the above opinion of one of the intellectual giants of this age. So, I shall simply discuss it, without venturing any opinion of my own. This question came up before the Gandhara school, and it was solved possibly in the best manner under such circumstances, although, it must always remain a matter of opinion. The more important question, however, is that in the past also alien civilizations did clash, and in some cases, of course, one of them was absorbed in the other, 'step by step'. But whether it always happened, and is always bound to happen, I have some doubts. By the

1. *Adventure of Ideas* by Alfred North Whitehead, Sq.D., LL.D.; F.R.S., F.B.A. (of Harvard University), pp. 344.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 345.

3. Prof. Arnold Toynbee: *Civilization on Trial* p. 53.

4. *Ibid*, p. 167.

way when two alien civilizations collide, why should not in some cases a third civilization be produced? I cannot say. But I feel that the possibility can probably never be ruled out altogether. Anyhow, in Gandhara, it was probably this new third civilization that was produced, a very happy compromise between the Greek body and the Indian spirit. It must be clearly understood here that we for a moment do not challenge the above 'possibility' mentioned by the learned Professor, for undoubtedly that also happens on several occasions. What we feel is it may not inevitably and unfailingly happen in every case, and that possibly at Gandhara it does not happen. Although, that again, is a matter of opinion.

In the nineteenth century a great European master of art, Burckhardt, popularised the idea of "the concept of art-history as indissolubly part of the whole history of man's spirit—*Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte*."⁵ In the survey of Indian art and in particular those of Ajanta and Gandhara, one finds that here art is mainly concerned in depicting human life and spirit to the best of its capacity. At Gandhara human life in all its fulness and in all its glory is depicted and truly it can be called an art of man's entire emotional and spiritual life.

This art developed particularly under the Kushans and more particularly at the time of Kanishka. Pierre Meille rightly indicates:

"The Graeco-Buddhist art has known a new florescence under his (*i.e.*, Kanishka's) reign".⁶

Prof. R. C. Mazumdar writes:

"The Gandhara school, as its name implies, flourished in the north-western frontier of India. As has already been related, this region was ruled over by a number of Greek princes for about three hundred years. The influx of this new element produced a novel school of art in this meeting-ground of East and West . . . The result was an Indo-Hellenic school . . . Its chief characteristic is the realistic representation of human

figures . . . It failed, however, to penetrate deeply into the interior, and had no share in the later development of Indian art."⁷

Prof. E. B. Havell comes to the conclusion that

"The true reading of Gandharan sculpture also evidences that the influence of Hellenistic art upon Indian was purely technical in character and was in no way the spiritual or intellectual force which shaped its ideals and ordered its forms of expression. Magadha and not Gandhara was the spiritual centre of the Mahayana Buddhism to which Kanishka gave the imperial patronage."⁸

According to the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar:

"The history of Gandhara sculpture is one of gradual Indianization . . ."⁹

This is true and happened under the Guptas and somewhat late. But what is probably more true is that the Gandhara art was not transformed, but that with the decline of the Greek power in Indo-Bactria it ceased to grow or it ended, and the Imperial Guptas improving upon the Gandhara model brought about a new type of art altogether, which undoubtedly had many similarities with the Gandhara art. Had the Greek power not declined in Bactria probably we would have seen further logical development of the pure Gandhara art.

The range of this art is very wide and interesting:

"A typical Gandharan monastery consists mainly of two structures, stupa and the monastery with the aggregate of other buildings."¹⁰

"The earliest representation of the Buddha in human form which comes from the Gandhara area depicts him almost as a Greek youth. . . . Women are also similarly represented as may be seen from the figures of Mayadevi or Hariti. Other motifs like bacchanalian groups, atlantes, garland-bearers and the Corinthian type of pillar

5. *The Study of Art History* by Sir Kenneth Clark, being an address delivered at the Jubilee meeting of the Historical Association in the Senate House, University of London, on 4th January, 1956; p. 7.

6. Pierre Meille: *Histoire De L'inde*, p. 29. "L'art greco-boudhique a connu une nouvelle floraison sous son regne."

7. R. C. Mazumdar: *Ancient India*, p. 237.

8. Prof. E. B. Havell: *History of Aryan Rule in India*, p. 169.

9. Mr. N. G. Majumdar: *The Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, Part II of *The Archaeological Survey of India*, p. 21.

10. *Five Thousand Years of Indian Architecture*, The Publications Division, p. 9.

capital show the deep-rooted nature of this influence."¹¹

We also have "the actual figure of the Buddha issuing from the side of Mayadevi, absent in indigenous representation."¹² Corinthian capitals, 'frieze of garland-bearers,' marine horse, marine deities, 'garland carried by Erotes or Cupids,' 'female figure,' 'holding a palm branch in her left hand,'—are some of the chief characteristics mentioned by the late scholar Mr. N. G. Majumdar, borrowed from Greek art. He writes:

"The folds of the cloth are indicated by horizontal and parallel curves in relief. This robe is so much like the Roman toga and is executed in a manner so much like it that there can hardly be a mistake about its origin."¹³

The representation of the Bodhisatvas is also interesting in this art. Here "the muscular treatment of the body and the moustache, clearly point to foreign influence."¹⁴ The Bodhisatvas mainly depicted here are—Maitreyi, Avalokitesavara, and Manjusri. It is interesting to note that Sir John Marshall has called the later Gandhara school as 'Indo-Afghan'.¹⁵

At Gandhara quite a number of important Jatakas have been represented. The Shyama Jataka, Shaddanta Jataka, Vessantara Jataka, Sibi Jataka, Rishyasringa Jataka, Dipankara Jataka, and the Chandra Kinnara Jataka are delineated here. These representations are very interesting both for their artistic merit and the lofty morals they teach.

Important scenes from the life of the Buddha are also represented here. The dream of Mayadevi, the birth of the Buddha, the birth of Kanthaka, the favourite horse of the Buddha, the First Bath of the Buddha, the departure of Mayadevi from Kapilavastu, her return to Kapilavastu and the prediction of Asita, the marriage of the Buddha, the Renunciation of the Buddha, the Visit of King Bimbisara, the practice of austerities by the Buddha before his

Enlightenment, the Assault of Mara, the First Sermon, Sravasti-Miracle, the Great Decease, Devadatta and the Assassins, the child of the dead Woman, the consolation of Ananda, and the Mediating Buddha, are some of the best scenes from the life of the Great Master depicted here. The scene showing the Master offering protection to Vajrapani (divided in three panels) is a unique piece in itself. Thus it can be seen that this art was very comprehensive, showing a long period of maturity and growth, and the themes were all Indian mainly Buddhist even though the sculpture shows Greek technique in its execution. As the late Professor S. N. Das Gupta points out:

"Whenever foreign influence worked its way through; or whenever the Indian artist worked under foreign influence, he paid greater attention to faithfulness to nature. Thus in the Greco-Buddhist or the Gandhara arts the productions are inspired by a feeling of loyalty to actual human figures."¹⁶

It made for anatomical accuracy in representation, which has its own charm and recommendation; although it is not the usual thing in Indian art tradition where anatomical accuracy is subordinated to the representation of higher ideas and emotions according to the accepted technique of such representation. According to Mme. Jeannine Auboyer:

"Its chief characteristics are on the one hand the application of Hellenistic formula to Buddhist themes, and, on the other hand, the creation of an entire Buddhist iconography which until then by a voluntary omission did not represent the Buddha."¹⁷

It should be noted that quite apart from the Greek influence (which, of course, was there), the representation of the Buddha in human form was also due to the Mahayana cult which developed under Kanishka.

There are two almost contradictory opinions on the art of Gandhara. Stella Kramrisch writes:

11. *A Guide to the Archaeological Galleries of the Indian Museum* by Mr. C. Sivaramamurti, p. 6.

12. Mr. C. Sivaramamurti: *Guide to the Archaeological Galleries of the Indian Museum*, p. 7.

13. Mr. N. G. Majumdar: *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, p. 12.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

15. Sir John Marshall: *A Guide to Taxila*, 1936; pp. 33-34.

16. Prof. S. N. Dasgupta: *Fundamentals of Indian Art*, p. 32.

17. Mme. J. Auboyer: *Les Arts de l'Extrême-orient*, p. 46: "Ses caractéristiques principales sont, d'une part l'application de formules hellénistiques à des thèmes bouddhiques, et, d'autre part, la constitution de toute une iconographie bouddhique qui, jusque-là, ne représentait pas le Bouddha, par une omission du reste volontaire."

"A serene and compassionate, formal and facile beauty expressive of Buddhist beatitudes made the images of the school of Gandhara popular with the mixed population of the northern border region of India."¹⁸

This is very great appreciation. In the opinion of the famous French critic M. Henry Martin, however:

"The Graeco-Buddhist art lacks sincerity. There one would seek in vain that emotion, that radiance of the inner life which characterise purely Indian sculptures."¹⁹

Now, this charge of insincerity assumes that two cultures and art-traditions so different as the Greek and the Indian can never properly or happily mix together. Whenever two entirely opposite cultures meet the possibility of some amount of insincerity is always there. But again, it need not invariably be so. In the Gandhara art we have almost the complete Greek technique and almost the complete Indian spirit and themes. As such the charge of insincerity is difficult to accept. This broad principle that the Gandhara art accepted has been followed throughout. There is no deviation from it. Thus, insincerity there is none within its own terms of reference selected by the Gandhara art itself. The question then arises: Is the Greek technique not suited to the proper representation of Indian themes and Indian spirit? Is it then insincere on this account? We do not know. Also it should

always remain a matter of opinion and controversy. But what we, in our humble way feel, is, whenever two cultures will clash in order to borrow to enrich our own we can adopt either the technique or the spirit of a foreign culture. Now, of these two, is it not always better to adopt the foreign technique and keep the spirit our own? This was what the Gandhara art did. How can it be called insincere then? Again, if we refuse to adopt foreign technique, then artistic development will always remain on a low level in the absence of being fertilised by new and diverse elements. So, that will not do either. Foreign and new technique should often be adopted, and there can be no charge of insincerity in it. But it should be intelligently adopted so as to be completely and healthily naturalised, so that it may fit in exactly. I think that the Greek technique applied in Gandhara art fits in very healthily and naturally. And, hence, the charge of insincerity is a bit too difficult to accept, notwithstanding the fact that it comes from a very famous French critic.

I think that the great importance and lesson of the Gandhara art in our history consists in the fact that this art reveals the wonderful liberality and adaptability in our art and culture, that we can borrow a foreign technique without losing our soul, and that culturally a very happy synthesis between the East and the West was possible in India in very early days and as such may be possible in the present and in future as well. The Gandhara Art abounds in lessons for the future as well.

18. *The Art of India* by Stella Kramrisch, p. 33.

19. *L'art Indien et L'art Chinois* by Henry Martin, p. 20: "L'art Greco-bouddhique manque de sincerite. Only chercherait en vain cette emotion, ce rayonnement de vie interieure qui caracterisent les sculptures purement indiennes."



"THE ARTS AND CRAFTS OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN"

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

We welcome this handsomely produced and profusely illustrated survey of Indian Art,* another creditable contribution to the literature of Art, a branch of publication in which Taraporevala's 'Treasure House of Books' has specialized with commendable enterprise. There is hardly any publisher in India who has specialized in books on Indian Art and Culture, but this publishing house has built a distinguished tradition in the field, having to their credit at least a dozen sumptuously illustrated books. Indian interest in the study of Indian Art is not making any headway owing to two hiatuses—the total boycott of the subject by the Indian Universities from their syllabus of the Humanities and the dearth of cheap and good text-books on Indian Art. It should not be forgotten that during the last few years quite a large number of richly illustrated books on the subject has been published by the enterprising publishers of Europe and America, mostly written by able and qualified connoisseurs of Indian Art. Indeed, it can be said that foreign scholars have now monopolized the study of this great branch of Indian civilization to the complete exclusion of Indians to whom the subject should belong as part of their own national heritage. Taraporevalas have been valiantly attempting to provide books on Indian Art at a cheap price so that the study of the subject may become popular with citizens of Free India attempting to build a New India, a feat which will be impossible to accomplish unless every Indian knew and realized what great contributions have been made in the past in the department of Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and the Applied Arts. This new book of Indian Art should stimulate the curiosity of our Indian scholars, exclusively confined to

historical and antiquarian studies and tragically lacking in any dose of aesthetic training to be able to understand* the quality and intrinsic merits of Indian Art as an intimate revelation and expression of the mind and soul of India. This lack of aesthetic training has thoroughly disqualified most of our educated brethren from critically appraising and intimately appreciating the peculiar values of Indian Art—the greatest heritage of Indian Culture. The book before us with their generous quantity of illustrative materials, 6 Colour Plates, 515 Half-tone Illustrations and 212 Line Drawings, has, on the whole, covered the large continent of Indian Art and placed ample materials at the hands of the readers for an adequate bird's eye view of a very extensive field. The quality of the reproductions in half-tone is of a high-class quality though we could not praise the merits of the drawings—particularly the line-drawings which are sometimes too clumsy to translate the subtle refinement of the originals. Specimens selected, though quite adequate, are not always well-chosen and the great masterpieces, *e.g.*, the Benares Kartikeya (CXVII), the Elephanta Mahesamurti (CXXV), the Yakshini architraves (CIV), the Leyden Uma (CXLVIII) have not been correctly emphasized by isolating them from the crowd of other illustrations. Sometimes, the juxtaposition is very unhappy, giving a bizarre and grotesque effect, *e.g.*, Ashoka's Lion-Capital and a Gupta Buddha, sandwiched between a bunch of Gandhara specimens (CXIV, CXV); Orissan Nayikas juxtaposed incongruously with Jaina Ceilings and Hoyasala reliefs (CXXXIV & CXXXV); early Buddhist Cave Sculpture, improperly placed between Rastrakuta reliefs (CXXII-CXXIII); Lomasha Rishi Cave, placed below Bodh-Gaya temple (CLIII). This has led to a chronological 'incongruity' preventing any easy realization of the different steps and stages of the evolution in one continuous sweep. The most tragic sequential solecism is to place the Puri Temple on the same plate (CLXIV) with the decadent Jaina temple of Limbdi, immediately followed by Nayaka

* The Arts and Crafts of India and Pakistan; A Pictorial Survey of Dancing, Music, Painting; Sculpture, Architecture, Art-crafts; and Ritual Decorations from the earliest times to the present day: By Shanti Swarup, 89 pp; with 6 coloured plates, 212 line drawings; and 515 half-tone illustrations. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 210, Dr. D. Naoroji Road, Bombay, India; 1957. Price Rs. 44.

architecture. The illustrative materials (with some omission here and there) were quite adequate to present the continuous evolutionary history if the specimens were properly placed in a strictly chronological scheme. Considering that not a single Pallava Relief, or Nagarjunikonda marble has been cited, the over-all picture is badly balanced by citing a large number of the Baroque. Sculpture of the Hoysala School which is a very unhappy and painful phase of Indian Art. In the Painting section, six haphazard specimens of Rajput Painting are made to balance against nineteen examples of Moghul Miniatures, many of them good selections, while Pala Painting, wrongly juxtaposed, is dismissed with two inadequate citations (LX) and with six lines in the text (p. 19). In the treatment of Modern Painting the Tagore School is "foolishly" condemned as a Revivalist movement echoing the cheap slogans of Bombay critics. There is no meaning in citing a painting of Roerich (a great masterpiece as it is) in a survey of Indian national painting, which omits to cite a single Abanindranath or Nanda Lal Bose. On the whole, the section of Architecture is a good and balanced survey. The section of Art-Crafts, though supported by a profuse number of specimens, does not emphasize the high-lights in a judicious presentation of selected masterpieces, the good, the bad and the indifferent being

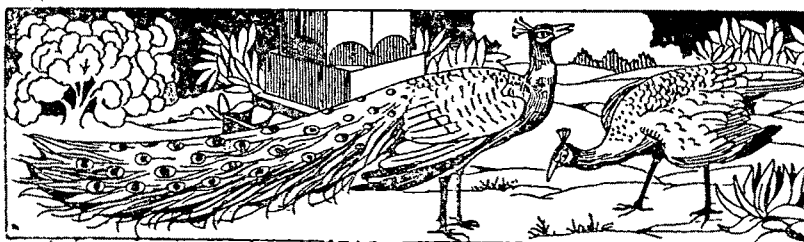
jumbled together in a confusing medley. On the whole, the Dancing and Music Section placed at the beginning (though not an authoritative exposition) is comparatively free from criticism.

It is embarrassing to make any comments on the text which is uniformly dull and unconvincing and hardly effective in inspiring new students to take up the study of their great heritage. There is not a single purple sentence in the whole book excepting in the quotations. Nevertheless, the writer of the text, inadequately trained and hardly equipped for the task, has valiantly struggled to fill up the extensive carvas. Considering the fact that existing colour blocks have been utilised and a large number of specimens have been directly copied from the pages of the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (Art-Craft Section), the price affixed—Rs 44—is high, and will not be popular amongst poor Indian scholars. The cost of production could have been lowered by judicious pruning of many irrelevant illustrations. We humbly draw the attention of the publishers to the Pelican publication: *Art and Architecture of India*, with 288 pages of scholarly text, with 190 illustrations, priced at 45 shillings (Rs. 36-3-0). It is to be hoped that in a second edition the text of the volume before us would be revised and improved and an Index added to facilitate references.

—:O:—

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for February, 1958, p. 149, l. 2 (top); Read By D. C. Mathur (writer of the article, "Nietzsche's Philosophy") for By R. C. Mathur.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE: By U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Messrs. Orient Longmans, Calcutta. Pp. xxiv + 538. Price Rs.25.

The book is a revised and enlarged edition of the author's previous work entitled *The Beginnings of Indian Historiography and Other Essays* published in 1944. The latter contained a number of his research papers on various topics of Indian history and culture (some of them originally appearing in many antiquarian journals of India), and was well received by Indologists. It has been out of print for some time, and hence the reason for the present edition, though under a different name. The volume under review not only includes most of the chapters of the old work, those on South-East Asia and a few others only being left out, but it also contains as many as nine new ones on varied and interesting topics. The eight other chapters comprising old matter have been thoroughly revised and brought up-to-date by the author. Thus the book is virtually a new one incorporating some of the results of the life-long research activities of one of the maturest of the Indian scholars of international reputation.

The 17 chapters of the book have been carefully grouped in four parts according to their subject-matter, each group having thus a certain amount of continuity of thought and purpose. The first part comprising in all five chapters deals with the topic of historiography as displayed in various ways in ancient Indian literature of different periods beginning from the Vedas and ending with the Chronicles of Kashmir. The author has shown skilfully how the historic sense gradually developed in India from the Gathas and Narasamsis of the Vedic

texts to the royal and dynastic chronicles of Kashmir. In the first of the two chapters comprising Part II, Dr. Ghoshal has rightly criticised the usual convention of dividing the history of India into three well-marked chronological periods and naming them as Hindu, Muhammadan and British. The division has not been questioned so much as the naming, and he has shown sound reason in supporting the view that the periods should more preferably be described as Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern. In the second chapter of this part he has discussed critically the absorbing topic of the dynamics of the history of India, and has tried to solve the fundamental problem of its ups and downs, especially of the periodical weakening of the vitality of her spirit and her institutions. In this task he has taken his clue from Sri Aurobindo who pointed years ago that 'the fundamental cause of the growth and decline of India's civilisation was the strengthening and weakening of her ancient spirit and characteristic soul.' The author has determined the verdict of history in this connection by an analytical study of the essential features of the four critical periods of Indian history: the post-Maurya period, the period of impact of militant Islam, that of decline and fall of the Mughal empire, and lastly, the period of impact of British imperialism and its conflict with Indian nationalism. Part III of Dr. Ghoshal's book contains the largest number of chapters (6), and deals with the various aspects of ancient Indian polity, his special field of research. His contributions to the study of this branch of Indology by way of monographs and papers have been solid throughout, and it is no wonder that these chapters are full of much useful information on the subject. The last part of the book consists of four chapters incorporating his re-

searches in ancient Indian social, religious and political history. It thus does not possess the unity of thought which is present in the other parts; but yet the critical observations of the author on such varied topics as slavery in India of the ancient and early mediaeval times, the rite of head-offering to the deity in early Indian art and literature, Divya and Bhima of ancient Bengal and lastly, the factors contributing to the downfall of ancient Indian political civilisation are original and thought-provoking.

In the treatment of the aforesaid topics, Dr. Ghoshal has seldom failed to appraise critically the existing views and hypotheses on them, and to marshal all relevant data in a skilful way in support of his own suggestions. The book is thus a monument to the author's scholarship, and will serve as a very useful work of reference. A few misprints and typographical errors are noticeable in it, but these are unavoidable in a work of such bulk and magnitude.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

THE LIVING THOUGHTS OF GOTAMA THE BUDDHA: *Presented by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and I. B. Horner.* Jaico Publishing House, Bombay. 1956. Pp. 261. Price Rs. 2.

This is a reprint in the cheap, but handy attractive series of Jaico Publishing House publications, of a well-known scholarly work. It consists of two parts. Part I written (as shown from the internal evidence) by Dr. Coomaraswamy deals with the life of the Buddha and the Buddhist doctrine, while Part II contributed by Miss Horner comprises selections of a large number of extracts in translation from the Pali canon. The treatment of the Buddha's life is marked by a certain incongruity, as the author on his own admission (p. 10) is inclined to take the Buddha to be a myth, but prefers to deal with him as a historical person, and proceeds accordingly to narrate the incidents of the Buddha's career after the canonical tradition. This description is marred by certain slips, e.g., in the reference to Kapilavasthu "the capital of Kosala," and to "Yasoda, the wife of the Buddha" (p. 10). The portion relating to the Buddhist doctrine displays an immense amount of study and reflection involving frequent parallels between the thought of the Indian saint and that of the European philosophers from Plato downwards and occasionally that of the early Muslim thinkers. The author,

however, chooses to ignore the teachings of all schools of Buddhism other than those of the Hinayana school. His treatment, again, like the title of the whole work, indicates unawareness of the strands in the early Buddhist doctrines such as have been recently brought forward with prominence in the work *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism* by G. C. Pande (Allahabad University Publication, 1957). The author's heavy style is certainly not relieved by his tendency to translate the Pali technical words by such terms (p. 22 f) as 'Wake' for the Buddha, 'Timecome' for the *Tathagata*, and 'Despiration' for *Nibbana*. The extracts constituting Part II cover a very wide field. There may, however, be some doubts about the translations 'the uttermost security from bondage' for *Yogakkhema* (p. 59), 'Man-thus-come' for *Tathagata* (p. 62), and 'aspersion' for the royal *abhisheka* (p. 89). It is also doubtful whether 'rolling of the wheel' by the son of a 'World-ruler' (*Chakkavatti*) is properly explained as 'rolling the wheel of government' (p. 236 n).

The paper, print and get-up are good, but there is no index.

U. N. GHOSHAL

TAGORE'S CHITRANGADA: *Translated by Birendra Nath Roy. Published by Sribhumi Publishing Co., 79, Harrison Road, Calcutta-9, Price Rs. 3.*

Chitrangada is a poem of Tagore packed full with rich and concentrated sensuous beauty, with a faint suggestion of psychological unrest which, however, is never allowed to dominate the sensuous interest. The translation of such a poem in a foreign language presents special difficulties, as music, rhythm, evocative images and emotional undertones together build up the atmosphere of the poem—elements which by their very nature and complexity of interaction cannot be expected to be reproduced in an alien tongue. Against such a background Sri Birendra-nath Roy's translation of Chitrangada into English may appear a risky and equivocal venture. But in spite of the inherent difficulties of the task, Sri Roy has achieved a very fair measure of success. The translation has recaptured the rhythmic and emotional strain of the original and the flow of ideas is almost unhampered by the change of medium. To be sure, the rich and overpowering intoxication of the finest passages of sensuous beauty appears a little thin and faded in the new language, but this is, perhaps, inevitable. The translator's too

frequent indulgence in inversions and a few grammatical solecisms jar on our ears, but the effect is never so pronounced as to disturb the impression of an even flow of beauty and a competent command over the resources of expression. As instances, I would mention p. 19, line 2 'abound,' p. 25 'shadow of her own' in place of 'her own shadow,' p. 27 'fondlings' which appears clearly a wrong use, p. 28 'started', a misprint, perhaps, for 'startled,' 'In your glory own', last line of p. 28, p. 30 'till those days are on,' where 'till' seems a mistake for 'so long', p. 35 'as though' at the end of the line and 'despaired' in place of 'despairing', p. 36 'rejoiced,' p. 37 'hanged' better 'hung', p. 42 the line 'But if not satisfied you are still'—a rather clumsy inversion, p. 43 'what wants she got?', p. 44, line 2, with a tame ending and 'Waiting . . . great,' p. 47, line 3, p. 48 'of spring . . . is', etc. In spite of these weaknesses and inelegances, the translation is a meritorious performance and evinces great skill in the manipulation of a foreign tongue and some affinity of spirit with the original. Sri Roy deserves the congratulation of all lovers of Rabindranath for his able presentation of one of his outstanding poems.

SRIKUMAR BANERJEE

BANDE MATARAM AND INDIAN NATIONALISM: *By Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee. Published by K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 6-1 Banchharam Akur Lane, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 2.50 n.P.*

In the first part of the book the authors explain the deep import of Bankimchandra Chatterjee's *Bande Mataram*. During the stormy days of the Swadeshi movement, it transcended the bounds of a national song and was virtually an oath of fealty to the nation. We wish we had a bit of the history, how on one of the Durga Pujah days Bankimchandra in the house of a friend of his, conceived our motherland, transmuted into Durga 'holding her ten weapons of war, Kamala the goddess of wealth at play in the lotuses and Bani, the deity of wisdom, giver of all lore'. Then only should we have a complete picture of motherland 'richly-watered, richly-fruited, sweet of laughter, sweet of speech,' but as 'terrible with the clamorous shout of seventy million throats and the sharpness of swords raised in seventy million hands. In the second part of the book we have some crucial editorials of the paper *Bande Mataram* through which Shri Aurobindo sounded his clarion call of nationalism and convulsed India.

Dr. Surendranath Sen in his Foreword calls Bepin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh *santans* (true sons) of mother India. Taking the cue, the vital link is in Bankimchandra's novel *Ananda Math*. A dense forest, so very dense that the sun cannot penetrate into it. The deep, eerie silence of the place is stirred up by strange voices in the form of question and answer. 'If not life, what is it that the motherland calls for?' 'A life of self-effacing steadfast devotion.' A reference to these would have possibly embellished the book.

Anyway, the authors are eminently deserving of our thanks for their laudable efforts in delving out materials of rare, unique value. They exercised and will exercise an irresistible fascination over generations yet unborn. They are such stuff as inspires the nation's servant to be a martyr to the causes, so that his may be the 'tongue of flame whose lightest word is an inspiration to self-sacrifice or a spur to action.' We gather from the book that Aurobindo was as much for a 'bloodless installation of liberty'; he kept in the forefront of their programme a scheme to make the administration impossible by an organised 'No' to the Government. It is history that as he despaired of mending the Rule, he would end it, no matter how.

Such and many other allied things Mukherjee and Mukherjee have given us. They are in their patriotic yearnings and fidelity to the cause they have taken up—of which we have evidence in this and other papers—reminiscent of Sydney and Beatrice Webb.

JOGES C. BOSE

MUNSHI—HIS ART AND WORK, Vol. I: *Published by Shri Munshi Seventieth Birthday Citizens' Celebration Committee. Price Rs. 2.*

Shri K. M. Munshi, of late the Rajyapal of the Uttar Pradesh, and founder-Kulapati of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, is one of those who make their "mother's milk resplendent." His titles to greatness are more than one. A brilliant lawyer, a dauntless fighter in the Motherland's struggle for liberation, a profound thinker and scholar, a prolific and versatile writer in his mother-tongue Gujarati and in English, Shri K. M. Munshi has earned an honoured place for himself in the long roll of India's brilliant men. His life and work will inspire his countrymen for generations to come.

The publishers have done a great national service by having brought out a volume on Shri Munshi's life and work.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

A STUDY OF THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIAN REPUBLIC: By *Arun Kumar Banerjee, M.A.* A. K. Publications, 209, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Third revised edition, July, 1957. Pp. 183. Price Rs. 2.25.

This nice little study by Prof. Arun Kumar Banerji is designed to meet the need of junior college students and in a way, serves the purpose well. The book has been written in an unassuming matter, though it bears evidence to the author's effort to give a careful summary and analysis of the provisions of our Constitution. The author knows his subject and presents a highly readable text which would be found useful both by students and general readers. The appendices at the end of the book and an index, compiled with some care, add to the value of the book.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

HINDI

CALCUTTE KA CHAMATKAR: By *Manubehn Gandhi.* Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 132. Price Re. 1-4.

This is a Hindi translation of the author's daily diary in Gujarati from 1.8.1947 to 8.9.1947, dealing with Gandhiji's brief visit to

Kashmir and his stay in Calcutta for about a month for the purpose of restoring sanity and amity to the Hindus and the Moslems who, at the time, were stricken with the insanity of 'exclusiveness' or aggressiveness and hatred of each other. The Mahatma did, indeed, achieve nothing short of a miracle inasmuch as his own shining example and valour and words of wisdom did help in disarming them of the steel-armour of poisonous sectarianism in which they had clothed themselves in the name of selfish security. Only if that sanity and amity had lasted longer!

G. M.

GUJARATI

SANSARNI SHOBHA: By "*Shayda*". Printed at the Beghadi Mouj Printing Press, Bombay. 1951. Thick card-board. Illustrated. Pp. 256. Price Rs. 3-8.

As a story-writer "*Shayda*" has done much commendable work. His style of writing is easy, and his characters such as you meet with in daily life. The seventeen stories printed here bear that characteristic in its entirety. That is why he has become popular.

K.M.J.

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Indian Periodicals

Something that Never Happened Before

Roy Bridger, examining the "perpetual emergency" of our day, goes to the heart of the dilemma posed by nuclear weapons and the obstacles to disarmament. He writes in *The Aryan Path* :

On all sides it is evident that we have entered a period of perpetual emergency of a kind never previously experienced in known history. As Professor Roger Heim, President of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, has summarized it: "Man has become a prisoner of the mechanical consequences of his powers of invention."

When man set out to improve his standard of living with the aid of machines, themselves subject to continual improvement and increasing efficiency, he took a road which stretched away into the unimaginable future, a road which seemed to be entirely without end. Today, especially in the case of the more heavily mechanized countries, the situation can be seen to be getting out of hand. The road of everlasting progress looks suspiciously like a road to mass suicide through breakdown of biological stability.

The problem is brought out on vast, cataclysmic lines involving radiation damage fears and nuclear warfare threats; and it is brought out in a multitude of little unexpected ways. For instance, in America just now they are talking about the G-Line—the Gadget Line. This is the latest shape of the human form: with thickened waist and heavy thighs, overweight hips and distended paunch. It is the result of the thousands of labour-saving gadgets which have been pouring into American homes and industry for two generations and more. Machines are now doing what people did for themselves—but their owners have had to pay the penalty in fitness. In theory, labour-saving devices should be introduced as a welcome boon to those sections of the world's population most in need, particularly to the millions of small cultivators struggling round the clock to keep up with the demands of the seasons. To some extent this is what has occurred, but the process is not turning out as it should. Those

who already have are getting more than is good for them, the rest continue to go without.

In agricultural equipment something more efficient than the hoe is clearly an advantage; "dust-bowl" farming, using powerful tractors designed to plough ever deeper and faster, fleets of combine-harvesters whirling away precocious crops forced with chemical stimulants and preserved with poison sprays against equilibrium-restoring "pests"—is unbalanced efficiency run riot.

In the processing of foodstuffs, too, machines for refining and doctoring food to new degrees of incompatibility with the human constitution are appearing all the time, while other machines are engaged in the large-scale production of drugs to deaden Nature's warning pain signals.

It is in the military field, however, that the most immediately urgent crisis has been reached. As man started to perfect machines for improving his standard of living, so began the corresponding rise of his weapons of destruction. No one can doubt that the end of this particular road is near. Whatever there was to be said for an armaments industry offering improved spears and patent muzzle-loaders, it is evident that, when it can only go on turning out apparatus for destroying everything on the planet, it has outlived such uses as it may once have had.

Today man himself is almost out of the running. With automatism being increasingly applied to the apparatuses of comfort, all the powers at large will be working to apply it to the apparatuses of destruction. It seems no more than a childish fancy to suppose that the extreme potency of the new weapons will act as a deterrent; there are plenty of fanatics mad-enough to blow up, not merely whole cities, but the whole earth, if the switches are allowed to get into their hands. But, in any case, the machines are going all out to get the switches into their own hands.

Scarcely less disturbing is the extreme slowness of the rate of penetration of a sense of the impending crisis into the general consciousness. Yet such is its stored-up magnitude that even the firmest of our institutions and habits of thought is in danger of becoming obsolete. Language

itself is becoming less and less adequate. Whole groups of words are being left standing, their meaning eaten away from inside as if by termites. Our notions of "defence," for instance, of what is being defended and what it is being defended against, are almost completely out of date. Our minds are still clouded by phantasms of the Armada assembling at Cadiz, of Van Tromp sailing up the Thames.

The situation today is that under present conditions there is no longer a single cause worth going to war about. Not one. The causes" on behalf of which people have formerly gone to war are dropping out of the picture. It is the *means* of war that is now the great threat, filling all the stage.

Some forty years ago a Western line-up against Communism began to take place. The process has gone on till this day; although the clash is ostensibly between Communism and anti-Communism, the forces now operating do not correspond to the original labels. Marked political and economic differences still exist, but "Communism" pure and simple is not the supreme terror. It isn't the creed that is feared, it is the instrument of applying the creed. It is applied materialism run riot, an unquestioning belief in "science." The latest is the earth satellite, a triumph of ingenuity, whatever its implications. But, if we felt that the Russians were mastering the *life sciences* (as distinct from the physical sciences) on this scale, we should feel a lot more reassured.

The West believes in science, too, of course, but nowhere nearly so blindly; in fact large sections of Western thought have been aware of the snags for some time; concerned not so much with rushing on towards wonders new as with putting a brake on a runaway machine. We cannot put the clock back. We cannot even get it to stand still. But at least we ought to try to regulate it. The question is, how?

Radiation risks being what they are, a movement has arisen to put a ban on further nuclear-weapon testing. Unfortunately, this is a good deal easier said than done, as the absence of results has shown. The case for abolition of nuclear-weapon testing might seem unanswerable when considered in isolation, but in practice it cannot be considered in isolation. This is the trouble all the way through—no shortage of slogans recommending various self-contained moves, but a great dearth of integrated programmes.

In practice the question of the abolition of nuclear-weapon testing is tied to the question of

abolition of nuclear-weapon manufacture, since no one is likely to go on stock-piling weapons that have never been tested. One must go at the very least one step further and call for both.

This is what most abolitionists have done, it is true. But if real wars are going to be fought at all, whether in the cause of world conquest or in defence of hearth and home, there is unlikely to be any "gentlemen's agreement" on where to draw the line. The one object on both sides will be to get hold of the deadliest possible weapons and to use them to the limit. Governments are not prepared to leave preparations until the last minute, hence full speed ahead with the testing of nuclear weapons.

Thus another big step is called for: the banning of *all weapons*. Again, this is a very worthy idea, but it is not going to be put into practice at the wave of a wand. Weapons of war are also the instruments of police work; a prerequisite of their abolition is therefore the removal of not only the need for war but the need for police work—a tall order.

What is the most terrifying thing in the world? The H-bomb? No. The most terrifying thing in the world is the mentality that can contemplate using it. The mentality that cannot, even now, see that mankind is advancing at breakneck speed along the wrong road and that no time must be lost in seeking a different one.

It is not weapons that we shall have to rely on in the future. It is ideas, and they will need to be more universally acceptable than the conventional stock-in-trade. The world is quite prepared to scrap its obsolete steam engines and dynamos, says Undershaft in Shaw's *Major Barbara*, "but it won't scrap its old prejudices and its old moralities and its old religions and its old political constitutions."

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The Hill Tribes of Assam

Cabrielle Bertrand observes in *Careers and Courses*:

Sandwiched between East Pakistan, Tibet and Burma, Assam is the easternmost state of India. It includes the broad valley of the Brahmaputra, bounded to the north by the foothills of the Himalayas and to the south and south-east by hills named from their peoples—the Garo, Khasi and Naga Hills, the highest point of which is Shillong peak. Much of this area is covered with jungles inhabited by a hotchpotch of wild hill tribes related, for the most part, to the Tibeto-Burman ethnic group.

The different tribal areas are approximately known. But it is difficult to take a census of the people living in dense jungles cut off from the outside world, with independent political status since they are governed according to their own tribal laws.

Recently the Government of India set up a new agency in Shillong, capital of the state of Assam, to administer the tribal areas. The "North-East Frontier Agency"—its official title—is charged not only with the task of organizing the tribes, but also of exploring the little-known area between the Brahmaputra and the frontiers of Tibet.

The task of the new agency will not be easy. During the past few years, several Indian geographical and ethnographical expeditions to these parts were wiped out by the Abors, a fierce primitive tribe living in the foothills along the North-east frontier.

As far as is known, the different tribal areas are as follows: to the South-West between the valley of the Brahmaputra and the Garo Hills, live the Atchiks (or Garos), a tribe of head-hunters. Further to the East are the Khasi, one of the world's oldest peoples, who worship a snake-god, and have never moved from their original habitat, the desolate Khasi Hills. A mystery still surrounds this primitive people: they are of Mongol stock yet they speak an Austro-Asiatic tongue related to the same linguistic group as the Munda language spoken in the North-East of the Deccan and to the languages of the Moi people of Indo-China.

In Eastern Assam, the Naga Hills on the border of Burma are inhabited by a people of the same name who formerly practised head-hunting. Their group includes several tribes. They inhabit a vast area of hills and forests stretching from the mountains populated by the Mikir—a tribe related to the Garo but much more peaceful—well over the border into Burma.

In the North of Assam the mountain country of the Himalayan foothills is peopled from East to West by a mosaic of tribes: the Mishmis, the fierce Abors, the Apa-Tani, the Miris, Daflas, Akas, and others perhaps, whose names are still unknown.

In earliest times, Negrito tribes inhabited the Brahmaputra valley. Later came Austro-Asiatic peoples who left their mark on the Khasi language.

Then nomadic Mongoloid tribes descended in successive waves from the wide valley of the Yangtze Kiang, the Me-Kong and the Salween; others came from the lake-dwellings north of the Tsangpo valley in Tibet, leaving a strong imprint in the Brahmaputra valley before moving on to the surrounding mountainous jungle country. There they stayed, and their culture has scarcely evolved since that far-off period. The Bodo of Assam, who belong to the Tibeto-Burman linguistic group, are descended from this latter group of Mongoloid tribes.

It was not until many centuries later that the Aryans conquered the valley where their civilization subsequently developed. But the physical and cultural impact of successive waves of peoples has left its mark on the country, contributing to create the stranger culture of Assam, about which little is known since the earliest written texts available date back only to the 14th century.

The great Indian epic, Mahabharata, has this to say about the tribes of Assam:

" . . . These golden-skinned peoples from the other side of the Himalayas and the mountains to the East—the mountains of the Rising Sun in the Karusa near the sea and on the banks of the Lauhitya, these Kiratas who feed on fruit and wild roots, who are clad in animals' skins, are proud of their weapons and cruel in their deeds . . . I saw them, O Lord! and their loads of sandalwood, of black pepper, of precious stones, gold and silver, and aromatic herbs."

Up to the end of the 19th century, Assam remained a closed country. Scarcely any information filtered across its borders to the outside world, with the result that it is difficult to unravel historical facts from legends. The only records are chronicles written in Arabic between the 12th and 14th centuries, which describe raids made by Mussalman horsemen to the valley of the Brahmaputra. Mounted on powerful horses they invaded the valley in the middle of the monsoon season, with the result that they were completely bogged down and perished, without even once being able to pitch their tents.

It was only when the British penetrated the area at the beginning of this century and a few monographs were published by officers in the Indian Army that the veil was partially lifted on this strange, fierce yet beautiful land.

An exhaustive study still remains to be made, for the North-East frontier district—always a difficult area—is still largely unexplored, due to the presence of the wild tribes.

These peoples live mostly from hunting in the jungle and fishing in the streams and rivers in which the country abounds. Their agriculture is extremely primitive since they practise burn-beating, setting fire to the jungle and sowing their seeds in the warm ash. The first year's crop is rice, and as the earth is very fertile they reap an excellent harvest. The following year they harvest cotton which they spin and weave for domestic uses. In the cotton fields they also sow pimento and pumpkin seeds, and the dried fruits provide calabashes for household use.

This simple sort of agriculture, however, is scarcely sufficient to feed the tribes and the burn-beating method has many disadvantages: it

destroys the forests and as new patches are continually being burned up the tribes are almost continuously on the move. With this semi-nomadic life, no permanent administration is possible. And in the tribal areas natural catastrophes occur almost every year in the rainy season: the soil is swept into the gullies by the rain and land-slides occur over large areas.

One of the main tasks of the Indian authorities will be to introduce new agricultural methods by establishing permanent rice-fields. Later, other crops such as Indian corn, manioc, millet and sesame will be grown, helping to increase the capital assets of both the individual farmer and the community. This, in turn, will lead to other developments: villages will be set up as permanent settlements, new means of communication will be opened up, trade links will be established, new markets created, providing openings for farmers and craftsmen. The nomadic tribes have nothing to lose from such developments which offer the promise of an easier and more secure life.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Will Ike Resign ?

Following was the interesting reflection by Tris Coffin, when President Eisenhower was seriously stricken with illness, in *The New Leader*, December 9, 1957 :

Each morning at 10-30, reporters hear White House news secretary James Hagerty describe the "excellent improvement" of the President. In meticulous detail, he tells how Mr. Eisenhower signed 15 letters, talked with the Secretary of State, ate three eggs, sang in his shower, walked for 20 minutes about his farm, read two chapters of Western, and took a long nap. The impression is of a man mildly incapacitated by a bad cold, held down only by a fussy, conservative doctor.

There is even, at this writing, the possibility that Mr. Eisenhower will fly to Paris for a brief "inspirational" appearance at the NATO meeting next week. The President's advisers believe that this psychological triumph would quiet demands in the press and Congress that he resign.

But the daily briefing should not hide the fact that Dwight D. Eisenhower in the remaining three years of his term cannot meet the ruthless crises of our times with the vigor of which he was capable when first elected. Perhaps this is too much to ask of any man. Woodrow Wilson wrote in 1908 :

"No other man's day is so filled as (the President's), so full of responsibilities which tax mind and conscience alike and demand an inexhaustible vitality Men of ordinary physique and discretion cannot be Presidents and live if the strain be not somehow relieved."

Mr. Eisenhower is 67, has suffered three major attacks in the last 26 months, and has a long history of minor illnesses when confronted with racking dilemmas. (The President's physicians are well aware that arterial spasms are often caused by undue tension). His best chance of remaining alive through 1960 is to live in a carefully filtered atmosphere. The alternatives are resignation, or a new and perhaps more damaging illness.

Resignation has been widely discussed here, though not with any enthusiasm. Vice President Richard M. Nixon has been too

partisan, too ambitious to win the wide support a President would need in these awful hours. He is deeply distrusted by the South and its lords in Congress, as well as by liberals. Even the Taft Republicans are not sure where he will stand tomorrow.

The President's close friends and advisers are insisting, almost grimly, that he will not step down as long as he can sign his name. "The General is not a quitter," they say flatly. They argue that Eisenhower is valuable as a symbol in world affairs, that Nixon cannot obtain united support, and that he has a tendency to recklessness which Eisenhower can veto, even if bedridden.

Three major questions, nevertheless, are being strongly argued: the immediate roles of Eisenhower and Nixon, and the prospects if the President suffers another more serious attack.

For the next six weeks to six months, Mr. Eisenhower will be a convalescent whose visits to the harsh alarms of his office will be brief. Ever since his heart attack, his physicians have insisted that he not be subjected at long intervals to the upsetting diet of crisis and conflict that falls on a President. The White House staff and Presidential duties have been so organized to divert the huge flow of information and questions, and keep it from flooding the President. For days on end, he has performed little more than the ceremonial duties prescribed by the Constitution. The National Security Council, for example, was set up to take from the President's shoulders the burden of analyzing world problems and framing appropriate policies. Quite often, President Eisenhower has not sat through the entire meeting of the Council; or Vice President Nixon has presided for him.

In this convalescent period, the President will withdraw even farther. Such irksome duties as press conferences, give-and-take discussions with Congressional leaders and foreign diplomats, Cabinet, budget and Security meetings, and visits from officials, politicians, Congressmen men business groups will be infrequent. His knowledge of current events will be supplied principally by Hagerty, security assistant Robert Cutler and chief of staff Sherman Adams. He is likely to spend much time away from Washing-

ton and in the company of his closest friend, the humorous George E. Allen.

The President will depend increasingly on the advice of a triumvirate: Nixon, Adams and brother Milton Eisenhower. If another major crisis (say, fighting on the Turkish-Syrian border) exploded, Nixon and Adams would consult Secretary of State Dulles and General Twining, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as well as Congressional leaders. The two would knead out a policy and present it to the President. He would then ask Milton, whose opinion he respects above all others. It is doubtful that Mr. Eisenhower would personally engage in

protracted discussions with Dulles or General Twining.

Although Hagerty heatedly denies this, the President will unquestionably have to make a decision as to whether to retire from his office, and he will have to review this decision regularly. He told a press conference on May 8, 1956:

"I have said unless I felt absolutely up to the performance of the duties of the Presidency, the second that I didn't, I would no longer be there in the job, or I wouldn't be available for the job."

On the Monday evening when the President



was stricken and his physician feared that he might have suffered a serious stroke, the possibility of his resignation was real. Many White House correspondents still believe that he will bow out and give Nixon at least a year to occupy the Presidency before the 1960 election.

Nixon's role in the next three years would excite and try a Richelieu. He must carefully take over functions of the President without arousing fears that he is usurping the office. He can push but not dictate policies.

In the first days of the President's latest illness, Nixon occupied a desk in Adams's office. He sat in with Adams, Budget Director Percival Brundage and Defense Secretary Neil McElroy making crucial decisions on military programs. Nixon was the boldest of the four and was able to swing teetering decisions, but not to get his own way. He will preside at Cabinet and Security Council meetings, hold occasional press conferences, represent the President at foreign-policy meetings, and take his place at social functions. He will, however, act under three handicaps:

The inner core of Eisenhower friends and advisers are upset by cries that the President get out. An editorial prior to the stroke in the Manchester (N.H.) *Union-Leader*, asking for his impeachment, deeply disturbed this group. More recently, Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, probably the most powerful Republican in the Senate, has suggested that Nixon be given full authority; Bridges and Sherman Adams are old political enemies. Nixon must be extremely cautious and keep proving his personal loyalty to the President.

Nixon's focus is entirely different from that of Mr. Eisenhower, Nixon is looking to 1960, while the President is mainly concerned in getting through the next three years without undue crisis. Nixon is extraordinarily sensitive to public opinion; the President is protected from it. Nixon is willing, even anxious to take calculated risks to improve his standing with American people; Mr. Eisenhower never has been daring.

Along with admiration for Nixon's vigor, shrewd mind and boldness, there is an amazing mistrust of him here. No one really knows what his philosophy is. He began his political life as a Congressman who voted with the right wing; he helped write the extreme House version of the Taft-Hartley bill in the House Labor Committee, and won his first headlines as a sharp member of the Un-American Activities Committee. His campaigns for the House and Senate

were featured by virulent attacks on two liberals, Jerry Voorhis and Helen Gahagan Douglas. As Vice President, he has seemed a Dewey Republican, international-minded, concerned with civil rights, tolerant of the opposition. Yet, in last month's New Jersey campaign for Governor, Nixon attacked labor in a way that led the *Machinist* to headline: "Nixon's Union Smear Fails in N.J. Vote."

The biggest question is what would happen if the President suffered a more debilitating illness.

Twice in American history, Presidents have spent weeks as almost complete prisoners of illness. Garfield lived 80 days after he was shot, during which time he signed one extradition paper. Wilson could not pass on legislation for nearly six weeks; 28 bills became law without his signature.

Under similar circumstances, Mr. Eisenhower might well resign. But if he chose to remain, no one could force him out, unless Congress used the extreme weapon of impeachment. The Constitution says that in case of the President's "inability to discharge the powers and duties . . . the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide" for the case of inability, "declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected."

Congress has never provided an enabling act for inability. Some contend that the Constitution implies that the Vice President serve as acting President "until the disability be removed." This view has a high priority in the White House.

But precedent is against it. When President William Henry Harrison died on April 4, 1841, Vice President John Tyler took the oath as President two days later—Secretary of State Daniel Webster ruling that the powers and office of the President were indivisible; in succeeding to one, the Vice President succeeded to both. Forty years later, when Garfield was shot, Vice President Chester Alan Arthur was urged to declare the President incapacitated. He refused. Thomas Marshall took the same position when Wilson was stricken.

There is doubt, too, on how much power the President may delegate to the Vice President. A thorough study was made last year by the Senate Government Operations Committee, and a staff paper written by Eli E. Nobleman stated:

"The Supreme Court will only imply the President's authority to delegate the perform-

ance of his statutory functions with respect to what it has characterized as executive or administrative acts, and it is only with respect to such duties that department heads are presumed to act for the President . . . Thus it appears that if the functions vested in the President by statute are discretionary in nature, the Court will not imply authority to delegate . . ."

Thus, even in the event of more serious illness, the President's duties would probably fall on an informal committee of his advisers—unless he resigned.

Progressive Manufacture of Jeep in India II

It soon became apparent, however, the best interests of country as well as those of the company could be fully served only if manufacture, instead of mere assembly, of the entire vehicle were taken in hand in India. This was also in consonance with the Government of India policy of establishing a fully developed and independent automobile industry in this country. Mahindra and Mahindra, therefore, undertook to gear in its assembly operation to actual manufacture of jeeps.

The new plan found ready support with the American company. Willys not only agreed to supply technical skill, but also to train Indian engineers who would take charge of production in India.

Followed a three-year period of study and investigation conducted by teams of engineers drawn from Indian and American companies. They carried out on-the-spot surveys of facilities available for the execution of the manufacturing programme.

The report of the teams, which formed the basis of the manufacturing programme as submitted to the Government of India, recommended the establishment of a production industry which would not only make full use of the products of the already existing ancillary industries, but also provide the necessary climate for setting up new plants for the manufacture of accessories and components. In other words, automobile production by Mahindra was to be closely patterned after the American automobile industry, which utilizes independent ancillary industries in buying various parts rather than manufacture on a large scale each component in a single, self-contained and integrated factory. The report of the experts reached the conclusion that by

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drawing upon spare resources in the engineering industries, a co-ordinated manufacturing organization could be set up. This way, it was expected, the entire range of Jeep and 4-wheel-drive vehicles could be manufactured in India in gradually progressive stages without too great initial investment of capital.

The programme, approved by the Government of India in 1955, called for the progressive manufacture of jeeps in India, the target being to manufacture components worth 70 per cent of the total value of the vehicle in India. Willys provided a long-term credit of approximately one million dollars to the Indian company to help in establishing the operation.

New plants were established in Ghatkopar and Bhandup in this city to manufacture body components, cut gears, and make other accessories. Engine blocks are being machined in the Government Ordnance factory in Jabalpur to the strict Willys specifications. Radiators, petrol tanks, batteries and other components are bought by Mahindra from other Indian concerns. All these are brought together at the assembly plant in Mazagaon here, where the vehicle is finally put together.

Today, about 45 per cent of the total value of the Jeep is manufactured in India. One complete Jeep rolls off the assembly line every hour round the clock. If the need arose, production could be stepped up to one every 40 minutes.

Mahindra and Mahindra became the first and only automobile manufacturing firm in India which places its engineering and skilled personnel at the disposal of any ancillary industry which wishes to utilize their services. In this way Mahindra hopes to raise the quality standards of the components.

In addition, Mahindra, following the lead given by Willys, also trains skilled technicians in the field of automobile production. These technicians go out to other plants and factories needed in India's growing industries.

As one technician here observed to me, "It's a good deal for the Indian industrialist."

"Yes," I agreed. "And for the American investor."

Atomic Power for Peace and Abundance

O. A. Knight writes in the *American Labour Review*, as follows:

(These are excerpts from an address by O. A. Knight, president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (AFL-CIO) during discussion on atomic energy and automation at the Fifth World Congress of the International Con-

federation of Free Trade Unions, which met in Tunis, during the month of July, 1957).

My country was the first to harness the power of the atom, and we are the only nation which has used its terrible power for military purposes. Precisely because of the role we played in launching the atomic age, I believe the United States of America has a special, moral obligation to mankind in the field of the peaceful use of atomic energy to make this a better, happier and more pleasant world.

To assure the maximum benefits of atomic energy in peace, we must operate from several major premises:

First, control of atomic energy must be in the hands of the civilian government; never in the hands of the military.

Secondly, the benefits of atomic energy must be shared by all, never by a small select group of the population.

Thirdly, we must insist upon complete safety both in producing and in using atomic energy; we must never take risks with the lives or limbs of either workers, or consumers, or of generations yet unborn.

CONCERN FOR HUMANITY

Finally, we must approach the whole field of possible uses of atomic energy with courage, with imagination, with concern for humanity and the well-being of all the world's peoples; we must never allow fears or prejudices or a lack of vision to stand in the way of progress.

The AFL-CIO has repeatedly petitioned our government to move with dispatch and understanding into this new field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The rest of the free world has, we in American labor believe, the right to expect of the United States that it demonstrate the same speed and determination in transforming atomic power into a major weapon of peace and well-being that it showed in wartime when it built the atom weapon of mass destruction.

We are engaged in a major legislative fight to establish federal safety standards, with federal administration and federal controls, to govern the working conditions of all whose jobs take them into any dangerous or "hot" area. We are fighting as well for adequate compensation for those who are victims of industrial radiation—though our contention is that safety measures which eliminate hazard are far more important than mere compensation.

NOT TOO EARLY TO ACT

This is more than just the problem of those workers in the atomic energy field who are members of the union I am privileged to head, the

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union. Today there are 1,500 plants in the United States, in all industries, making use of atomic energy to a greater or lesser degree. That number is certain to grow substantially in the years ahead. So the question of safety encompasses our entire American labor movement, and now is not too early to start acting.

In our battle for these safety measures, we are not seeking abandonment of the reactor building program. Rather we are seeking immediate and rapid progress with reactors whose safety has been proved. We will, however, continue to oppose those not proven safe, as we must not expose great areas of concentrated population to the hazards of operations not proven to be safe.

But it is to the future that I want to devote the major share of my time today—to the glorious future for all mankind that is achievable in our lifetime if man uses all of his imagination, skill and intelligence to make the atom our peaceful servant rather than we its slaves.

For already, in the laboratories, scientists have made tremendous and breath-taking discoveries. Already they are on the path towards providing the greatest and most fabulous agricultural crops in the world's history—a vital step in a world in which so many starve.

The industrial improvements which are possible have only begun to be imagined. The atomic powered submarine *Nautilus* has demonstrated the feasibility and the value of atomic energy as a power source. Coupled with the new learnings of automation, the world can provide itself with all of the material things we need. Today we have two and one half billion people in the world—and millions of them are without the basic necessities of life. In another century, the best estimates are that there will be six billion people on earth. How long will man wait, before moving to provide not only for those who live today but for the welfare of our children and our children's children?

ENDLESS VISTAS

I wonder how many here are aware of the vast progress made to date in solving the problems of preservation of food? Take milk, for example, one of the most basic of all foods. Millions of gallons of milk have been lost to mankind simply because of its extreme perishability.

But through the correct use of atomic energy, the scientists are now convinced that we can—in the foreseeable future—so protect milk that it will be canned, (whole milk, I mean, not evaporated or condensed or powdered milk) whole fresh milk will be canned and will be sold by grocers long after it has been produced and it will be just as fresh and safe and nourishing as the day it left the cow.

There are endless vistas which I contend man can and must explore to be worthy of humanity's claims upon us. But there is one item I do want to mention in more detail—an item which has been in my thoughts often as I have driven through this great nation of Tunisia, which has shown all of us such gracious and warm-hearted hospitality.

A radiological technician adjusts the controls of a cobalt therapy unit in the hospital at Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Radioactive cobalt emits gamma rays, which are similar to but more intense than those given off by radium. The cobalt therapy unit produces a narrow beam of great intensity which can be focused more specifically on diseased tissues.

I speak, of course, of water—of the need for more fresh water here as in so many of the arid and semi-arid areas of the world. A need as great, perhaps, in my own state of Colorado as it is in Tunisia or anywhere else in the world.

Do you know that the scientists are now positive that we can soon bring to fruition man's age-old dream of producing fresh water from salt water? Can you picture what this would mean in terms of improving the standards of living of all the people of the world? Atomic energy—harnessed through a special type of reactor—can make this dream come true. For this reactor can provide the cheap power in enormous quantities necessary to convert salt water into fresh water.

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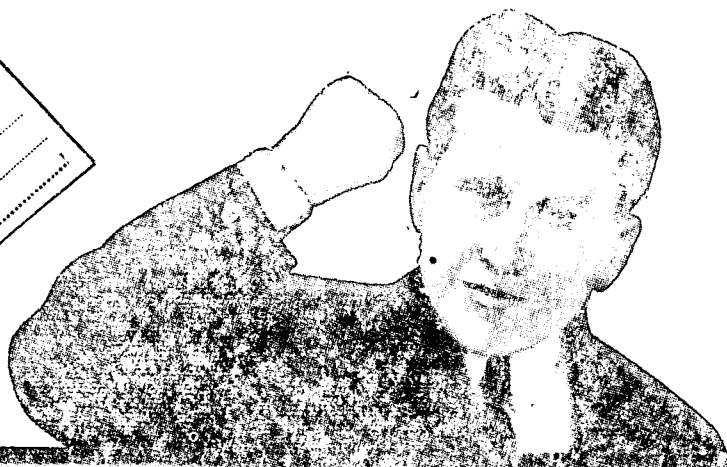
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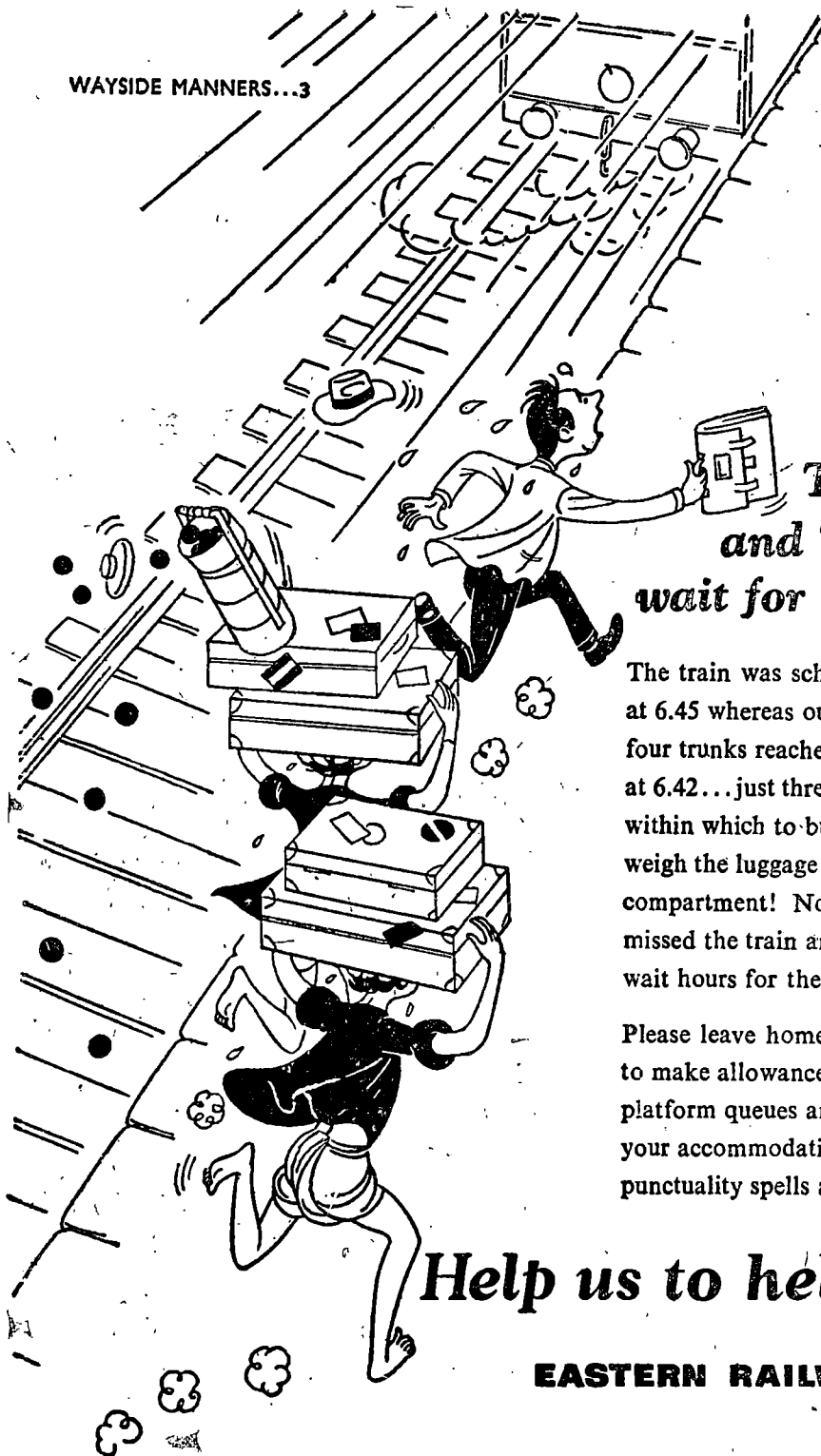
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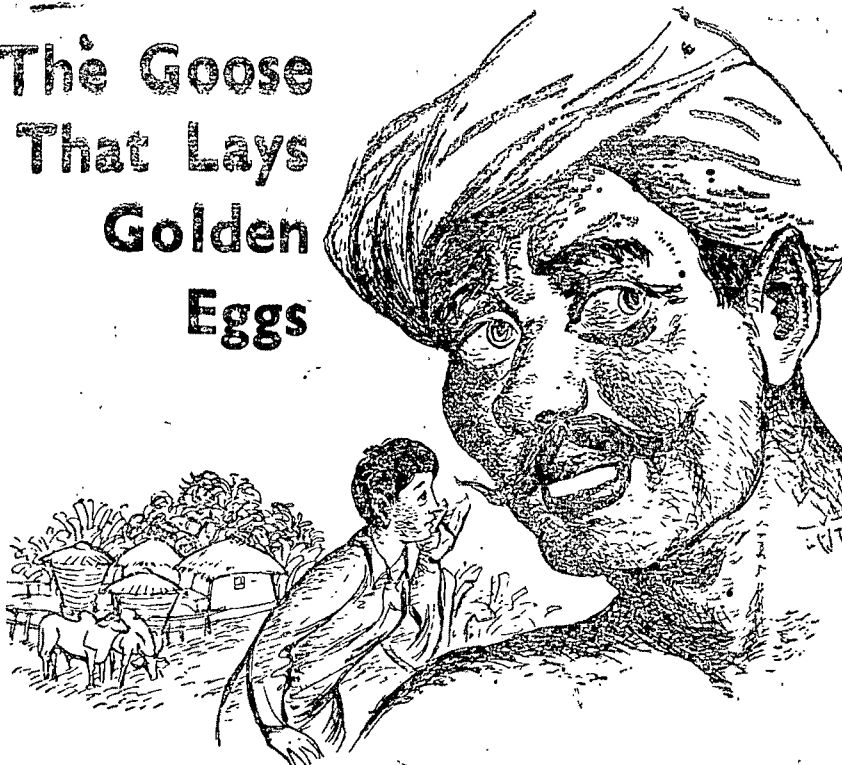
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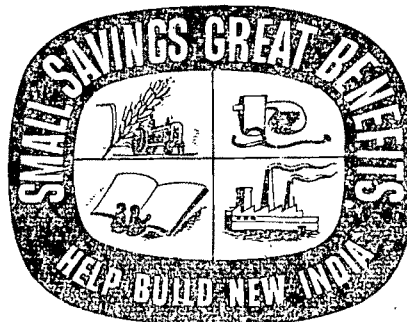
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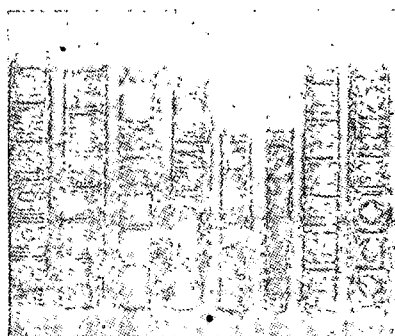
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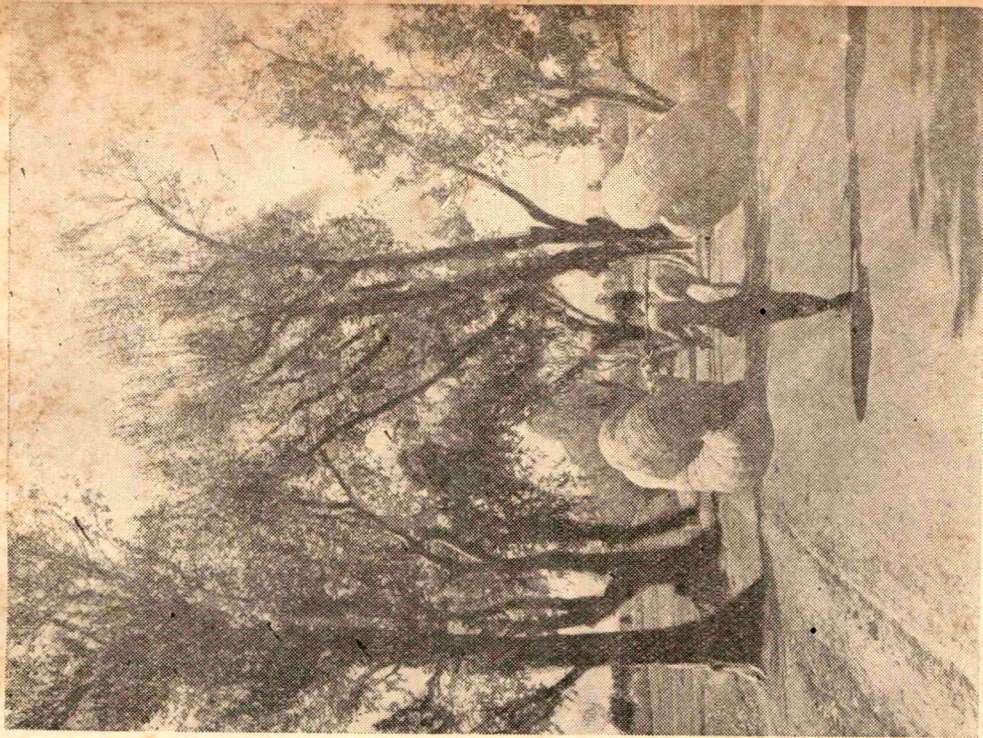
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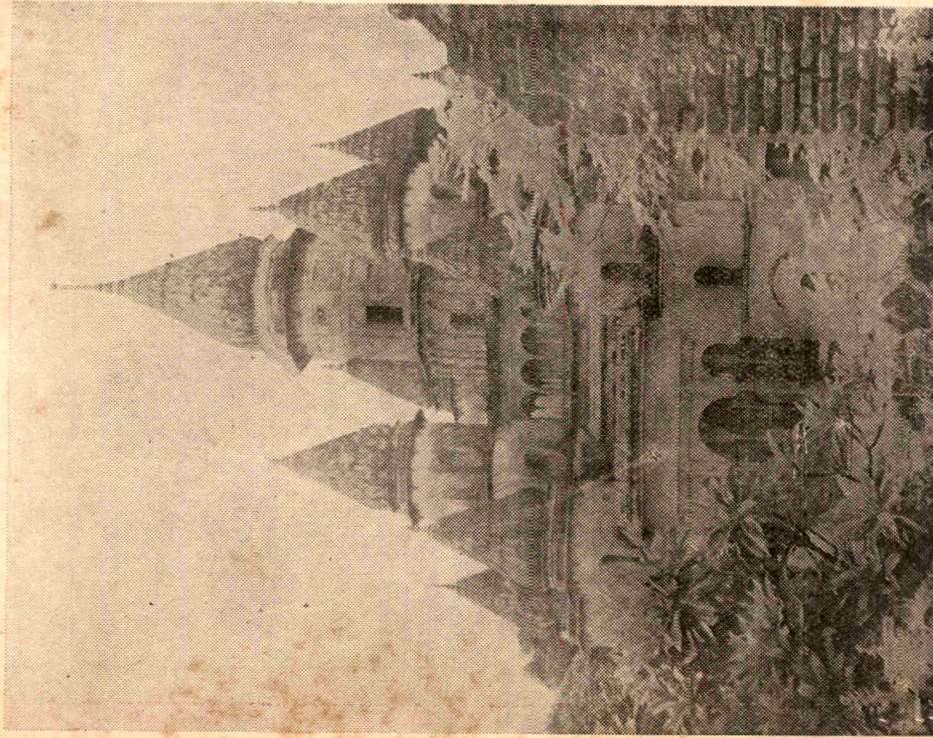
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THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL



1958

VOL. CIII, No. 4

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NOTES

Blackmarkets

It was, we believe, Justice T. Ameer Ali of the Calcutta High Court, who made the famous remark that the Blackmarket in Calcutta "was the only market where the necessities of life are obtainable." The occasion was the trial of a person accused of blackmarketing. Those were the days of the "corrupt British regime," when blackmarketing had become rampant, during the stresses of the Second World War.

After the War was over, our great ones came out of the prisons and the peoples of the nation rejoiced because they thought that their day of trial and duress would soon be over. It was at that time that one of our very great—we thought him to be a worthy successor to the Father of the Nation, equally immune to flattery—made the remark that if he had his way then all the lamp-posts would be decorated by the bodies of the blackmarketeers.

That very great man evidently was no more a man of his word than most very great men of politics are. In this matter of blackmarkets at least he seems to be most complacent despite all his protestations to the contrary. His colleagues are equally indifferent to the sufferings of the people whose life's blood is being sucked away by blackmarkets, adulteration and artificially created shortages.

During the First Five-Year Plan, we were told that the nation would have to tighten its belts because that was the preparatory period. There were a great many lapses and a very great deal of wastage and corruption during the

First Plan period, and the people got very little return for the terrific stresses they went through. Of course, the very great waxed fat, because like the lotus-eaters, they slept above the clouds, in holy Olympus.

The Second Five-Year Plan should be renamed the Blackmarket Plan, because even at this early stage, we find that the sway of the Blackmarkets is becoming almost universal.

For example, reputed journals like ours never had to go to the blackmarket for paper, even in the worst days of the British regime. We shall put it on record that we have had to do that in this year, during the regime of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his adroit band of political adventurers.

There are certain brands of artificial foods that are vital necessities in the case of invalids, patients and little babies whose digestive tracts are infected. Not a single tin of any of those recognised and reputed milks and milk substitutes can be got anywhere in Calcutta in the open market. Of course, you can get tons of any of them if you are prepared to pay fifty to seventy-five per cent extra.

If your watch is broken, you cannot even get a spare part because there is no import of watches, and big houses have closed down. Of course, you can get any number of watches in the blackmarket—as you can get hootch in Bombay or Madras—for a price. But why increase the list, who is there in this afflicted land excepting our supremely complacent and blissful gods, and their smooth-tongued satellites, who has not felt the pinch. Need we say more?

Economic Situation in Asia

The year 1957 saw marked progress in the fields of agriculture and industry in Asia. In that year production of food-grains rose by 4 per cent reaching an all-time record, and output in manufacture and mining increased by about 11 per cent. These figures alone, however, were not sufficient to convey a true picture of the state of affairs in the region which was far from reassuring. Food still remained the principal headache of the region. Despite the production record established in food-grains last year, output per head of population still lagged some 8 per cent behind pre-war levels; moreover, import needs for food-grains also increased. In the recent annual session of the United Nations' Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East which was held in Kuala Lumpur (Malaya) it was made clear by the discussions that economic development in the region would be seriously retarded if food production could not be greatly accelerated, especially in countries like India. Evidently much more remained to be done to vitalise agriculture and increase agricultural production.

The rate of industrial growth in Asia in 1957 was 11 per cent over 1956: this was much ahead of the rate of industrial expansion in the world as a whole (which was $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent over 1956). Yet even here also recent trends in trade payments caused anxiety. Imports to this region increased but exports fell which naturally led to some tightening of import restrictions. Again even this increased industrial production was far from adequate for meeting the needs of the region.

According to the ECAFE's Economic Survey, both in agriculture and industry demand outran supply. This resulted in continued inflationary pressure, adverse trade balance and declining foreign exchange reserves. Thus a "somewhat precarious and even alarming situation" had arisen. Price fluctuations in commodity markets continued to have disturbing effects on Asian economies.

One of the major questions before the Asian nations was whether they should, in their development efforts, build up only their conventional power resources based on coal, hydro-power and oil, or whether they should even now plan for electricity from atomic energy and

try to advance on both fronts simultaneously. Many of the delegates to the ECAFE session at Kuala Lumpur considered that at the present stage atomic energy development would be too costly for most Asian countries. The Indian delegate, however, significantly said that Indian experience had showed that by the time electrification schemes had been completed, it was almost always found that the need for power had outstripped capacity. It was thus clear that the Asian nations had to provide for atomic energy development even now to some extent.

India Government and Scientists

On March 13, Prime Minister Shri Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha a new policy towards the scientists in India. Shri Nehru said:

"The Government has decided to pursue and accomplish these aims by offering good conditions of service to scientists and according them an honoured position, by associating scientists with the formulation of policies, and by taking such other measures as may be deemed necessary from time to time'.

"The aims of the scientific policy are:

"(1) To foster, promote and sustain, by all appropriate means, the cultivation of science, and scientific research in all its aspects—pure, applied and educational.

"(2) To ensure an adequate supply, within the country, of research scientists of the highest quality, and to recognise their work as an important component of the strength of the nation.

"(3) To encourage, and initiate with all possible speed, programmes to train scientific and technical personnel, on a scale adequate to fulfil the country's needs in science and education, agriculture and industry, and defence.

"(4) To ensure that the creative talent of men and women is encouraged and finds full scope in scientific activity.

"(5) To encourage individual initiative for the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge, and for the discovery of new knowledge in an atmosphere of academic freedom, and

"(6) To secure for the people of the country all the benefits that can accrue from the acquisition and application of scientific knowledge."

The announcement has not come a day too soon. The utter neglect of scientists and academicians is one of the peculiarities of under-developed societies where the administrators get all the prestige and power. In the developed countries of the West an administrator, unless he possesses special qualifications on any particular subject, is never considered superior to an expert. In India, there is much difference both in pay, prestige and authority. It is indeed a hopeful sign that the government proposes to associate scientists with formulations of policy. However, there is no room for delay in extending these same facilities to other branches of learning as well.

Planning at the Cross-Road

The Second Five-Year Plan in its first two years of operation has not made any spectacular achievement. Of course no such achievement was expected within so short a period in view of the fact that the Plan involves some major projects the implementation of which will take a longer time. The Planning Commission sometimes ago appointed a Panel of Economists to tender advice on the rephrasing of the Plan. But it is very unfortunate that these noted economists have made recommendations which are not only disappointing, but have lost significance in bewildering and conflicting statements. The recommendations are hedged with so many qualifications that it will rather be impossible to take any action on them. The members of the Panel state that they had not had sufficient time to examine all the materials placed at their disposal. Yet strange it is that they ventured to tender their advice to the authorities on so important a topic as the economic planning. The only redeeming feature is that they "are convinced that there was nothing basically over-ambitious in the initial targets of the Plan." Only Professor Shenoy holds a contrary opinion as he thinks that the Plan has been over-ambitious. The majority opinion states that "if the Plan has run into difficulties, it is because of the inadequacy of efforts, mainly organisational, that has so far gone into its implementation." There is a section of opinion in the country which holds that the Plan is over-ambitious. The epithet itself is ambiguous because there is no tangible standard by which to

give such a verdict that the Plan is over-ambitious. Under the Second Plan, the per capita expenditure will come to only Rs. 133 and that is certainly not over-ambitious. To declare it to be so is to ask not to undertake any planning at all. The Russian economic Plans were much more ambitious than their Indian counterparts. The economic planning is essentially directed towards making up the arrears of economic development that remains backward for centuries. Only the votaries of *laissez faire* economic system are still haunted with the hallucination that anything done by the public authorities in the field of economic development constitutes an encroachment on the private sector which alone is entitled to take up economic development to its convenience and pleasure.

In a country where the rate of capital formation is just 7 per cent of the total national income, it cannot be said by any stretch of imagination that the economic effort on the State level is over-ambitious. Besides the countries of the West, even in many countries in Asia, like Ceylon and Burma, the rate of capital formation is much higher than that of India. The private capital, particularly the indigenous capital, has failed to retrieve the position. Notwithstanding Mr. Birla's assertion that the private sector has done its part of the duty assigned to it in the matter of capital formation, it is a fact that the rate of capital formation in the private sector has not been up to the standard. The rate of indigenous capital formation will hardly exceed Rs. 50 crores a year and most of this amount goes towards acquisition of existing foreign concerns in this country. The setting up of big industrial projects will remain a responsibility exclusively for the public sector and the private sector has neither the ability nor the willingness to undertake such industrial development on a gigantic scale, barring a few notable houses. What has been done in the private sector in recent years is mainly due to the efforts of foreign private capital and initiative.

The inflationary pressures of 1957 and the earlier part of 1958 and the serious strain on the balance of payments position are related mainly to the progressive rise in investment in the public sector that has been taking place over

the last few years. The capital formation in the public sector has been going up steadily in pursuance of the Plan. The allocations for net capital formation at the Centre—including those for utilisation by State—amounted to about Rs. 600 crores in the revised estimates for 1956-57 and about Rs. 743 crores in the budget estimates for 1957-58 as compared with Rs. 460 crores in 1955-56. As against ceiling outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores over the five-year period, the outlay for the first two years is estimated at about Rs. 1,515 crores: Rs. 670 crores in 1956-57 and Rs. 845 crores in 1957-58. Financing of this outlay is estimated to have involved deficit financing by the Centre and the State aggregating to about Rs. 600 crores. The deficits in the balance of payments are related to the investment and consumption trends relatively to production in the economy as a whole rather than to the public sector plan as such. The Planning Commission recognises that the progress on mobilising domestic resources for the plan has been inadequate. For 1958-59, the Centre and the States are to allocate about Rs. 1,000 crores by way of plan expenditure. This means a step-up of about Rs. 155 crores as compared with the estimated outlay in 1957-58. The bulk of this step up in the Centre's plan expenditure accounts mainly for the railways and the industrial projects.

As regards the rising tempo of inflationary tendencies in the country, the Panel of economists states that the Plan has generated "a large inflationary potential even in its early stages." The Panel holds the view that the inflationary pressure has not been in the past nor is likely to be in the future such that it cannot be held in check by appropriate policy, including direct controls at particular points. The rise in price level, is also increasing the cost of planning and the inflationary spiral creates a vicious circle which draws into its vortex the higher prices. The Panel observes that the expenditure of Rs. 4,800 crores in the public sector will be possible at the present prices, if external resources of the order of Rs. 700 crores are forthcoming. It also stresses that there should be considerable increase in the efforts to mobilise domestic resources in all forms and utmost care be taken to see that all available resources are fully utilised.

The total of external assistance authorised since the Second Plan commenced to the end of December 1957 comes to Rs. 480 crores. This does not include the \$225 million assistance from the USA. The credits from Germany, Japan and France have also not been taken into account. The utilisation of external assistance is estimated at Rs. 96 crores in 1956-57. For 1957-58, the utilisations are expected to aggregate to Rs. 130 crores. There is also a carry over of about Rs. 130 crores from the authorisations of the First Plan period. Under the various programmes of assistance already in operation or in sight, the total foreign assistance to this country in 1958 is estimated at Rs. 325 crores for which credit has been taken in the budget.

The main drawback of the Indian Plan is that it has overstrained and it is not over-ambitious. It is over-strained in view of the limited resources and ability of the country. Instead of concentrating on the development of strategic industries, the Plan has tried to attend too many fronts all at a time and it has cost the country with dissipation of energy and resources. For the sake of expansion, concentration has been sacrificed. The Panel of economists also states that "it is necessary, in view of the shortage of both external and internal resources, to secure the maximum economy in the outlay of resources for the end-results in view." It also emphasises that all postponable expenditure should be abandoned and a strictly utilitarian approach adopted in the matter of all construction work and the provision of amenities.

By 1960, India's foreign exchange gap will amount to Rs. 800 crores—Rs. 590 crores in the public sector and the balance in the private sector. The Government of India hopes that by that time steel from the three steel projects would be available for sale in the market. The Government of India is banking upon this expectation and hopes that India will be able to repay her foreign loans by exporting steel in the world market. One point that should not be lost sight of is that the world market faces a keen competition in steel. The main competitors are Germany, Britain and the USA and also the European Steel Community. India can little hope to export her steel to the European markets. She will have to rely mainly for the

markets in the Middle East and other countries of the South-East Asia. But the capacity for import of these countries is very limited. Besides, India's internal needs for steel is progressively increasing and to meet her domestic requirements there will be left a little surplus of steel for export abroad. The commitments under the deferred payments scheme should not be further increased. The Government of India today is heavily indebted to foreign countries and institutions and overnight she will not be in a position to redeem all her international monetary obligations.

The continuous drain on our foreign exchange reserves has been a cause of concern to the Planning Commission. The rapid depletion of our foreign exchange resources has been accelerated on account of increasing expenditure on defence purposes and imports of foodgrains which had been more than anticipated. The import of consumer goods also show a steady increase despite all efforts to curtail them. In 1957-58, the imports amounted to Rs. 1,076 crores and this represented an increase of Rs. 326 crores higher than in 1955-56.

The Planning Commission maintains that the imports are likely to continue at a higher rate in the current year, despite the severe restrictions imposed, owing to a heavy load of past commitments amounting to Rs. 990 crores. These are bound to be reflected in actual imports during the current year. Of the total amount of Rs. 1,076 crores, Rs. 661 crores is on private account, excluding imports of steel, and Rs. 416 crores on Government account. The increase of Rs. 326 crores in imports over those in 1955-56 is mainly accounted for by increased imports of iron and steel and machinery, defence stores and foodgrains, which totalled Rs. 258 crores. The balance is largely made up by increases in items required primarily for the maintenance of the economy at a higher level. There is also a considerable increase of Rs. 13 crores under net import of currency notes which reflected the extent of gold smuggling in the country. In the very first year of the second Plan, India had to import foodgrains for Rs. 102 crores as against Rs. 29 crores in the previous year. The average annual requirements of imported foodgrains was originally placed by the Planning Commission

at Rs. 48 crores. In the second year of the Plan, the food imports went up to Rs. 150 crores. The higher import of foodgrains has retarded the pace of development in other fields.

One thing that strikes us most in this connection is why the various journal on light topics are allowed to be imported from the USA when India is struggling hard for the conservation of her foreign exchanges. It is strange that while utility goods are not being allowed to be imported from that country, journals and periodicals are allowed to be imported in ever-increasing numbers. The import of such journals not only from the USA but also from various other countries are draining away the valuable resources of foreign exchange resources of the country. Excepting those on scientific and cultural, the import of journals which are mainly propagandist in nature should be largely restricted, no matter from which country they are imported.

The best way to progress with prosperity in the immediate future will be to concentrate the limited resources of the country on the core of the Plan which includes strategic developments.

The Union Budget

The Union budget for the year 1958-59 brings no major surprises, particularly for the common man. The proposed Gift Tax was well expected and the reduction in the exemption limit of the Estate duty has been in keeping with the developments. The new measures of taxation are designed to make such improvements as are necessary to make the present pattern of taxation an integrated one and to plug any loopholes in taxation. The Gift Tax is designed to fill a gap in the scheme of direct taxation and will not only make evasion difficult but also spread the tax burdens more equitably. The total revenue after taxation has been placed at Rs. 768.99 crores and the total expenditure at Rs. 796.01 crores. The total uncovered deficit will be Rs. 27.02 crores.

The revenue estimates for the year 1958-59 are as follows: Rs. 170 crores from Customs as against Rs. 183 crores in 1957-58; Rs. 304.76 crores from Union Excise Duties as against Rs. 264 crores in the preceding year; Rs. 55.50 crores from Corporation tax; Rs. 84.53 crores

from Taxation on income other than Corporation tax, as against Rs. 82.47 crores in the preceding year; Rs. 44 crores from Civil Administration and Rs. 36.62 crores from Currency and Mint. The Estate Duty will yield only Rs. 7 crores, Expenditure Tax Rs. 3 crores, Gift Tax Rs. 3 crores and Wealth Tax Rs. 12 crores.

The estimates of the major heads of expenditure will be as follows: Direct demands on revenue Rs. 94.45 crores; Irrigation Rs. 13 crores; Civil Administration Rs. 200.44 crores; Defence Services Rs. 278 crores; Grants to States Rs. 47 crores; Expenditure on displaced persons will be Rs. 20.48 crores and the Extraordinary items will cost Rs. 28.40 crores and other expenditures will amount to Rs. 50.33 crores. The total estimated expenditure of Rs. 796 crores will be much higher than the preceding year's expenditure which was placed at Rs. 719.58 crores. Of the total expenditure, Civil Administration and Defence services will account for Rs. 478 crores.

In recent months there have been criticisms against the Expenditure tax and the Wealth tax in view of the fact that the yield from these levies has been insignificant. Many expected that these two measures will be scrapped from the Statute Book. But this expectation has been belied. The value of these measures is to be judged not from the standpoint of collection, but from the view-point of integration of the tax structure. With the introduction of the Gift tax, the integrated tax structure will be completed. The other measures that provide links in the chain are the Estate duty, the wealth tax and the expenditure tax. These levies will collectively function as the check-posts so as to prevent evasion. Tax evasion has been a widespread problem in India and as such these measures are directed towards stopping the evasion. Notwithstanding such heavy barrages of taxation measures, evasion will persist because the administration responsible for the collection of taxes is inefficient and corrupt to the backbone. It is corrupt to the rank and file and the few honest officers at the top are not in a position to tackle this problem of tax evasion. Tax evasion is an open secret in India and it has become an essential characteristic of our taxation structure.

The Paper called *Economic Survey, 1957-58*, issued along with the Central Budget Papers states that the pressure on internal resources and balance of payments continued to be felt through 1957-58. The wholesale prices showed an upward trend until August 1957; and in the nine months from January to September 1957, foreign exchange reserves declined by Rs. 252 crores. The various corrective measures taken in the course of the year have now begun to yield effect. Inflationary pressures in the system have abated to a certain extent. The rise in prices has been halted and even slightly reversed, the index of wholesale prices in January 1958 being 106 as compared with that of 107 a year earlier and 112 in August 1957. The rate of withdrawal of the foreign exchange assets of the Reserve Bank has come down markedly from about Rs. 8 crores a week on an average in the first six months of the fiscal year to below Rs. 3 crores a week since December 1957.

Taking into account the continuing requirements of the Second Five-Year Plan, the process of bringing about a better balance in the economy can be said to have only begun. The tasks ahead are onerous. In the coming year, the increase in national output is likely to be somewhat smaller than in the current year, as the rice crop is short and the rate of increase of industrial production has tended to slow down. The stresses and strains in the economy may be expected to continue throughout the plan period, and even subsequently though their intensity and the points at which they become manifest may vary from time to time. It is essential to minimise and to correct them, and at the same time to proceed with development.

In the present economic situation of India, fiscal policy has to be directed to the maximum mobilisation of resources for financing the plan. Considerable fresh taxation was undertaken in 1956-57. The budget for 1957-58 enhanced taxation further so as to make it yield about Rs. 103 crores in a full year; it also initiated certain changes in the tax structure so as to make it more capable, over a period, of meeting the needs of development. Two points deserve mention in this connection. Firstly, that part of the resources raised by the Centre last year has been transferred to the States in pursuance

of the Finance Commission's award. Secondly, the resources available in the form of public savings are still short relatively to the requirements. While the full yield of some of the tax measures adopted in 1957-58 will take time to materialize, it is clear that these measures have assisted materially in keeping down inflationary pressures and in creating a new awareness in the country of the effort and sacrifices that have necessarily to go into a development plan.

For the next year, the revenue from customs has been placed at Rs. 170 crores, the decrease of Rs. 13 crores as compared with the current year's revised estimates reflecting the effect of the restrictions on imports. Excise duties are expected to yield Rs. 260.45 crores, excluding Rs. 41.48 crores from additional duties on sugar, cloth and tobacco which accrue in almost their entirety to the States. This is an improvement of Rs. 8 crores over the current year's revised estimates. Under Income-tax, the revenue is placed at Rs. 217 crores, allowing for a normal expansion in revenue of Rs. 10½ crores over the current year's revised estimate. The Wealth tax is expected to yield Rs. 12.5 crores, the tax on railway fares Rs. 9.22 crores and the expenditure tax Rs. 3 crores. The revenue from posts and telegraphs is estimated at Rs. 2.34 crores against Rs. 1.23 crores in the current year. The dividend payable by the railways next year is estimated at Rs. 49.58 crores of which Rs. 7.04 crores will be taken as contribution to revenue and the balance of Rs. 42.54 crores in reduction of interest payments on the expenditure side. The surplus profits of the Reserve Bank next year has been placed at Rs. 30 crores, the same as in the current year. A credit of Rs. 7.34 crores has also been taken on account of the surplus of the cement account of the State Trading Corporation to be transferred to Government. This amount will be utilised on the development of national highways. The share of income-tax payable to States next year will be Rs. 76.97 crores against the current year's revised estimate of Rs. 73.43 crores.

The estimates for defence services show an increase of Rs. 12.09 crores over the revised estimate for the current year. The increase is wholly in the air force estimates mostly for the purchase of stores for replacement. The navy

estimates show an increase of Rs. 1.46 crores but this is offset by a reduction in the provision for the army. Civil expenditure next year shows an increase of Rs. 64.34 crores over the revised estimate. Of this increase, payments to States of the proceeds of the additional excise duties on sugar, cloth and tobacco account for Rs. 27.96 crores. The greater part of the balance is due to larger provision for nation-building development and social services. The provision for expenditure on nation-building and development services under civil administration amounts to Rs. 130.09 crores as compared with Rs. 109.62 crores during the current year. The provision for education at Rs. 20.63 crores is higher by Rs. 5.48 crores and includes Rs. 11.98 crores for grants to States, Rs. 2.51 crores for scholarships and Rs. 4.32 crores for grants to the University Grants Commission. For expenditure on medical and public health, the provision has been increased from Rs. 10.43 crores this year to Rs. 16.0 crores next year and for agriculture and allied services, the provision made next year is Rs. 17.64 crores against the current year's revised estimate of Rs. 16.85 crores. The provision for scientific research has also been stepped up by Rs. 3.7 crores and that for industries and supplies by Rs. 1.62 crores. The estimates also include a provision of Rs. 6 crores for grants to States to help them to raise the emoluments of their low-paid employees, the corresponding provision for 1957-58 being Rs. 5 crores. The newly-constituted Naga Hills and Tuensang District will cost about Rs. 3.64 crores next year. Capital expenditure in the coming year has been placed at Rs. 412 crores excluding a formal adjusting debit of Rs. 78 crores in respect of loan assistance.

Tax on Gifts : In proposing the Gift Tax, the Finance Minister observed : "The idea of a Gift Tax is not new. Many honourable members have stressed both in this House and the other House the need for introducing such a measure at an early date. The transfer of properties through gifts to one's near relations or associates is one of the commonest forms of avoidance of not only the Estate Duty but also of Income-tax, Wealth Tax and even the Expenditure Tax. The only way of effectively checking this practice is to levy a tax on gifts. Such a tax is already being levied in other

countries, for example, USA, Canada, Japan and Australia. The Taxation Enquiry Commission also accepted the Gift Tax as theoretically an attractive proposition."

The tax is proposed to be levied on gifts by whomsoever made, the only exceptions being charitable institutions, government companies, corporations established by Central or State Acts and public companies whose affairs are controlled by six persons or more. The tax will be levied on the donor on the value of all gifts made by him during a year, but for the purpose of determining the rate of the duty, the gifts made during the four years preceding the year will be aggregated. Gifts up to a total value of Rs. 10,000 in any year will be exempted and if the value of the gifts made during any year exceeds this sum, only the excess will be subjected to tax. The basic exemption of Rs. 10,000 will be reduced to Rs. 5,000 if gift to any one individual donee during a year exceeds Rs. 3,000.

In the opinion of the Taxation Enquiry Commission, a gift tax is theoretically an attractive proposition, but it requires considerable experience of the operation of estate duty before it can be introduced. One of the prerequisites for operating successfully a tax of this nature would be to introduce the submission by income-tax assesseees of a statement of assets and liabilities. As more experience is gained of this type of work, the introduction of the gift tax will be feasible. The rates of death duty are at present low. The value of a gift tax as a second line of defence for estate duty is greater if the rates of the latter are steeply progressive. It may be pointed out that all gifts *inter vivos* made within two years of the death of a person are chargeable to estate duty. The Gift Tax was suggested by Prof. Kaldor. He recommended that the gift tax should be levied uniformly on all transfers, whether made during lifetime or coming into operation after death. He also suggested that the gift tax should ultimately replace the present Estate Duty and the rate of gifts-tax should be double the present rates of Estate Duty. He also suggested that the gifts-tax should be levied upon the donee, that is, the person who will receive the gift. The rates should be progressively higher according to the total net wealth of the donee after the gift. The proposed

gifts-tax, however, will be levied not on donee, but on the donor and the rate will be the same as for the Estate Duty. The only difference is that the first slab of Rs. 50,000 will not be exempted from the tax. The rates of gifts-tax range from 4 per cent on the first slab to 40 per cent on gifts over Rs. 50 lakhs. The exemption limit of the Estate Duty will also be reduced from Rs. 1 lakh to Rs. 50,000.

The gifts-tax, like the income-tax, will give rise to widespread evasion because it will be administered by the same authorities. It would have been better if a legacy duty was imposed. In Britain there exists the legacy duty and it is levied on the person receiving the legacy. If a person makes gifts of small amounts every year, he will be able to make cumulatively a gift of considerable amount without coming under the mischief of the law relating to the gifts-tax. The legacy duty on the other hand is in a position to take into account the total amount received by the legatee and evasion thus is not possible under it.

A Wise, Though Belated, Step

The resolution unanimously adopted by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on March 26, recommending the adoption of Bengali as the official language of the State, through belated, is a step in the right direction. Our views of this matter is well-known and was re-iterated in these columns more than once during the recent months.

That the Bengali language is in the process of being accorded its rightful place at home cannot but be of the greatest pleasure to the Bengalis. That however is not the point at issue. The problem is to accord every Indian language its free play in society. Ordinarily this need not become a "problem" at all. But our leaders have somehow managed to make a problem of it. An ordinary man may wonder how it becomes a problem if a man is asked to read and write in his own mother-tongue. But our all-knowing leaders with their "concern" for the people certainly could not allow either the education or the administration to be intelligible to all.

It has therefore taken more than a decade to accept the principle that administration should be conducted in the language of the

people. If the leaders have hesitated to adopt the simple course of allowing the local administration to be run in the language of the people, they have shown the greatest agility in imposing the language of their choice upon the people in fields which are far more complex. One of the funniest thing has been that while so much enthusiasm is being shown to make Hindi the official language, Hindi is not yet a full-fledged official language in any of the Hindi-speaking states. It is to be hoped that the example of Madhya Pradesh, Madras and West Bengal in making their regional languages (Hindi, Tamil and Bengali respectively) the official language for the state would be emulated by other states and the regional languages would soon become the official language of the regions concerned that would provide a great fillip to the development of education and culture of the regions and of India as a whole. Particularly, the West Bengal Government should lose no time to implement the unanimous verdict of the people's representatives to make Bengali the official language.

The said resolution of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly also urged the Government of India to re-examine the question of an official language for India. It asked for the continuance of English as the official language until another language is thought fit to replace it. Given the object that English would have to be replaced, this is the most reasonable suggestion for the immediate future. It must clearly be understood that English cannot for ever remain as the language of administration in India. The suggestion that the existence of a few lakhs of English-speaking Anglo-Indian minority justifies its retention as such is an invidious one to say the least. It is again difficult to agree with the suggestion, even if it should come from such a distinguished Indian as Rajaji, that Commonwealth membership in any way obliges India to retain English. If there should in reality be any such obligation, Indians should agitate for severing Commonwealth links and not for retaining English. Democracy's greatest hurdle in India is the use of English as an official language. The sooner it goes, the better. It is only the authoritarian and the most unreasonable attitude of the so-called supporters

of Hindi that stands in the way. This authoritarianism and unreasonableness find expression in the statement that India's unity demands Hindi as the official language, as the medium of education and so on. If India's unity is so fragile that it would break down unless kept clamped under the thumb of the Hindiwallas then its future is already doomed. No sensible Indian would however think like that. Indians would remain in India as Indians because India ensures the greatest freedom to all for the development of the culture and way of life of each, and not because they would like somebody else to impose his will upon them. Only the fascistic cry of "unity in danger" at the slightest movement for extension of freedom to the people can break that unity and the fissiparous tendencies that are emerging from the anti-Hindi movement are an indication of that danger. Let all of us beware of it in time.

Hindi Lexicon

The All India Radio and the Ministry of Education of the Government of India are engaged in the preparation of two Hindi dictionaries. The AIR Lexicon would concentrate upon terms that are normally required for the dissemination of news and other features by different stations of the All India Radio, while the other Lexicon is to be more comprehensive. In reply to a question in the Lok Sabha on March 13 it was stated that AIR Hindi dictionary would not be made public as it was being prepared solely for departmental use.

The wisdom of duplicating the work of compiling a Hindi lexicon is not obvious. In view of the financial implications the Government should have explained why simultaneously two bodies were working on the preparation of almost the same type of Hindi dictionary. At all events, part of this money might have been more fruitfully spent even on translating books into Hindi, if the authorities were so reluctant to spend any money on the propagation of any other language, because such translation would at least have the merit of making a real addition to the Hindi literature.

Republic Day Celebrations

The undermentioned report would be interesting reading. This is an indication of the government's increasing love for grandeur for

which it does not hesitate to spend lavishly though finance may be tight in more desirable fields:

"New Delhi, March 3. The expenditure incurred by the Government of India on Republic Day celebrations had progressively gone up from Rs. 18,300, in 1951 to Rs. 6.12 lakhs in 1957, according to a written reply given by Mr. F. P. Gaekwar, Parliamentary Secretary to the Defence Minister in the Lok Sabha today."

The weekly *Vigil* in a leading article on March 15 writes:

"Every year the anniversary of the inauguration of the Constitution is celebrated with great pomp as the Republic Day under State auspices. One of the objects, presumably, is to teach the people to love and honour the Constitution. But what use is all this pomp when the very Directive Principles of the State are disregarded by the Government with impunity, as can be seen, for example, from the statement which the Union Minister of State for Education made on March 10, before the all-India Council for Elementary Education? One of the Directive Principles of the State incorporated in the Constitution reads: 'The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years.' But our Minister says: 'We have come to the painful conclusion that the goal of free and compulsory education as set in the Constitution is not within our reach, although it may be our ultimate objective. The target has, therefore, been reduced from six to fourteen to six to eleven years and that, too, to be reached by the end of the third Plan. The panel of the Planning Commission, which recently reviewed the position, have considered this target as feasible within our resources.' But even this estimate of what can be expected in the future, which anyway reduces the target and extends the time-limit as set in the Constitution each by one-third, is a dubious one, for the Minister adds: 'Doubts are already being expressed that the additional funds required for this purpose may not be available'."

While the non-implementation of a Directive Principle of the State might not be justifiable in a court of law, there could hardly be

any doubt that it was a moral offence against the Constitution. The Government's plea of lack of resources was all the more untenable especially as thousands of crores of rupees were being raised by taxation of finance plans which, whatever their other merits, were not enjoined by the Constitution and therefore could not take precedence over objects specifically mentioned in the Constitution."

The *Vigil*, we think, has made a new but nevertheless sound point on the Government's failure to give effect to the Directive Principles of the Constitution. Moreover, as the experience in other countries shows, democracy cannot function on an illiterate base. A Government with a democratic conviction should have considered public education its priority number one even without there being a direction in the Constitution. In India, on the contrary, the Government, not ashamed of its failure, now proposes a further narrowing down of the period of primary education. It is difficult to conceive any instance where governmental irresponsiveness to public opinion went farther.

Urban Planning in Asia

Professor Bert F. Hoselitz of Chicago University has contributed an interesting paper on "Urbanization and Economic Growth in Asia" in a recent issue of the *Economic Development and Cultural Change* published by the University of Chicago every quarter. With reference to published data, Mr. Hoselitz says that "urbanization in Asia has probably run ahead of industrialization, and the development of administrative and other service occupations which are characteristically concentrated in cities." This fact has led to a "disproportion between the costs of urban growth and the maintenance of proper facilities for the urban-dwellers and the earning capacity of the people congregated in cities" (the cities are not self-supporting). The great inflow of the people in the cities that has been witnessed in Asia in recent years has been due more to the "push" experiences in the countryside (economic and political insecurity in the villages which in more than one Asian country are ravaged by bandits and despotic landlords) than to any "pull" of the towns. This tendency to over-urbanization in Asia has some political and social implications.

"Owing to the greater concentration of population, the higher degree of literacy among urban than country-people, and the propinquity of centers of political decision-making, the urban population is more deeply involved in politics than the rural population . . . In view of the overwhelming political role exercised by the cities in under-developed countries and the relative political importance of the countryside, the present situation of over-urbanization, coupled with the relatively unsatisfactory employment situation among urban-dwellers, must be regarded as an important element of potential political and social instability," Mr. Hoselitz writes.

On the other hand, experimental data show a definite relationship between urbanization and literacy and in the countries of Asia and Africa, industrialization would contribute to an increase in literacy. Yet, in terms of distribution of the labour force, those countries are already "over-urbanized." This is a paradoxical situation.

One way out, suggests Prof. Hoselitz, would be to plan urbanization in the countries of Asia and Africa. "By urban planning," Prof. Hoselitz writes, "some of the effects of social disorganization which occur inevitably in the urbanization process can be mitigated." It is a well-known fact that there is very little urban planning in the under-developed countries. Prof. Hoselitz also has referred to that. His analysis should help people concerned to give some more thoughts to the implications of urbanization in India and other under-developed countries. Such attention at the proper moment is vital, because whatever may happen, urbanization would invariably progress at an accurate pace.

Apartheid and the Western World

The Government of the Union of South Africa introduced a Bill in March 1957, providing for segregation for non-white students in the South African Universities. The Bill, which would soon be made law, envisaged the exclusion of the non-white students from most of the existing universities. World public opinion was naturally shocked by this blatant act of racialism on the part of a government against the majority of the people it governed and protests were raised from many quarters. The Com-

mittee on science and freedom of the Congress for cultural freedom, an institution which so long had remained constant with a program for anti-Communism at any cost and which of recent had shown some awareness of other equally, if not more, important issues, made a very commendable effort to focus world attention on this vital issue inasmuch as the South African Government's action threatened one of the fundamental human rights to academic freedom. It convened a meeting of distinguished university professors and academicians from Great Britain and other countries to criticise the South African Government's policy. The meeting, which was attended by one of the leading white professors from South Africa who upheld the Government's policy, passed a resolution which stated *inter alia* that "The South African Government's proposals to exclude non-white students from the 'open' universities and to subordinate higher education for non-whites to a system of repressive control, are a flagrant denial of human brotherhood and strike at the roots of genuine university education."

"This policy which deprives the South African universities of the right to admit persons whom they deem to be worthy, menaces their independence and their standing as members of the world community of learning."

The resolution further called upon the South African Government to abstain from giving effect to its policy.

The London meeting against university segregation in South Africa would no doubt go some way in impressing the public opinion in some of the Western countries that freedom in the countries of the "free" West did not go very far for a substantial section of the people and that opposition to some of the governments of "democracies" was by no means invariably part of a "Communist threat".

The governments of the Western "democracies" must share a great degree of responsibility for the misdeeds of the South African Government, the latest of whose acts of lawlessness was the banning of the African National Congress. Rev. Michael Scott, that indefatigable fighter for the cause of African freedom, made this aspect of the problem clear in his speech before the meeting. Referring to South Africa's callous disregard of the resolu-

tions passed during the last ten years by overwhelming majorities in the United Nations against South Africa's practical application of its own peculiar doctrine of apartheid against its treatment of its African majority and Indian minority; and against its attempts to appropriate the mandated territory of South-West Africa, Rev. Scott said:

"South Africa has withdrawn from all these debates during the past ten years, and after her first attempts, has declined to answer the criticism and the changes that have been made in the United Nations. . . . In the United Nations, South Africa's position has always been defended on purely procedural grounds . . . it has been defended as a rule by Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal and Australia. These are the countries whose representatives voted against the resolution, passed . . . by almost sixty votes, on the grounds that discussion of the matter was incompatible with Article 4, paragraph 7 of the Charter. The fact cannot be concealed that most of the other countries, known very often as Christian nations, have abstained from voting on this question in the United Nations; partly because they feel frustrated at every turn in the attempts which have been made to conciliate South Africa or to find some other positive approach to the problem than criticism and condemnation—but they have abstained. Throughout the years this has gradually resolved itself into a debate led by the Asian and African peoples, supported by the Islamic States and by the Communist countries, this record is there for anyone to examine."

World Peace and Status Quo

Concepts of peace differ from country to country and from men to men. A mechanical peace may be achieved if *status quo* is not disturbed. This may, however, be farthest from real peace. Not, however, all disturbances of the *status quo* are productive of peace, nor the preservation of the *status quo* is a guarantee to peace.

It is not unnatural however to find a government bent upon one particular policy to emphasize only the one or the other aspect of this dynamic process of peace. It is not again surprising that the Soviet government from their

narrow politico-military consideration now find it very convenient to stress the *static aspect of peace*. An example of this type of propaganda is given by the article "Peace and the *Status Quo*" by M. Baturin in the latest issue of the *International Affairs*, published monthly from Moscow. According to this Soviet writer, world peace would be assured only if the principle of co-existence between the socialist and capitalist countries on the basis of *status quo* is accepted in practice. While he makes a reference to the struggle for national independence of the dependent peoples he does not explain how with the acceptance of the *status quo* of the colonial system, the people under subjection can gain independence or how there can be world peace. It is certainly not less violent than an international war when French troops mercilessly kill thousands of Algerians. The truth is that no one principle is enough for the present international situation where countries are in different stages of evolution. *Status quo* may be beneficial to the Soviet Union, it certainly is not for the Algerians. It is time that people took greater care before they came out with 'theories' of international relations. It is again time to make it clear that Soviet foreign policies were not always the correct policies even from narrower points of view.

Moscow Changes

In the sixth major shake-up during the quinquennium after the death of Stalin, Nikita Sergievitch Khrushchev became Prime Minister of the USSR on March 27. It all happened in the usual Soviet ways with one small difference that Bulganin had so far not to make any self-condemning statement. Otherwise everything was usual: there was "complete unanimity" among the deputies. When the Supreme Soviet of the USSR reconvened after the recent general elections Marshal Klementi Voroshilov was re-elected President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. After his re-election the 77-old President Voroshilov proposed Mr. Khrushchev as the new Premier. Mr. Khrushchev's announced cabinet did not differ in any significant respect from the previous one. Mr. Bulganin retained a junior post in the Ministry as Chairman of the Gosbank. It was not possible for anyone to say whether this

foreshadowed further changes in the Soviet leadership, though chances are in favour of such an assumption. There was however little likelihood of any great change in Soviet foreign policy by this ministerial change insofar as Mr. Khrushchev had all along been in firm control of the policy-making machinery during the recent past.

Story Behind Zhukov's Dismissal

Mr. Louis Fischer, the noted American journalist, has, in an article in the *New Leader*, given an interesting suggestion of the possible reasons behind the sudden rise and fall of Marshal Georgy Zhukov, the wartime Soviet hero. Zhukov had suffered much in the hands of envious Stalin. Therefore, Khrushchev made Zhukov, the most popular Soviet Marshal, a great support for his struggle against the old guard commanded by Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovitch. It was, therefore, through the influence of the party bureaucrat Nikita Khrushchev that Zhukov rose to prominence and position. During 1956, Khrushchev had been defeated in his efforts to bring the economic machinery under his control. He, however, obtained a victory in February 1957, when he succeeded in getting the approval of the Central Committee to his proposals for industrial decentralization. This initial advantage he pressed further and he got the old guard dispersed in June, 1957. However, in this struggle against Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovitch, Khrushchev found himself in a minority both at the Presidium and in the Central Committee of the CPSU. It was only through Zhukov's open support that Khrushchev came out victorious. How did all that happen?

Mr. Fischer writes: "Zhukov did not deal with the issues. He reached back into the Kremlin's bloody history and brought forth some damning evidence against the leaders of the anti-Khrushchev faction. First he displayed a letter from Leo Kamenev, one of the triumvirate with which Stalin had ruled Soviet Russia in the years after Lenin's death in 1924. The letter, Zhukov explained, was written from prison in 1936, in Kamenev's blood, complaining to Stalin that he was being tortured. On this grim document was a laconic marginal order—'More torture'. The order, Zhukov said, was, Molotov's.

"Next Zhukov declared that he had been studying the files of secret police chief Lavrenti Beria, who had been shot after Stalin's death; the files proved collusion by Malenkov in some of Beria's bloodiest crimes. Zhukov's listeners now know that he had the archives of the secret police. They also knew that the same police files contained similar damaging data against Khrushchev. But the fact that the Marshal did not mention them meant that he was backing Khrushchev, and this turned the tide." Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovitch and others were defeated.

From that moment Zhukov's star began to rise further, he was made a full member of the Presidium. Zhukov began to exercise at least equal authority with Khrushchev. This settled the issue and it was clear that either one or the other must go. Zhukov made the fatal error of going out of the Soviet Union when Khrushchev got time to conspire Zhukov out of power. A strict censorship effectively prevented any news reaching Zhukov until after his demotion had become a reality.

This information, Mr. Fischer says, was gathered in Poland from the Polish Communists. There is no reason to dis-believe Mr. Fischer or the veracity of Polish Communists. Khrushchev's latest act in getting himself the Premiership, in addition to the party secretaryship, clearly confirmed his very great personal ambitions. Given that, the process is bound to be the same with variation of minor details.

Soviet Decision on Nuclear Tests

One of the boldest and most spectacular statements as yet made by any Government came on March 31 when the newly-reconstituted Soviet Government headed by M. Nikito Sergievitch Khrushchev announced that the Soviet Government had decided to suspend tests of nuclear weapons unilaterally, irrespective of whether the Western Powers would do so or not. The announcement was expected for several days and was made by the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, in his speech before the new session of the Supreme Soviet. The West was apparently taken aback by this Russian move, though it was not at all unexpected. Efforts would no doubt be made to belittle the

value of this new Soviet step, but the revolutionary significance of this bold step could by no means be lost upon the greater majority of the Governments and peoples of the world. The Soviet Government deserve the congratulations and thanks of all. It was now the duty of other governments to prove their *bonafides* to the world. Would they still hesitate?

Israel After a Decade

The State of Israel came into existence in 1948. Situated in a hostile environment it has made striking progress during this past decade. There were, however, a number of factors especially favouring the development of the new state. We refer to some of them below on the basis of the budget speech of Mr. Levi Eshkol, the Israeli Minister of Finance.

Israel now has nearly two million people—more than half of whom came to the state after 1948. At its inception the state had only 800,000 inhabitants. During the decade 900,000 people came as immigrants 29 per cent from Asia, 25 per cent from Africa, 44 per cent from Europe and about 1 per cent from America. Such heavy immigration must have meant a great headache to any other government. The fact that Israel had no difficulty in absorbing these immigrants in addition to its own natural increases in the labour power is explained by the fact that the immigrants did not come as refugees as we understand it in India but they brought with them much capital and technical knowledge. According to Mr. Eshkol, upto March 1957 the capital that had been brought to Israel amounted to 2,550 million dollars. "After deducting the sums expended on defence and reserve stocks, and the value of immigrants' personal effects, the net capital available for investment was between 1500 and 1,759 million dollars," he said.

Moreover, the Government of Israel also had the benefit of governmental help from other countries. Mr. Pinhas Sapir, Minister of Commerce and Industry, explains.

"The Reparations Agreement between Israel and West Germany, signed in Luxembourg in 1952, provides for German deliveries to Israel to a total value of DM3,500 million at an annual rate of DM250 million. Thus, Israel has been able to buy from West Germany much of the

equipment needed for her many new industries, as well as rolling stock for her railways, trucks for her roads, and scores of vessels which will increase the Israel merchant marine from a few thousand tons in 1948 to 600,000 tons by 1963.

"American grants-in-aid have also played an important part in financing the building up of industry, as have the contributions of Jewry abroad. Sales of Israel Government bonds have brought in \$325 million in the past seven years, while private investors brought in tens of millions of dollars.

"The Israel Government in its turn has facilitated this development by granting long-term loans to new enterprises, particularly in the 'Development Areas'—thinly populated parts of the country to which it wishes to attract new enterprises."

"The gross investment during the past decade amounted to 5,000 million Israeli pounds based on 1956 prices. An analysis of investments from 1950 to 1956 shows that one-third of the capital was invested in housing the newcomers, over one-fifth in agricultural development, about one-fifth in industry, and the balance in transportation and essential services," the Finance Minister Mr. Eshkol said.

This has naturally led to an increase in the volume of national production—agricultural and industrial. The gross agricultural production increased 3½ times and industrial production also more than trebled. The average productivity of the workers has risen by about five per cent annually.

What are the prospects for the next decade, Mr. Eshkol said.

"During the second decade, we must strive to reach the following three objectives:

(a) Continued ingathering of the exiles and the integration and absorption of all immigrants, those already in the country and those yet to come.

(b) Settlement of land, reclamation of arid areas—there are still many—and maximum exploitation of natural resources.

(c) Economic independence, *i.e.*, an attempt to bridge the gap between exports and imports and to achieve an acceptable standard of living in keeping with our abilities.

The basic conditions for success are:

Higher production and labour output, to be attained by the more efficient exploitation of manpower and natural resources. We must enlarge the number of wage-earners in industry, agriculture, and other productive occupations and reduce the number of persons who are employed in services and on relief works.

Lower cost of production to enable us to compete in world markets.

Increased national savings, in order that an ever larger part of the national product can be exported and the proceeds devoted to investment."

Workers and Management

Workers' participation in management is one of the current topics in this country. It is undoubtedly a vital, but complicated, matter. The report of the study group appointed by the Government of India, while it has thrown some light on the subject, has been substantially defective as it failed to cover the Communist and American countries and Israel. One interesting aspect in the last-named country is that the Histadrut (the General Confederation of Labour) itself runs several national undertakings. Even here also they have to face the question of management-worker relations and the matter of workers' participation in industry. In this connection the report, which appeared in the *Israel Weekly Digest*, Jerusalem, March 13, 1958, appended below, will be of some interest:

"The Executive Council of the Histadrut, the General Federation of Labour, last week approved its 1958-59 budget of IL20,286,000 by a majority, after a three-day debate which covered most of the current activities of the Federation.

"In his keynote speech, Mr. Pinhas Lavon, Secretary-General of the Histadrut, stressed the Federation's importance to the country both as a stabilizing factor and a major element in its economic development. He pointed out that Histadrut, State and publicly-owned undertakings and services comprised 60 per cent of the country's economy. To continue its original pioneering tasks in the development of the country, it would have to co-ordinate its varied operations and bodies and increase their efficiency.

"The main bodies mentioned for an overall review of their activities by central Histadrut

bodies were Solel Boneh, the contracting and industrial corporation, the various Histadrut marketing organizations such as Tnuva, Hamashbir Hamercazi, the co-operatives, and the Federation's overseas financial organizations.

"The Histadrut Secretary-General stressed the renewed importance of Hevrat Ovdim, the governing body of Histadrut economic enterprises, as the central body determining overall policy for its many subsidiaries. Day to day running policy, however, would remain in the hands of the managers, he said.

"In this context he also declared that the basic structure of Histadrut industry would be revolutionized with the introduction and expansion of worker participation in management.

"Touching on the Histadrut's relations with the Government, he criticised the Government's manipulations of the cost-of-living index and warned that these actions had an undesirable psychological effect on the country's workers. Nevertheless, he warned those that advocated the abolition of the index as a wage regulator that such a step might lead to a concerted fight for higher pay throughout the economy.

"The income side of the budget includes IL14,932,000 in membership fees, IL1,961,000 in levies from Histadrut institutions and enterprises, and IL2,600,000 from Histadrut appeals abroad. Under expenditure are included IL7,550,000 for local Labour Councils, IL2,311,700 for culture and education and an increased allocation of IL1,155,500 for youth and sports organizations.

"The Executive decided to cut down on organizational costs and to streamline national and local administration. No new officials are to be hired; pensionable officials will be compelled to retire, and an efficiency committee will investigate local Labour Councils with a view to reducing personnel by 10 per cent.

"Mr. R. Barkatt, head of the Political Department, announced in his report that the Histadrut had decided to set up a liaison bureau in Asia. He also proposed the establishment of an agency to co-ordinate the Histadrut's technical and economic aid abroad.

"He told of the growing place of honour which the Histadrut had acquired in the councils of the free labour movement, and recalled the support extended by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. during this country's 'darkest hours,'

as well as by the labour movements of Scandinavia and South America.

"In his summing up speech, Mr. Lavon reiterated the Histadrut's opposition to arbitrary dismissals, but said it was prepared to accept the need for dropping redundant workers owing to technical advances. The Secretary-General expressed optimism on the prospects of reaching agreement with professional workers. He hoped that the forthcoming establishment of the National Federation of Professional Workers would create a representative body of employed professionals who would not only be prepared to make claims but also to shoulder their part of the national burden."

An African "Colombo Plan"

The *Economic Weekly*, Bombay, writes :

"A Foundation has been set up for mutual assistance in Africa, South of Sahara, for supply of technical aid on the model of the Colombo Plan. Technical aid will be channelled through this foundation to Ethiopia, the Sudan, Somalia, and the Spanish territories of the region as also to territories of States which are members of the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa, South of Sahara."

"The omission of Egypt from the list of countries will be noted but should cause no surprise. The member Governments of the Commission for Technical Co-operation are Belgium, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, France, Ghana, Liberia, Portugal, the Union of South Africa and the United Kingdom. In a press release on the subject it is mentioned that all the other Governments and territories concerned were also invited to send observers to the Accra meeting, at which the foundation was inaugurated, but apparently many of these Governments have not yet joined. Equally familiar, and on the lines of the Colombo Plan again, American interest in the scheme of technical aid was evinced by the presence of a United States observer. The U.S. Government, which operates aid programmes of its own in South of Sahara, as elsewhere, has not however made any commitments with the new foundation."

"Technical assistance under the Foundation will take the usual form of supply of experts, advisers and instructors to countries in the region, the training of personnel from the

region, and the supply of equipment for purposes of training. It will be arranged bilaterally between the governments concerned, following the practice of the Colombo Plan. The small secretariat of the Foundation will act as a clearing-house for requests for, and offers of, assistance."

Those who care to keep themselves informed about the developments in the Middle East would not be surprised by this development. Indeed, speculations have been rife for over a year now about some impending policy formulations whereby the Western Powers could be in a position to influence developments in the newly independent African countries. We have had occasion to refer to these manoeuvres of the Western Powers in these columns more than once. It is significant that all the members of this new plan are, with the exception of Ghana and Liberia, colonial governments having vast colonial stakes in Africa. The fact that no other independent government thought it worthwhile even to attend the preliminary conference is an eloquent testimony of the basically anti-African objectives of the framers of this new "plan".

Weather and Opinion

How the realities of the situation exert an influence even upon the greatest minds is provided by Bertrand Russell's latest views on communism. Just after the Second World War when the West was secure in the belief of its superiority over the USSR through the exclusive possession of the Atom Bomb, the prevalent mood was one of "containing communism" and Bertrand Russell in his anti-communism went so far as to say that he would prefer the world to be destroyed by atom bombs than it to be ruled by communists. The Russian success in producing the atom bomb and the inter-continental ballistic missile and sputnik, which spelled complete ruin of Great Britain and other West European countries in the event of a war, apparently has caused much re-thinking in a section of Western thinkers. An index of the extent of the results of such re-thinking is given by the following report by *Reuter*:

"London, March 25.—Earl Russell (Bertrand Russell, the Philosopher) last night described as 'absolutely insane fanaticism' the belief that destruction by nuclear bombs was preferable to submission to a hostile power."

"He was speaking in a filmed interview on independent (Commercial) Television.

"The 86-year-old Nobel Prize winner declared: 'There have been bad conquerors in the past—take for instance the Mongols, who were cruel and abominable beyond all measure in the time of Genghis Khan.

"In the time of his Grandson, Kubla Khan, Emperor of China, they were most civilised.

"Earl Russell added: 'Now, if the Communists conquered the world, it would be very unpleasant for a while, but not for ever.

"But if the human race is wiped out that is the end.'

"He said he would like the Government to announce that it would have nothing further to do with the manufacture of H-Bombs, and that it would not have Rocket sites stationed in this country.

"If that entails our no longer being a member of NATO I should accept that consequence'.

"The Labour opposition ought to 'take advantage of the very strong anti-H-Bomb feeling in the country and lead that feeling'.

"Replying to questions, Earl Russell said he thought the greatest man of his own time was Lenin and added, 'I do not by any means altogether admire his influence, but I think the difference that he made to the course of history was very great indeed'."

Recession

The latest reports in the world markets indicate that a depression is coming. In the United States, they have substituted the ominous word "Depression" by a less harsh one "Recession." The symptoms of the coming ailment are thus given by the *New York Times*:

The fundamental questions about the recession in the U.S. are: How long will it last? What should be done to reverse it?

With regard to the first question, there were conflicting signs last week, and no one was making firm forecasts. With regard to the second, a variety of answers were advanced in the Administration and in Congress, and they reflected differing views on the urgency of the situation. There was continued—and inconclusive—talk of tax cuts as a direct stimulant to the economy.

These were the developments on the course of the economy and on the debate over remedies.

The week's principal indicators were these:

Unemployment: Government economists predicted that the figure for unemployment in March, scheduled for release early next month, will show a rise of 200,000 over February's 5.2 million, which set a sixteen-year record. The pick-up hoped for in March thus apparently has not developed. However, the expected increase in unemployment between February and March represents a decline from the increase of nearly 600,000 between January and February. Also, a drop in initial unemployment compensation claims in the week ended March 15 indicated a decline in new lay-offs.

Production: The Federal Reserve Board reported that February industrial production again dropped three points, the same as in January. Based on the 1947-49 average of 100, the February index stood at 130, compared with 147 in December, 1956, and 144 last July. This means a 9.7 per cent drop since July, compared with seven-month declines of 8 to 9 per cent in the 1953-54 and 1948-49 recessions. The sector hardest hit was durable-goods production.

Steel. The American Iron and Steel Institute reported a slight increase in production as of the week before last. Output of ingots and steel for castings reached 1,463,000 net tons—54.2 per cent of capacity—compared with 1,425,000 tons, or 52.8 per cent of capacity, the week before. A month previously furnaces were operating at 50.9 per cent.

Consumer Prices: The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported on Friday that in February the cost-of-living index set a record for the sixteenth time in the last eighteen months. It rose two-tenths of 1 per cent over January, reaching 122.5 per cent of the 1947-49 average. This was 3.2 per cent more than in the comparable period last year. Soaring food costs were principally to blame. B.L.S. Commissioner Ewan Clague said farm prices have strengthened since an agricultural downturn of two years ago, thus jacking up food prices. The reason, costs generally have continued upward despite a recession, he said, is that most consumer items do not respond quickly to general conditions.

How are the professional observers view-

ing the economic situation at this point? The optimists are still counting on a spring upturn in such areas as auto sales, house buying and other spending associated with the season. They feel that this year will be no exception, principally because of the economy's built-in cushions, such as unemployment compensation, other social security benefits, and farm-price supports, all of which have helped to sustain purchasing power.

On the other hand, others discount these arguments for optimism and point to the behavior of a key economic barometer—the decline in investments in new plants and equipment. This is linked with the drop in durable goods production and the rise in unemployment. Confidence in the economy, they say, will be shown only when outlays for expansion are on the rise again.

The difference between Administration and Democratic approaches to the recession was underscored last week in these two statements:

By President Eisenhower at a conference of Republican women in Washington: "This Administration is not going to be panicked by alarmists into activities that could actually make . . . hardships not temporary but chronic."

By Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson in a statement in reply: "Members of both parties in the Senate . . . are equally determined to prevent panic—especially panic of the kind that came in 1929."

The President's remarks were in line with the Administration's belief that any drastic action should await further study of how far the downward trend is likely to go. The Administration has been counting on such economic valves as acceleration of already approved Federal spending. It is emphasizing that foreign-aid funds, spent largely in the U. S., also would help swell upward prices. And it is counting on the Government's control of credit. Thus last week the Federal Reserve Board announced reductions of member banks' reserve requirements by one-half of 1 per cent, as it had done last February 19, thereby increasing purchasing power. Beyond such measures, Vice President Nixon said yesterday, the Administration "can't make

any final judgment until the figures for March are all in."

On the other hand the Democrats say the Administration has not acted with sufficient urgency, and express concern that what has been done is not enough. In line with this, Congressional party leaders have been preparing a variety of anti-recession measures, mostly involving Federal spending.

The Rajasthan Canal

Another ballyhoo has been started by a spaceful of earth. We append the report below. But what we would like to know is how much in the terms of actual benefit to the common man, has accrued to the nation, in exchange for the gigantic sums spent in erecting dams and excavating canals? In terms of food we have scarcity, in the terms of net income, after purchase of essentials, we have got penury.

New Delhi, March 29.—Excavations for the 426-mile Rajasthan canal, claimed as the biggest-ever project of its kind in the world, will begin tomorrow. The work will be inaugurated by the Union Home Minister, Pandit Pant, at Talwara in western Rajasthan.

The project, which is phased in two stages, is estimated to cost over Rs. 66 crores and is expected to be completed in 10 years.

The canal, which will be fed by the Sutlej and the Beas, is one of the major steps to reclaim a vast area of arid land in Rajasthan bordering Pakistan.

In terms of actual benefits, the canal would release new land for nearly 200,000 families; there would be an additional yield of food and fodder worth Rs. 75 crores annually and 3.5 million acres of land would be irrigated—more than half of what had been achieved in the country through major irrigation works during the First Plan.

Preliminary work on the canal, which would mainly serve the Bikaner and Jodhpur divisions, has already been completed by the Central and Rajasthan Governments, and both have agreed, in principle, to set up a committee of directors and a joint board for completion of the project.

The canal on completion will take off from the Harike barrage on the Sutlej in

Punjab just below its confluence with the Beas. The barrage had been completed in 1950-52. The head regulator of the proposed canal has also been built with the barrage.

For the first 110 miles the canal would flow through Punjab and then run close to the Punjab-Rajasthan border tailing off near Ramgarh in Rajasthan.

It is expected to have a capacity of 18,500 cusecs and on completion will have 500 miles of branches—all of them lined with cement or bricks to prevent wastage. The branches in turn would split into irrigation and water courses, creating a network of 25,000 miles.

The main canal would be made navigable to extend the benefit of cheap transport to the people of the two divisions, who now have no roads and no other means of transport than camels.

The Suratgarh branch of the canal would provide for the construction of two powerhouses with a capacity of 4,000 kw.—P.T.I.

Siddhartha Ray's Charges

As it is impossible to put on record the entire text of Sri Siddhartha Sankar Ray's statement, we append below the following extracts, taken from the *Statesman*, from his statement. These give all that is substantial in the report:

The West Bengal Assembly and its overcrowded galleries on Monday heard Mr. Siddhartha Sankar Ray accuse the Government of having failed during the period he was a member of the State Cabinet to take "any appreciable step which could be construed as a serious endeavour" to attain the professed objectives of the Congress and its administration.

"Indeed, during the period of my membership of the Congress and of the administration I clearly saw that we were helping in building up a morally corrupt and a physically weak nation—a nation helplessly looking forward to an uncertain and bleak future and silently bearing every possible hardship and distress."

"Mr. Ray, who spoke from a prepared script for over three hours, dwelt on the activities of several departments but his fire was directed principally against the administration of the Food, Refugee Rehabilitation, and Relief De-

partments. He characterized the food policy of Mr. P. C. Sen as 'diabolical' and openly charged him with having violated Central directives with regard to controls on movement and price of food. Mr. Ray even alleged that Mr. Sen had tried to keep the Chief Minister in the dark about the Centre's directives.

"Mr. Ray pointed out that at his suggestion the Cabinet had appointed a sub-committee to remove corruption in the administration. Explaining at some length how the sub-committee failed to do anything, he said: 'In retrospect, today I feel that it would have been better if a sub-committee of this type had not included the Food Minister and the Police Minister.'

"It was not possible to make headway with removing corruption as the administration was 'backed by a political party whose hierarchy was not interested in the eradication of corruption from our national life. The system wanted corruption to continue as otherwise certain vested interests will be adversely affected and greatly jeopardized.'

"Mr. Ray then subjected the State Congress leadership to a vitriolic attack. He said: 'The party leadership is now in the hands of such mediocrities and reactionaries as to make it impossible either to attain true Socialism or really to root out the corruption that is seeping into our national life every day, and when these mediocrities and reactionaries have personal interests to serve as well one can well imagine the corruption, confusion and chaos that are bound to prevail.

"If we were really to work honestly as members of the Anti-Corruption Sub-committee we were bound to lay our hands on certain very important vested interests. Indeed, we were bound to come into conflict with those people who, in truth, control the West Bengal Congress today—an unscrupulous section of rich industrialists, traders and business men, the privileged class of modern India. This class, in effect, runs the Congress through their stooges and agents and the word of this class is law.'

"Referring to Mr. Sen's food policy, the former Judicial Minister said: 'I do not think that after the Bengal famine any Minister in charge of the food portfolio in this State has laid down such an irresponsible, dangerous and devasta-

ting policy. At times I thought that he did not know his own mind but later I was convinced that his mind was dictated by others having various vested interests to serve.'

"Mr. Ray alleged that after the promulgation of the order under the Essential Commodities Act permits had been issued in a manner which justifiably raised suspicion. 'These permits had not been issued openly, fairly and by taking other Ministers, far less the public, into confidence. These have been distributed, at least definitely in some cases, to certain persons either in their own names or in the names of their *benamdars*—persons who are often seen to conglomerate either at the Food Minister's office or at his residence or at Congress Bhavan in Chowringhee.'

"Mr. Ray accused Mr. Sen of having orally advised the District Magistrates of the districts where the control order was imposed 'not only not to prosecute the offenders but also not to strictly enforce the price control order.' This was illegal and unconstitutional. 'What makes me completely to sever my connexion with this Government is the fact that knowingly and deliberately it has allowed and is allowing a state of affairs to develop, which will inevitably result in wide-spread breaking of laws promulgated for our good.

"It was absolutely clear that this food policy is morally unsound, economically fraught with grave dangers, constitutionally improper and psychologically disastrous'."

"Mr. Ray said that patronage to be distributed was in the hands of two Ministers—Mr. P. C. Sen and Mr. Kalipada Mukherjee. He asked the Chief Minister to hold an inquiry by an independent tribunal and let the people know who were the people who had been favoured with licences for cement, textiles and ration shops.

"Mr. Ray wondered why the textile directorate had been tagged to the Food Minister's portfolio when there was a Minister for Industries and Commerce.

"From the political prisoners' fund to test relief operations in districts everything was controlled by these two Ministers—Mr. Sen and Mr. Mukherjee'. During his tour of the dis-

tricts Mr. Ray had heard complaints from people and even Congress workers only against these two Ministers."

"I joined the Congress and the administration taking it for granted and fully relying on the numerous assertions made from time to time by our leaders that they had the firmest faith in Socialism and were determined to bring about a classless society and a truly Socialistic State.

"I am not saying that since the ideal has not been accomplished in the course of the last 10 years I leave the Government and the Party. I make no such rash and insensible accusation but the irrefutable conclusion to which I came was that far from in any way aiding Bengal and Bengalis to prosper and advance, the administration and the party were fast leading Bengal to destruction and Bengalis to ruination.

"I had not aligned myself with any group or section within the Congress and had throughout tried to take the most impartial and unbiased attitude in every matter, coming either before the party or the administration. It is only because that I definitely feel on matters of principle that this party and this Government cannot grant deliverance to our State that I stand aside today."

Correction

There was a slip in the second paragraph of our editorial note under the caption, "The Fiddle and the Fire," in the March issue of *The Modern Review*. We thank the readers and well-wishers who have written to us pointing out the mistake. The true news-item is reproduced below:

"New Delhi, February 27: The Lok Sabha burst into laughter as an Opposition member today punned on the Railway Minister's name.

"Complaining of insecurity of life due to increasing number of accidents on the railways, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee (Jan Sangh) said that things were so bad that when one bought a railway ticket, there was every chance that one would have to bid farewell to "jag" (world) and "jivan" (life). Under such conditions one ultimately travelled with "Ram" on his lips.

"The Railway Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, smiled."

INTERNATIONAL GEOPHYSICAL YEAR, 1957-58

BY PROF. A. C. BANERJI

WHAT do we mean by the International Geophysical Year (I.G.Y.) and how has this idea come into being? These are the two questions which naturally come to one's mind. Let us therefore trace how this concept of I.G.Y. has gradually developed. In 1874, it occurred to German explorer Weyprecht on his return from Polar expedition that separate and unconnected expeditions of this kind could only advance the boundaries of knowledge to a limited extent. He urged that the nations of the world should jointly participate in the exploration of the Arctic regions at least for a year, and establish observation posts on a co-operative basis for this purpose. He prepared his scheme with details for the exploration of Polar areas.

Three International Polar Conferences examined Weyprecht's plan thoroughly in 1879, 1880 and 1881, and approved of the same in main details. It was decided that the International Polar Year would extend over thirteen months beginning from August, 1, 1882 and ending on August 31, 1883. The details of investigation were also chalked out. Twelve countries co-operated in this International Programme. But the results which were evaluated were confined more or less to their respective domains.

A Second International Polar Year was arranged just after half a century in 1932-33 on the suggestion of Dr. Georgi of Hamburg. The efforts of the First Polar Year were repeated on a more magnified scale after fifty years. Much had been done since the First Polar Year. Both Poles had been reached, and cosmic rays had been discovered. Attempts were now made to unfathom the mysteries of the Antarctic more systematically. Arrangements for extensive investigations into meteorology, geomagnetism, aurora, ionosphere, radio-communications etc., were made. Forty-nine countries participated in the programme of the Second International Polar Year. Many important results were achieved during the Second Polar Year by the joint efforts of scientists, but still the evaluation of results lacked co-ordination. Perhaps the main reason for this shortcoming was that vast advances were made in experimental science but

the theoretical Physicists could not formulate their theories quick enough to cope successfully with the vast increase of new facts that were being discovered very fast.

More than two decades have already elapsed now since the Second Polar Year. Very rapid progress in science in every direction during recent years has brought about new techniques of investigation and new spheres of research. Consequently many new questions have been raised and many new problems have to be solved. Another over-all effort on a gigantic International scale has become necessary to pool all the resources of science for probing into the mysteries of the physical structure of the earth and its environments.

At first it was proposed to hold a Third International Polar Year in 1957-58 after twenty-five years instead of fifty years since the Second Polar Year. Luckily the year 1957-58 happens to coincide with the next peak of the eleven-year cycle of Solar activity. Hence all the phenomena connected with Sun spots and solar activity will be greatly enhanced, and consequently it will be possible to study them with greater precision during this period. Thus the idea first arose in the mind of Professor Sydney Chapman of Oxford, who was also my old teacher, in 1950 that the investigations for the forthcoming International Year should not be confined to the Polar regions only, but that the measurements should also be carried out in the equatorial belt and in intermediate latitudes. Moreover all the geophysical phenomena connected with the earth and its atmosphere should be explored comprehensively. Prof. Chapman also consulted Dr. Lyod Berkner, President of The Associated Universities (America), in this connection and they agreed that the name "International Polar Year" be dropped and that the name "International Geophysical Year," which was to be arranged in 1957-58, be substituted. Their suggestion was enthusiastically approved by the International Council of Scientific Unions in 1952. This Council officially constituted a special committee for the International Geophysical Year, viz., "Comité special de l'Annee Geophysique Internationale." It speedily set up a planning

committee under the Chairmanship of Professor Chapman. He prepared a plan in detail which was thoroughly examined by several scientific bodies and substantially approved.

The International Geophysical Year which began on July 1, 1957, would cover a period of 18 months ending on December 31, 1958. More than 5000 scientists from 56 countries have now agreed to co-operate in a colossal international effort for studying exhaustively all geophysical phenomena connected with the earth and the environments. Mother Earth still holds many secrets in her bosom from the North Pole to the South Pole, from the East to the West, and from the depths of the ocean to the heights of upper atmosphere.

Eleven working groups have been formed to undertake investigations during the Geophysical Year, *viz.*, World Days, Meteorology, Geomagnetism, Aurora and Airglow, Ionosphere, Solar Activity, Cosmic Rays, Longitude and Latitude, Glaciology, Oceanography, and Publications.

In addition, work on two other groups has also started, *viz.*, Seismology and Gravity measurements, and Rockets and Satellites.

OBSERVATIONAL REGIONS

For observation special emphasis has been given to the Arctic and Antarctic regions where many important and interesting phenomena are expected to be observed. Numerous observational posts have been arranged within the equatorial belt. In the past the number of observational spots in that belt were very few. A few meridians have also been specially selected, along which there would be dense sets of observational posts. Three such meridians extending from pole to pole have been specially selected. These meridians are $+80^{\circ}\text{W}$ (a line going through Hudson Bay and Canada, along the Eastern U.S. Coast, and the West Coast of Latin America), $+10^{\circ}$ (a line covering part of Scandinavia, Middle Europe, Africa and part of the Atlantic ocean), and $+140^{\circ}\text{E}$ (a line going through Alaska and the Pacific Ocean). Oceanic stations have been established at various places for exploring the oceans. Upper atmosphere will be investigated by means of rockets and artificial satellites.

WORLD DAYS

Continuously throughout the Geophysical Year, all interesting data that may be collected

will be recorded and all geophysical facts that may be available will be recorded. Moreover there are certain selected days during which extensive investigation is specially planned. These days are called "Regular World days." In addition to these "World days," "Special World Intervals" are also contemplated. An "Alert" is to be given when there is reasonable expectation of unusual magnetic, ionospheric or auroral activities, or meteor showers or if the rockets are to be launched. "The Alert" has been defined as "a call to readiness to all those wishing to undertake special observations during a special world interval." It would be desirable, if possible, to transmit "Alerts" four or five days before a "Special World Interval" is arranged. The Radio Warning Service in Virginia, U.S.A., will be specially responsible for announcing "Special World Intervals."

ANTARCTICA

Antarctica is a strange land most of which is still unexplored. It is an enormous continent and covers more than 13 million square kilometres. Its extent is as much as Europe and Australia taken together. It has got an average height of 2000 metres, and some heights are over 6000 metres. In the Antarctic programme special attention would be given to the study of Aurora Australis—"Southern lights," as till now no complete series of observations are available with regard to its appearance, frequency, and other peculiarities.

It would be necessary to know how much ice and snow exist in the Antarctic. A rough estimate of their total quantity can be made by careful measurements at many different places. When we are able to get this information we shall be in a position to draw conclusions as to the meteorological and climatological influences of these ice and snow masses. There is also an important programme for investigation of the ionosphere over the South Polar regions during long winter months when the Sun is absent. It is believed that the radiation from the Sun is the principal agent which breaks up the atoms of the air in the ionosphere with the result that the reflection of radio waves become possible. Hence it is difficult to account for the continued existence of ionised layers over polar regions under these conditions. The scientists are naturally awaiting anxiously to get an opportunity of studying the composition and

special features of the ionosphere in this unique situation. New valuable information which they hope to get in this matter may substantially modify the existing scientific theories about the existence of the ionosphere.

It is also necessary to study a few special problems relating to Antarctica. These are, *viz.*, the influence of the atmospheric processes in the Antarctic regions on the general circulation of air round the world; the basic laws governing the movement of the Antarctic waters and their connection with the circulation of the waters of the world's oceans; the geological structure and development of the Antarctic ocean bed, the ice of the Antarctic waters, the biology and history of the Antarctic and the mapping of the Antarctic.

A few decades ago, expeditions to the Arctic and the Antarctic were the most hazardous adventures which cost the lives of a number of explorers. Now modern technology has completely altered the picture. Modern machines have been able to overcome the resistance of Nature. Huge ice-breakers, electric snow-ploughs and aeroplanes are being extensively used to discover the secrets of Antarctica. The south pole can easily be reached within a few hours by means of a plane from the coast of Antarctic continent. At the south pole which is the very heart of Antarctica two permanent bases for investigation have been erected—one by the Americans, and the other by the Russians.

In these days of international tension people are also thinking of the strategic importance of Antarctica. Sir Raymond Priestley in his Presidential Address to the British Association at Sheffield in 1956 said: "The strategic value of Antarctica, should world atomic war break out, with the consequent likelihood of the destruction of the Suez and Panama Canals, will stem from the fact that all inter-continental sea-borne traffic, and much coastal traffic as well, must then proceed *via* the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn. Under the circumstances and from this cause alone, concern with Antarctica, as a possible air or submarine base, is bound to be a preoccupation of any great power."

THE ARCTIC

Extensive researches have already been carried out in the Arctic regions in an attempt to facilitate the passage of ships by the Northern Sea Route. In the Arctic Basin Observation

stations have already been located on ice-blocs which are continuously drifting. In the Arctic regions, the scientists are also studying the heat exchange process that is taking place between the earth's crust, the atmosphere and the glaciers. In the Arctic regions problems more or less similar to those in Antarctica are also being investigated.

METEOROLOGY

The mass movement of atmosphere between the tropics and the Polar regions, and the circulation of air around the world would be some of the major studies in this programme. Five meridional chains of stations have been established for this purpose. These stations will be able to throw light on the exchange of heat between the tropics and Polar regions and on the nature of mass movements in the air including such phenomena as "jet streams." The Antarctic is a huge continent sheathed *i.e.*, with ice and snow, and the scientists believe that it has got a major influence on the world's weather.

GEOMAGNETISM

It is believed that the magnetic field of the earth is fairly stable and unchanging. But at the same time it is found that this field undergoes variations which rarely exceeds 2 per cent of the permanent magnetism. Some of these variations are slow and can be measured in years, while other variations are rapid and can be measured in days, hours or minutes. It is known that the permanent field is due to the internal structure of the earth; whereas the very slow variations are produced by some sort of changes in the interior of the earth or in its crust. On the other hand the more rapid variations are occasioned by influences external to the surface of the earth. It is surmised that the latter variations may be due to the disturbances in the upper atmosphere of our earth produced by some bursts of solar activity which may send charged particles of ultraviolet light and X-rays to our atmosphere. The main object of the geomagnetic programme is to find out if strong electric currents are produced by sudden outbursts of solar activities, and if these currents, in their turn, cause rapid magnetic fluctuations of the earth's field or geomagnetic storms.

AURORA AND AIRGLOW

The main auroral programme is to find out

the whole structure of aurora. Accordingly the scientists would like to obtain full information regarding the occurrences, the varying forms, intensities, colours, spectral compositions, luminosity and proper location of aurora. The charged particles from the sun as they approach the earth are deflected by the earth's magnetic field. Hence they travel along the geomagnetic lines of force and enter the atmosphere at high geomagnetic latitudes. These particles then excite the gases in the air. When the atoms of these gases return to their normal and unexcited state, energy is released, and distinctive lights and colours of the aurora are produced. A solar flare may cause variations in auroral displays.

In addition to auroral lights, a weak glow spreads over the whole sky at all times. This is called "Airglow." It is believed that this glow is not caused by particles coming from the sun or the outer space. Airglow perhaps results from chemical reactions in the upper atmosphere. The scientists would like to discover the true cause of airglow and the reason why it varies in intensity in certain places at certain times.

IONOSPHERE

As mentioned before, it is believed that the ultraviolet light from the sun is the main factor which produces the Ionosphere. The in-coming radiation from the sun enters the upper atmosphere, knocks out the electrons from the sparse atoms present there, and creates electrically active layers of atmosphere called Ionosphere. Geophysicists will have to collect data and explain how geomagnetism, aurora, meteor showers and thunderstorms are directly related to ionospheric disturbances. As already mentioned before, continued existence of ionised layers in the upper atmosphere over polar regions during long winter season when sun is absent, should be properly explained. It is hoped that extensive atmospheric researches in Antarctica will throw light on this question.

SOLAR ACTIVITY

It is well known that unusual solar activity either in kind or in intensity has a strong direct influence on the upper atmosphere, and consequently it has also indirect influence on radio communications, navigational systems and other normal terrestrial activities. Unusual solar phenomena also correlate directly with ionos-

pheric and geomagnetic disturbances, auroral displays and cosmic ray showers. It is hoped that the systematic observations of the sun during the Geophysical Year would help in the proper understanding of the relations between these solar and terrestrial events.

COSMIC RAYS

Researches on Cosmic Rays will be one of the most important investigations relating to the upper atmosphere in the geophysical year. Where they come from and what their precise nature is still remain uncertain. Some astronomers think that they originate in the outbursts of super-nova. Professor Vitaly Guinsberg of Moscow thinks that cosmic rays are produced by the nuclear explosions of the bigger stars. If these are enough for such explosions, they will maintain a constant density of particles of these rays. It is believed that cosmic rays consist of high energy protons and electrons which bombard the earth continuously from every direction. The fundamental cosmic ray particles, called the "primaries", do not reach the surface of the earth. Their energy is tremendously high. They encounter and smash the atmospheric particles and produce new cosmic rays called "the secondaries." These "secondaries" also possess much energy and have been detected at appreciable depths in the earth's interior.

The earth's magnetic field is the main tool for measuring the energy of cosmic rays. These rays are deflected in such a way that the low energy rays are concentrated near the magnetic poles; whereas high energy particles can reach all latitudes, even the equatorial regions. Measurements of the intensity of high energy cosmic rays in different latitudes in recent years have set the geophysicists thinking about the true location of the geomagnetic equator and the distribution of magnetic fields about the earth.

GLACIOLOGY

Glaciers now cover 10 per cent of the earth's surface, and at one time they covered more than 32 per cent of this surface. They exist in all continents except Australia, and even in the Tropics at high altitudes. Fluctuations in the number and size of glaciers have immediate effect on the weather. If the earth warms up the world's supply of frozen water in the shape of glaciers and polar caps would gradually melt away. If it continues for a long time then ice-locked parts in the far north as

well as Antarctic parts will be opened up, and low-lying coast lands including coastal cities will be submerged.

The glaciologists during the geophysical year will be engaged in the study of glaciers and their relationship with the existing climate.

OCEANOGRAPHY

Two-thirds of the earth's surface are occupied by the oceans, and one-third is occupied by land. An extended programme for the exploration of the oceans have been chalked out. The circulation of water especially in the Southern seas will have to be investigated. The geophysical programme will also include the determination of the configuration of the ocean bed, the measurements of water and air temperatures, the determination of the salinity of the sea and the movement of waves, and the measurement of the amount of energy radiated from the sea into the air. Plankton will be collected at many places in the sea and its chemical composition will be investigated fully.

Through deep sea currents there is considerable exchange of heat between Antarctica and low latitudes. Hence such currents have a great significance in long-range weather forecasting.

We are now concerned with the development of peaceful uses of atomic energy. Such development will lead to the production of huge quantities of radioactive ashes as by-products which must be safely disposed of before these ashes can do any harm. One possibility is that these dangerous ashes may be dumped into the deep sea which is a very big cavity in the earth's surface. The deep sea current might spread out these injurious radioactive substances to such an extent that they would become harmless. Perhaps this will be the state of affairs for a few centuries in the beginning—but if radioactive ashes continue to accumulate in the seas for many centuries there is a great possibility for the whole sheet of water on the surface of the earth to get contaminated with the result that life and vegetation will become extinct on the surface of the earth. The only remedy is that the chemists should learn to make these radioactive ashes non-radioactive and non-injurious.

SEISMOLOGY

"Faults" which are deep within the crust of the earth are responsible for causing earthquakes. These faults are flaws under the surface of the

earth which have not yet healed up as settled down. These were giant scars or cracks which were formed in prehistoric days when high mountains were thrown up and deep "canyons" were dug up in the bottom of the oceans. Much smaller tremors of the earth's crust due to causes which are much nearer the surface of the earth are called microseisms. They may also be produced by explosives. Information about the thickness of the earth's crust may be obtained by means of explosion waves and earthquake waves. During the Geophysical Year the Seismologists want to find out the thickness of ice in the Antarctic by means of explosion waves. Seismologists are now trying to devise methods by which they would be able to foretell the time of occurrence and location of earthquakes.

GRAVITY MEASUREMENTS

The earth is not truly spherical and the scientists do not yet know exactly its true shape. Consequently the pull of gravity varies from place to place. Local conditions also bring about additional changes in gravity which depend on the height above sea-level and the distribution of mass in the earth's crust. Local changes in gravity may help prospecting by giving clues to the location of minerals and petroleum beneath the surface of the earth. Deep in the interior of the earth there are tides on a small scale similar to ocean tides. Gravity measurements disclose the nature of these tides and thus give a clue to the rigidity and internal structure of the earth. Local variations of gravity over glaciated areas can throw light on the thickness of ice over such areas. During the Geophysical Year it is proposed to make extensive measurements of gravity in the Arctic and Antarctic regions and in the Pacific and Atlantic oceans.

LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE

During the Geophysical Year observations will be made for the more precise determination of latitudes and longitudes at various stations all over the world. A comparison of the values of these co-ordinates with others to be obtained in future will enable the geophysicists to find out by what amount the continents are shifting with respect to one another.

UPPER ATMOSPHERE, ROCKETS AND SATELLITES

Rockets launched from balloons which are also called rockoons have already reached an

altitude of 60 miles. When balloons have reached their maximum heights, these small rockoons are fired from them. The Aerobee rockets which are bigger and are launched from the ground have already reached the height of 200 miles. The rockets have led to the discovery of solar X-rays in one of the Ionospheric layers. Rocket-borne Geiger counters have detected charged particles in the aurora. Also the density of charged particles in the Ionosphere has been measured directly. The rocket programme would include measurements of pressures, temperature, density and speed of winds. Similarly rockairs *i.e.*, small rockets which are hurled from high-flying airplanes will be launched during the outbursts of solar flares. In addition to rockoons and rockairs, the rocket programme includes the launching of composite rockets which have been assembled as two-stage, three-stage, or four-stage combinations.

The next programme is to launch satellites which would revolve along orbits round the earth as "baby moons." A three-stage rocket-satellite combination should be able to get the satellite into its orbit. Hardly anything is known about the density of the upper atmosphere. Air density in the region of the satellite's orbit can be calculated from the geometry of its changing orbit and from the observations of its flight.

On October 4, 1957, U.S.S.R. launched the Satellite Sputnik I (1957—Alpha). Its shape was spherical. It had a weight of 183 lbs., and its diameter was 23 inches. It had initially an orbital speed of 18,000 miles per hour and its initial period of revolution was 95 minutes. Its distance from the earth at apogee would be about 600 miles, and its distance at perigee would be about 300 miles. Its orbit was inclined to the equator at an angle of 65° . Due to air resistance its orbital speed decreases. It circles round the earth for a number of times and spirals down towards it. At the same time its speed due to gravity increases and it disintegrates ultimately like meteors. From the subsequent geometry of the orbit air resistance and consequently air density can be calculated. Due to geographical variations in the shape of the earth such as the bulge near the equator there will be slight changes in the pull causing small perturbations in the satellite orbit. Hence careful observations of the variations in the orbit will yield valuable information about the

mass-distribution of the earth from which we shall be able to know something about the composition of the earth's crust. The satellite at the apogee of its orbit would be practically above the shielding atmosphere of the earth and be able to record data which would facilitate direct studies of "primary" cosmic rays.

The Second Satellite Sputnik II (1957—Beta) was launched on November 3, 1957. Its weight was 1000 lbs. and it carried within it a living animal—the dog Laika. Its orbit was inclined to the equator at an angle of 65° . Its distance at the apogee of its orbit would be about 1000 miles. Its initial orbital velocity was 18000 miles per hour. It experiences less air resistance than Sputnik I. Hence data recorded by Sputnik II could enable the scientists to make a more correct and more thorough investigation of "primary" cosmic rays. Sputnik II was perhaps initially a four-stage rocket. The top part perhaps contained the dog and the instruments. The dog was in an air-conditioned chamber containing a limited amount of oxygen. It seems that several tiny metal apparatus were inserted directly into the body of the dog to register respiration, heart-beat, temperature of the skin and blood-pressure. As the sputnik is revolving round the earth its weight (due to earth's attraction) would be neutralised by the centrifugal force. Hence the dog would have a feeling of weightlessness unless the satellite has also a spinning motion about one of its axes which would generate a sort of artificial or synthetic gravity. Hence there is a place to give a spinning motion about the axle to the 'space-station' which would be created to accommodate the scientists and would revolve round the earth once in every two hours at a height of 1075 miles above the surface of the earth. Thus a sort of "synthetic gravity" will be created for the benefit of the scientists. It is said that the dog would be fed calorific liquid artificially through a tube. In a weightless condition it is difficult to see how this liquid food could be pushed through its throat. It has been reported since that the dog died—perhaps through lack of food and oxygen.

Sputnik II had its orbital velocity of 18000 miles per hour where the resistance of air was very small indeed. It is only necessary to impart an additional velocity of 1500 miles per hour, so that the total velocity becomes 19500

miles per hour, and impel the satellite towards the moon so that it may ultimately reach the moon. With this initial velocity of 19500 miles per hour Sputnik II will cross the neutral line between the earth and the moon at a distance of 216000 miles from the earth, with a velocity of 500 miles per hour. After crossing the neutral line it will fall towards the moon automatically due to moon's attraction. Hence it is not necessary to impart the whole of "escape velocity" of 25000 miles per hour to Sputnik to send it to the moon.

Perhaps it may be possible for the scientists to test the accuracy of the General Theory of Relationship by observing the motion of the perigee of sputnik's orbit. Sputnik revolves about 1400 times faster than the planet Mercury which has a period of revolution of 88 days round the Sun. So far the motion of the perihelion of Mercury's orbit is one of the chief tests of Relativity Theory.

I have given, in brief a general survey of various problems which the scientists will have to tackle during the Geophysical Year.

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CRISIS IN INDIA'S SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

By PRAFULLA C. MUKERJI,

Metallurgist, Consultant, New York, United States

WORLD WAR II has given some impetus to Indian agricultural and industrial production, as it had done practically to all countries of the world. But at the end of the war and the beginning years after independence India was in a state of recession. The general unsettled condition of the country, due to a great extent to the evil effects of partition, left a very depressing mark on the people. The mass of the people did not react as enthusiastically as was to be expected from a nation at its new birth. So, the emergence of the First Five-Year Plan in 1951, promising a better standard of living, gave renewed hope to the people. It is generally agreed both in India and abroad that the First Five-Year Plan in India has been successful. Many of the handicaps during the years immediately after independence were in a large measure overcome. The recession was stopped. Agricultural and industrial production was expanded. The authorities looked beyond the traditional horizon of cotton and jute. Both government and private sectors undertook to reach a new industrial base. They envisaged an investment of about five billion dollars in basic heavy industries, such as, iron and steel, locomotives, railway coaches, shipbuilding, machine tools and fertilizers as well as some metallurgical, chemical, electrical, fuel and

consumer goods industries. It was understood that these would stimulate productivity in all fields, so that the Second Five-Year Plan, which is really a projection and consummation of the First Five-Year Plan, would be on an easier basis.

The First Five-Year Plan accomplished its purpose of raising the average annual per capita income from 220 rupees to 280 rupees. The goal of the Second Five-Year Plan is an income of 320 rupees. That is not much, as compared with the income of any of the Western countries. The average annual per capita income in the United States is about 10,000 rupees. In 1955 it was 9,200 rupees (1850 dollars). The total envisaged expenditure during the Second Five-Year Plan is about ten billion dollars.

Everybody agrees that the purpose of these plans is to raise the standard of living. Yet the plan is not going on smoothly for lack of funds. In fact if we take into account the reports which are coming from India, the Second Five-Year Plan is facing a crisis. It is indeed very serious for India and it is affecting world opinion. World may doubt the ability of India to undertake big projects. Before it becomes too late India must take all necessary steps to stop a crisis. In order to determine the causes of such a crisis it is necessary to examine the requirements for

the success of the plan. They may be enumerated briefly as follows :

1. The plan must be well-calculated and practical.
2. There must be strong determination and whole-hearted support of the people.
3. Enough capital through taxes and otherwise to meet the primary needs.
4. Ability to replenish capital by favourable trade balance.
5. Economic and efficient administration of various projects.
6. Ability to secure domestic and foreign investments and loans with low rate of interest.
7. Control of population.
8. Ability to create confidence.
9. Ability to establish good relations and to earn good will not only within the country but also internationally.

1. WELL-CALCULATED AND PRACTICAL PLAN

The Government of India has appointed a Planning Commission of which Prime Minister Nehru is the chairman. Its members are considered top specialists. It is counselled by the Director of the Indian Statistical Institute and is also under the scrutiny of the Parliament. Under these conditions perhaps the Second Five-Year Plan is the best that India could produce. In any case no alternative plan has yet been suggested from any other source. Some criticism has been levelled against the fact that much larger sum of money has been used in the public sector than in the private sector. But there is logic in the Government's argument that the need for development is so great that it is best for the public sector to develop those industries in which private enterprise is unable or unwilling to put up the resources required, on account of the risks involved. There is no evidence that public sector has in any way interfered with the functions of the private sector. In fact the Indian Government has helped some industries in the private sector, like the Tata Iron and Steel Co. to secure loan from the United States. As far as can be known from outside the relation between the two sectors is cordial and on a basis of co-operation. The Tata Iron and Steel Co. for instance has generously undertaken to train many of the technical men for the new steel plants in public sector. It is

also contended that the crisis is mostly due to a programme of over-development, specially when there is a shortage of foreign exchange. That may be a contributing factor which the Planning Commission could not foresee and for which it can hardly be blamed. Further, if it is a case of over-development, it can be remedied. But I believe we have to look for the main cause or causes for the crisis somewhere else and not in the structure of the Plan itself.

2. STRONG DETERMINATION AND SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE

Strong determination of the people all over the country and their whole-hearted support are essential for the success of such a national plan. In this connection it may be pertinent to draw comparison with the Soviet Union during its similar stage of national planning. When I was in the Soviet Union as a metallurgist during its Second Five-Year Plan, I saw the devotion and earnestness with which the young men and young women worked and learnt so that their country could stand on its feet and one day may become a great nation. Russia then from one end of the country to the other was vibrating with life. To watch this new-found life was in itself an education. Throughout the country construction work was going on. All kinds of basic industries were springing up. Iron and steel, automobile, electrical, chemical, textile and other industries were started in great intensity. The young men and women were absolutely determined to be successful and they were devoted to their task. We know the result today. The United States is somewhat concerned that more students are coming out with their doctorates from universities and technical institutes than in the United States. This is not an accident but is the direct result of the determination, devotion and earnestness of the young people. This, I am very sorry, I did not find in India while I was there last year. I travelled all over the country, visited many colleges, universities, technical institutes, National Research laboratories and industrial plants and came back with the feeling that the youth of India do not have the same determination, devotion and earnestness necessary to make a national plan successful. That certainly is a depressing feeling. This lack of interest on the part of the people in the success of these national undertaking surely is

a contributory cause of the present crisis. The Government may stimulate public interest by dramatising the completion or success of each individual undertaking by various means, such as by holding mass meetings, emphasising the necessity of personal sacrifice, also by means of cinema, radio, parades, well-regulated demonstrations for short periods in schools and colleges, public celebrations and newspaper headlines, etc., so that there is a feeling of participation by the whole nation.

3. CAPITAL

It is of course commonsense that at least half the capital investment of the estimated expenditure should be ready at the beginning of all the projects, either by direct taxation or by selling Bonds and issuing Stocks. The public should be prepared for this sacrifice for a reasonably limited time. A graduated income tax should not be a great hardship. The higher the income the more tax one should pay. There are plenty of wealthy landholders in India yet who can afford to pay heavy taxes. Ability to pay should be the criterion. It is not a question of 'soaking the rich' but their ability to pay. Those who need and can afford an automobile or a taxi-cab to travel half a mile, should certainly afford to pay tax for a national emergency. Those who can afford, and there are plenty of them in India, half a dozen homes in as many cities for their convenience and luxury, should not grudge in paying tax 'until it hurts' and the late President Roosevelt used to say, so that their fellow countrymen may hope to make a living. Those who can afford to spend hundreds of dollars for drinks and cocktail parties in imitation of the wealthy people of Western nations, should certainly be willing to pay the required tax, so that they can be proud also of the country of their birth. People earning less than 50 rupees a month should be exempt from tax.

4. TRADE BALANCE

One subject that is seldom mentioned in connection with financing the Second Five-Year Plan is India's trade balance. It seems that not enough importance has been given to this subject. According to statistics available here

India's trade balance for the last few years is as follows :

<i>Export from India</i>	<i>Import to India</i>	<i>Deficit</i>
(million dollars)	(million dollars)	(million dollars)
1953	1,100	1,200
1954	1,200	1,300
1955	1,200	1,400
1956	1,200	1,700

Hence India's deficit in trade in these 4 years had been 900 million dollars. But up to October of 1957 India was losing in trade balance at the rate of 80 million dollars a month or 800 million dollars in 10 months. In other words India has lost 1.7 billion dollars in trade balance in less than 5 years. International trade and national government cannot function long on public charity. The Government of India like the governments of other independent countries must have responsible public officials to scrutinise and prevent such tremendous drain on the country's economy. The public should demand more vigilance on the part of their responsible officials and elected representatives. Every attempt should be made to increase India's export trade. There are millions of unemployed people in India. They should be organised and taught some handicraft. Each person can produce at least one rupee worth of article a day. India's consuls and business agents should seek market for these articles in foreign countries. Japan is selling hundreds of million dollars' worth of such handicrafts in every part of the world. No amount of success in these Five-Year Plans can bring higher standard of living to the masses unless this drain on the economy of the country is stopped. It is both unjust and unethical to tax the poor people to the bone for this drain for which they are not responsible. This drain in trade balance is certainly a principal cause of the crisis. There is no reason why the trade balance cannot be in favour of India if everybody concerned works hard for it.

5. EFFICIENT MANAGEMENT

An observer with any knowledge of industrial development does not fail to notice that in

India most of the new industries, specially those under the public sector, are managed by persons of the old school of Civil Servants who have no technological training or experience. Perhaps this is due to lack of enough technical men in India with administrative ability. This is a tremendous handicap. This is costing the industries and hence the people of the country millions of extra dollars. First of all, the contracts made with the British and German firms for the construction of the Durgapur and Rourkela steel plants are too flexible. A professional engineer would not enter into such contracts, which would permit these European firms to raise the original estimated cost by about 25% in less than two years. Secondly the capacity of production in the new steel plants is too low to be economic. The difference in the initial cost of a steel plant of three million tons and one of one million ton capacity* is not much. The difference can be made up in less than a year. India still buys steel and steel products from outside. Hence there is room for increased production. The operative and maintenance cost per ton of steel in a plant of three million tons is much less than in a plant of one million. The trend in modern practice of manufacture of trade steels is production in larger scale. Only special steels, such as High Speed steels, etc., are made in smaller quantity. Thirdly, no systematic effort has been made to collect iron and steel scraps from all over the country and also from other Asian countries which are not producers of steel. Modern economic practice of making steel calls for at least 50% of scrap for every heat. The more pig iron from Blast Furnace is used for conversion of steel in the Open Hearth, the higher becomes the cost of steel. Perhaps this practice is not possible in India yet, because enough scrap may not be available. But this factor should be kept in mind and every attempt made to collect every ounce of available scrap. In the fourth place the number of persons employed in a steel plant should be proportional to the amount of steel produced. Otherwise the cost of production becomes high and burdensome to the consumer. A modern steel plant with a capacity of two million tons with modern equipments should not employ more than 8 thousand persons in the whole plant, including Blast Furnace, Open Hearth, Rolling and Fabricating mills, Coke Oven, Technical and Maintenance

departments, etc. Last year speaking with some of the administrative officers in the steel plants in India I learnt that they are using and will continue to use 20 thousand persons for one million ton plant as a matter of policy to give employment to as many people as possible. This obviously is out of proportion and quite uneconomic. The present capacity of all the new steel plants in India is one million ton per year. From business point of view this is absurd. Industrial plants are not charitable institutions. If 20 thousand people are employed where 7 or 8 thousand should be sufficient, about 12 or 13 thousand persons are really idle all the time. They are loafing on the job (to quote an American expression). These people are really paid for their idleness. In other words the management is subsidising their idleness. It has most demoralising effect, not only on the persons who are loafing but also on those who are working. One cannot help noticing as he walks through an Indian industrial plant the depressing sight of many groups of people throughout the plant, squatting on the floor and doing absolutely nothing during their working hours. This type of idleness is noticeable everywhere in the Government offices including those of the Rashtrapati Bhawan. Why cannot these persons be profitably employed in some constructive and productive work, such as building roads and houses or creating many small industries with the money they now receive for idleness? This mental attitude, inefficiency and waste must be corrected if national plans are to be successful. In the fifth place the administrative officers without any technological experience are under a great disadvantage because they necessarily have to depend on advice from not specially qualified foreign experts. They cannot be expected to watch for the best interest of India's industrial production. First-rate foreign engineers would not go to a poor country like India without a prohibitive price. This must be said not in a spirit of disparagement but to point out the realities. There are now quite a number of Indian technical men and engineers, some of them with doctorates, in America and Europe. They are doing productive and profitable work. Why cannot their services be utilised in Indian industries? Further, complaints are often heard from qualified Indian technical men, now employed in India, that managements both in

public and private sectors, in cases of new employment or promotion, often give preference to foreign technical men, over an Indian who is perhaps better qualified. It is certainly high time now that management should get rid of this kind of mental servitude and adopt a saner policy to make a national plan successful.

6. INVESTMENTS AND LOANS

It is very true that such a national plan as the Second Five-Year Plan, which involves an expenditure of 10 billion dollars in a poor country like India, investments and loans from foreign countries are necessary. Systematic efforts are no doubt now made by responsible officials to obtain such investments and loans on a strictly business basis. But greater efforts should be made to secure investments and loans from the people of India. If systematic effort is made to get 3 to 5 rupees investments every year in Government Bonds from every person in the country, there can be an accumulation of about one to one and half billion rupees a year. Probably 10 per cent of the people are able to invest 10 to 100 rupees a year. There are important advantages in this kind of a plan. First, it gives a feeling of participation by the whole nation and creates mass interest. This should promote vigilance on the part of the people and thus may help to prevent corruption and mismanagement. Secondly, both the capital and the interest remain in the country. Thirdly, it enables India to choose the market and buy goods from the lowest bidder in any country. When India receive investments or loans from foreign countries she does not have that choice. She then has to buy from the creditor nation on terms usually determined by the creditor. Then again when India has to seek credits for goods purchased in foreign countries, political consideration should be set aside as much as possible for economic interest. If available, India should seek credit from places where the rate of interests is lowest, provided they can meet the requirements of India. In the last few years India has received credits both from the United States and the Soviet Union. Since independence the United States has given credits and aid to India through various agencies to the amount of about 800 million dollars for which India has to pay from 4½

to 6 per cent interest and most of them are on short terms. In the last 2 or 3 years the Soviet Union has given credit to India to the amount of 270 million dollars at 2 to 2½ per cent interest and on long terms. When Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, then the Finance Minister of India, was in the United States a few months ago, he said that India needed about one and half billion dollars more to complete the Second Five-Year Plan. If India has to borrow all of it from the United States at the recent rates of 5½ to 6 per cent interest then she will have to pay from 80 to 90 million dollars a year for interest alone. That is something India must think hard about. If Soviet Union can give this credit at 2 to 2½ per cent interest on long-term basis and also can supply the goods, there is no reason why India should not accept the terms of the Soviet Union. India then will have to pay only 30 to 35 million dollars a year for interest.

7. POPULATION CONTROL

One of the biggest drains on India's economy is her population. India's population is now about 375 million and it is increasing at the rate of 6 million a year. Considering the productive capacity of India at the present time and for many years to come and also taking into account the geographical limitation of the country, the population question is a very serious one. At the present rate of increase, India will have a population of 400 million in another 4 or 5 years. Also it may be expected that with better sanitation and health programme and better maternity care in the village reconstruction projects the death-rate will continually decrease. It is certainly desirable that child mortality should decrease and people should have longer and healthier life. In that case, if the present birth-rate continues, India's population will increase much faster. There are not enough wealth, food, shelter and productive capacity in the country to take care of this population. During the First Five-Year Plan the Union Government spent one million dollars for birth-control clinics and education and in the Second Five-Year Plan it expects to spend 10 million dollars. This indeed is a very good investment; but it is hardly enough. It should be supplemented by private endeavours. There

should be thousands of controlled parenthood clinics throughout the country to instruct men and women and supply contraceptives. Contraceptives should be manufactured in India, so that all the people may afford to buy them. Young men and young women who are fortunate enough to go to High Schools and Colleges should be thoroughly acquainted with contraceptive methods and it is their obligation as a patriotic duty to teach others who are less fortunate. If voluntary action on the part of the people does not give the desired result then restrictive laws should be enacted by Parliament. It must be realised that population control is absolutely necessary for the success of any national plan which aims to raise the standard of living.

8. ABILITY TO CREATE CONFIDENCE

Undoubtedly all responsible persons understand that confidence is necessary for the success of any business venture. Specially a big business like the Second Five-Year Plan must create confidence on a wide scale. If investment is necessary it must have the confidence of the investor; if loan is necessary it must have confidence of the lender and the creditor. Fortunately, from the success of the First Five-Year Plan, India has earned a great deal of confidence from inside the country as well as from outside. In this connection it may be mentioned that the press in general in the United States has taken a favourable attitude, though occasionally a reporter or a commentator says or writes things which do not create confidence. A reporter of *New York Times* from India has recently more than once emphasised the point that even if the United States gives to India a loan of one billion dollars, the Second Five-Year Plan cannot be saved. It is difficult to assess the correctness of the statement from this distance, but certainly its effect on the American investors cannot be good. Another commentator of *Detroit Free Press* recently remarked, "The ruling Congress Party has become fat, complacent and often corrupt . . . India's Second Five-Year Plan was a failure before it started." The only way to answer them effectively is by making the plan a success and keeping the political parties and politicians free from corruption by incessant

vigilance. Of course the recent scandal in connection with the alleged fraudulent transaction of questionable stocks (belonging to one Mr. Mundhra) by the government owned Life Insurance Corporation, involving the Ministry of Finance, has been aired in the press in this country a great deal. Though this type of offence is not peculiar to India, they point out that in the United States such offenders whether high government officials or private manipulators, usually receive stiff punishment. Undoubtedly incidents of this kind lower the confidence of the people in foreign countries and break the morale of the people at home. The remedy lies not in political manoeuvre but in the incessant vigilance of organised young men and young women. This is a job for the youth of India. It needs their dedication and their combined effort. They owe it to themselves and to the country. The success of these national plans demands that they make their utmost effort to recreate confidence.

9. GOOD RELATION AND GOOD WILL

It must be a matter of satisfaction that though there are occasional disagreements on matters of policy, India has maintained good relation and good will with almost all the countries of the world with only two or three exceptions. This is a great asset of India and in the long run may insure success for the Second Five-Year Plan. There is a large number of people in America, who are genuinely well-wishers of India. They know and realise that India has suffered much under ruthless foreign domination and exploitation for a long time and that there had been and still there is appalling poverty throughout the country. They are sympathetic and they wish to see India on her feet again. They are really concerned about the success of the democratic processes which India has so assiduously followed since her independence, if she is not able to meet the minimum needs of food and shelter for the mass of people and raise their standard of living. These friends are willing to co-operate with India. Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts in a recent article in *Progressive* has given expression to their views:

"No discussion can avoid the harsh facts of India's real needs, of her dependence

upon the Second Plan's success, of that Plan's dependence upon American funds and of our dependence upon a free and independent India."

In private correspondence a few days ago he said :

"Certainly this is a problem which will be uppermost in my mind during the current session of Congress. I hope that in the near future some realistic legislation can be introduced and that India's needs, both for this year and for the life of the Plan, can be alleviated through American loan assistance."

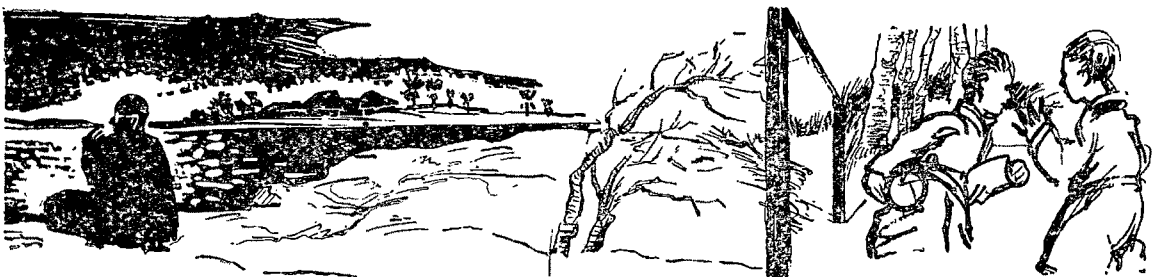
Mr. Adlai Stevenson, two weeks ago in a Roosevelt birth-day dinner, said :

"India is the key to Asia. It is the major area in the under-developed world where the energies of nationalism have been channeled into constructive tasks by democratic means. If democratic methods fail there, our cause will suffer grievously elsewhere. Nowhere will 'too little and too late' prove more costly than in India."

The feeling is very general in the United States that the success of India's national plan is also to the interest of the United States. This sentiment is reflected in the United States Government's offer to negotiate a credit of 225 million dollars to India with a suggestion that more may follow later on. From all indications, Soviet Union and West Germany may also be willing to supply credits. All these reactions abroad give some cause for hope that if India can handle the problems in the home front satisfactorily, enough foreign assistance may be

forthcoming to meet the crisis. It may be mentioned in this connection that there are some organizations in the United States, which have done very creditable work to foster good will and good relation between India and the United States. The most important among them are the Taraknath Das, Foundation and the Watumull Foundation. They have worked earnestly for many years to bring about better understanding between these countries by exchange of professors and scholars and also by arranging lectures in various universities. They have won recognition from many universities in the United States. The Taraknath Foundation has branches also in India, Israel and West Germany. These Foundations deserve co-operation from the nationals of India, specially those who are abroad.

In the final analysis it may be observed that it is the home front which offers the real problem. The problem is not in the Plan itself but in its operation. Passive co-operation is not enough. The Plan must have the earnest and active participation of not only the Government but of all the people of India, whatever their station of life may be. All drain in the trade balance must be stopped. Management must be in the hands of experienced technical persons, and not of politicians. Humane graduated income and property tax must be enforced, exempting only those who are unable to pay. Birth-rate which gives additional burden to the economy of the country must be rigidly controlled. The major share of all the work must necessarily fall on the youth of the country and they must be willing to take the obligation for the sake of their own future and the future of their motherland. Above all we cannot afford to forget that eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty.



SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION (XV) Fundamental Rights: Right to Property (*Continued*)

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I

IN our preceding article¹ in this series we have dealt with some aspects of Article 31 of our Constitution as it had been amended by the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955. In this article we propose to deal with certain other aspects of the same Article. Before, however, we do it, we should like to refer to a preliminary point as it will have a bearing on the discussion that will follow: We mean what is known as "the police power" of the State as distinguished from its "power of eminent domain."

"The three great legislative powers usually exercised by any government are," says Professor Willis,² "the power of taxation, the police power, and the power of eminent domain. The power of taxation may be defined as the legal capacity of government to impose charges upon persons or their property to raise revenue for governmental purposes. . . . The police power is the legal capacity of government to control the personal liberty of individuals for the protection of the social interests (or common good) of the people who established such government. The power of eminent domain is the legal capacity of government to take the private property of individuals for a public use upon the payment of just compensation. Eminent domain is the superior dominion of the State over all the property within the State . . . Eminent domain differs from the police power in that the police power is not a taking of any rights, whether of property or a person, from people, but a limitation on the exercise of such rights by people, although the police, however, may also result in making people lose their property . . . While the police power, taxation, and eminent domain are all forms of social control, and probably include all of the forms of social control known to the law, each differs from the others . . . Forbidding the erection of a wooden

building, and the prevention of a conflagration or perhaps of gold hoarding are exercises of the police power. Taking land for parks or for railways is an exercise of the power of eminent domain. Exacting money to make gifts to flood sufferers or to erect a monument is an exercise of the power of taxation. Eminent domain takes property for use by the public or for the benefit of the public . . . , while the police power prevents people from using their own property so as to injure others." Eminent domain, however, is, like taxation and the police power, "the offspring of political necessity." According to the United States Supreme Court, the "police power embraces regulations designed to promote the public convenience or the general prosperity, as well as regulations designed to promote the public health, the public morals or the public safety."³ Further, in *Barbier vs. Connolly*,⁴ the Supreme Court has defined the police power of the State as its power "to prescribe regulations to promote the health, peace, morals, education, and good order of the people, and to legislate so as to increase the industries of the State, develop its resources, and add to its wealth and prosperity."⁵ There are, according to Professor Willis,⁶ "two main requirements for a proper exercise of the police power: (1) there must be a social interest to be protected which is more important than the social interest in personal liberty, and (2) there must be, as a means for the accomplishment of this end, something which bears a substantial relation thereto."

II

We shall now pass on to further consideration of Article 31 of our Constitution as it is today. The first point we should like to take up in this connexion is the question of correlation between Clause (1) and Clause (2) of

3. See *ibid*, p. 727.

4. 1885, 113 U.S. 27.—See Fenn, *The Development of the Constitution*, 1948, p. 210.

5. Also see in this connexion foot-note 45 to our article in *The Modern Review* for October, 1957.

6. See Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

1. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1958.

2. See Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, pp. 224-25 and 716-17.

Article 31. As we have shown in our preceding article, Clause (1) has laid down:

"No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law."

And Clause (2) declares:

"No property shall be compulsorily acquired or requisitioned save for a public purpose and save by authority of a law which provides for compensation for the property so acquired or requisitioned and either fixes the amount of the compensation or specifies the principles on which, and the manner in which, the compensation is to be determined and given; and no such law shall be called in question in any Court on the ground that the compensation provided by that law is not adequate."

Although Clause (2) as it is now is the amended form⁷ of the original Clause (2), yet we think that what the Judges of our Supreme Court have stated regarding correlation between Clause (1) and the original Clause (2) of Article 31 is in essence equally applicable to correlation between Clause (1) and the new Clause (2) of the Article. Unfortunately, there has been, as will appear from what follows, a sharp difference of opinion among the Judges on the question of this correlation.

For instance, in the course of his judgment in *Chiranjit Lal Chowdhuri vs. The Union of India and Others* (to be referred to hereinafter as the *Chiranjit Lal* case), Das J. of the Supreme Court observed⁸ on 4th December, 1950:

"Article 31 protects every person, whether such person is a citizen or not, and it is wide enough to cover a natural person as well as an artificial person⁹. . . . What . . . is the meaning of the word 'property'? It may mean either the bundle of rights which the owner has over or in respect of a thing, tangible or intangible, or it may mean the thing itself over or in respect of which the owner may exercise those rights . . . Articles [19(1)(f) and 31] only regard that as 'property' which can by itself be acquired, disposed of or taken possession of . . . Article 31(1) formulates the fundamental right in a negative form prohibiting the

deprivation of property except by authority of law. It implies that a person may be deprived of his property by authority of law. Article 31 (2) prohibits the acquisition or taking possession of property for a public purpose under any law, unless such law provides for (the) payment of compensation. It is suggested that Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 deal with the same topic, namely, compulsory acquisition or taking possession of property, Clause (2) being only an elaboration of Clause (1). There appear to me to be two objections to this suggestion. If that were the correct view, then Clause (1) must be held to be wholly redundant and Clause (2), by itself, would have been sufficient. In the next place, such a view would exclude deprivation of property otherwise than by acquisition or taking of possession. One can conceive of circumstances where the State may have to deprive a person of his property without acquiring or taking possession of the same. For example, in any emergency, in order to prevent a fire spreading, the authorities may have to demolish an intervening building. This deprivation of property is supported in the United States of America as an exercise of 'police power.' This deprivation of property is different from acquisition or taking of possession of property which goes by the name of 'eminent domain' in the American Law. The construction suggested implies that our Constitution has dealt with only the law of 'eminent domain', but has not provided for deprivation of property in exercise of 'police powers'. I am not prepared to adopt such construction, for I do not feel pressed to do so by the language used in Article 31. On the contrary, the language of Clause (1) of Article 31 is wider than that of Clause (2), for deprivation of property may well be brought about otherwise than by acquiring or taking possession of it. I think Clause (1) enunciates the general principle that no person shall be deprived of his property except by authority of law which, put in a positive form, implies that a person may be deprived of his property, provided he is so deprived by authority of law. No question of compensation arises under Clause (1). The effect of Clause (2) is that only certain kinds of deprivation of property, namely, those brought about by acquisition or taking possession of it, will not be permissible under any law, unless such law provides for (the) payment of com-

7. See our preceding article in this connexion in *The Modern Review* for January, 1958.

8. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I; Parts IX & X, December 1950, pp. 920-26.

9. *E.g.*, a Corporation.

pensation. If the deprivation of property is brought about by means other than acquisition or taking possession of it, no compensation is required, provided that such deprivation is by authority of law."

Das J. referred to Article 31 of the Constitution again in May, 1952, in the course of his judgment in *The State of Bihar Vs. Maharaja-dhiraja Sir Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga and Others* and stated:¹⁰

"Article 31 is one of a group of Articles included in Part III of the Constitution under the heading 'Fundamental Rights'. It confers a fundamental right in so far as it protects private property from State action. Clause (1) of the Article protects the owner from being deprived of his property save by authority of law. A close examination of the language of Clause (1) will show that this immunity is a limited one and this will at once be clearly perceived if we convert the negative language of Clause (1) into positive language. In its positive form Clause (1) will read:

'Any person may be deprived of his property by authority of law.'

"The only limitation put upon the State action is the requirement that the authority of law is a prerequisite for the exercise of its power to deprive a person of his property. This confers some protection on the owner in that he will not be deprived of his property save by authority of law and this protection is the measure of the fundamental right. It is to emphasise this immunity from State action as a fundamental right that the Clause has been worded in negative language. Likewise, Clause (2)¹¹ is worded in negative language in order to emphasise the fundamental right contained therein Clause (2) of the Article, in its positive form, omitting words unnecessary for our present purpose, will read as follows:

'Any property, may be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law authorising the taking of such possession or such acquisition if the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired '

"Put in the above form, the Clause makes it clear at once and beyond any shadow of doubt that there are three limitations imposed upon the power of the State, namely, (1) that the taking of possession or acquisition of property must be for a public purpose, (2) that such taking of possession or acquisition must be under a law authorising such taking of possession or acquisition, and (3) that the law must provide for compensation for the property so taken or acquired. These three limitations constitute the protection granted to the owner of property and are the measure of his fundamental right under this Clause."

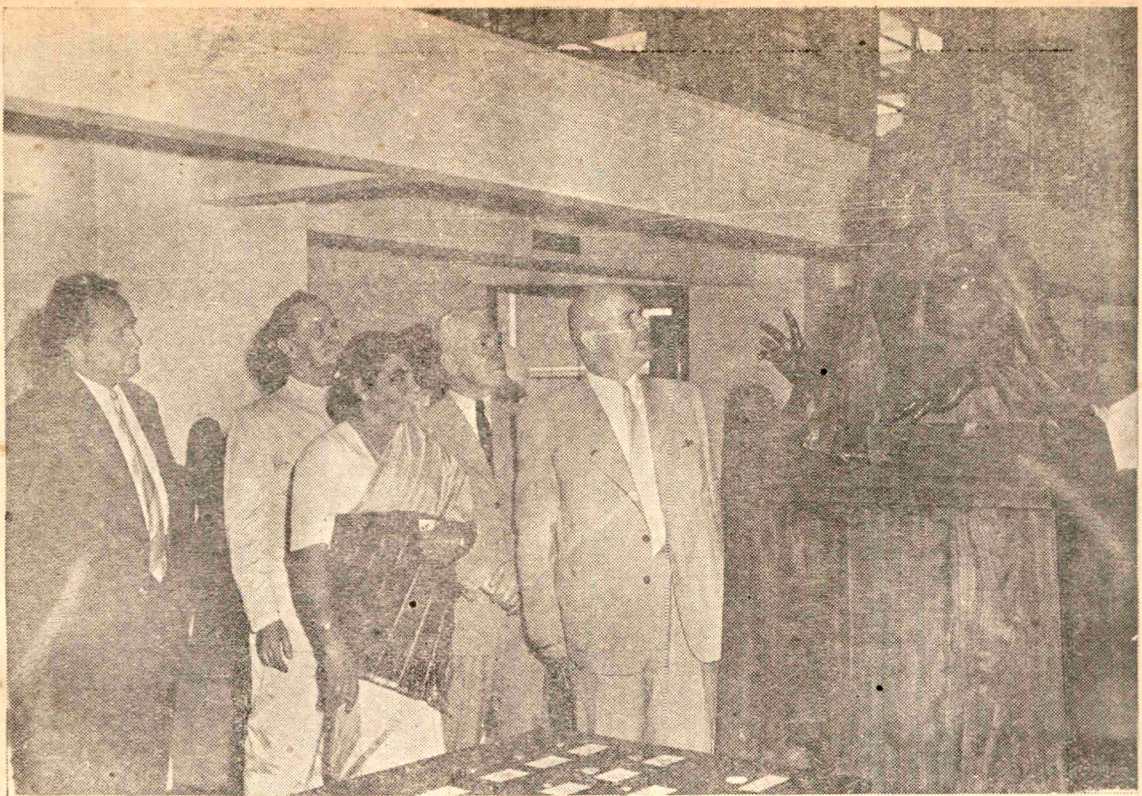
Patanjali Sastri C. J. did not agree with the above view of Das J. in regard to the question of correlation between Clause (1) and Clause (2) of Article 31, and Mehr Chand Mahajan and Ghulam Hasan JJ. concurred with him. Thus we find Patanjali Sastri observing¹² on 17th December, 1953, in the course of his judgment in *The State of West Bengal Vs. Subodh Gopal Bose and Others* (to be referred to hereinafter as the *Subodh Gopal Case*):

"With all respect to my learned brother (Das J.) I am unable to share the view expressed by him. He reads Clauses (1) and (2) as mutually exclusive in scope and content, —Clause (2) imposing limitations only on two particular kinds of deprivation of private property, namely, those brought about by acquisition or taking possession thereof, and Clause (1) authorising all other kinds of deprivation with no limitation except that they should be authorised by law. There are several objections to the acceptance of this view. But the most serious of them all is that it largely nullifies the protection afforded by the Constitution to rights of private property and, indeed, stultifies the very conception of the 'right to property' as a fundamental right. For, on this view, the State, acting through its legislative organ, could, for instance, arbitrarily prohibit a person from using his property, or authorise its destruction, or render it useless for him, without any compensation and without a public purpose to be served thereby, as these conditions are stipulated only for acquisition and taking possession under Clause (2). Now, the whole object of Part III of the Cons-

10. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. III; Parts IX and X, November and December, 1952; pp. 988-90.

11. As it was originally before the amendment of 1955.

12. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V; Parts VI & VII, June and July 1954, pp. 600-606.

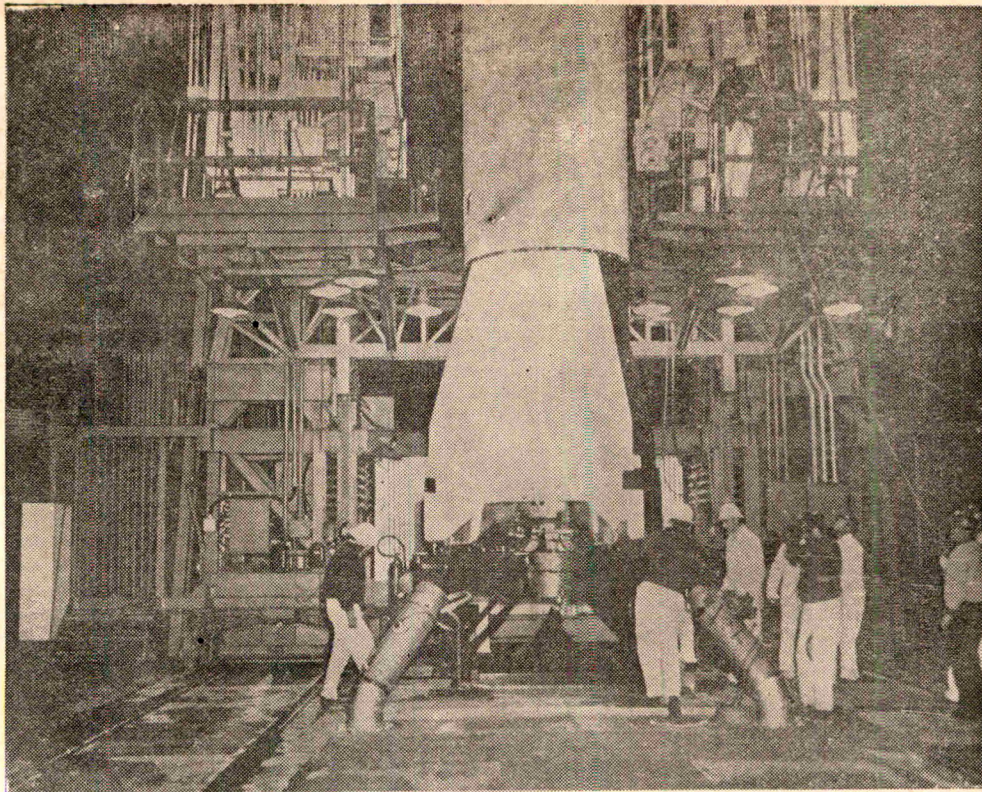


Mr. Chivu Stoica, Prime Minister of the Rumanian People's Republic, and members of his party, look at a bronze statue of Mahatma Gandhi at the Government Museum and Art Gallery in Madras

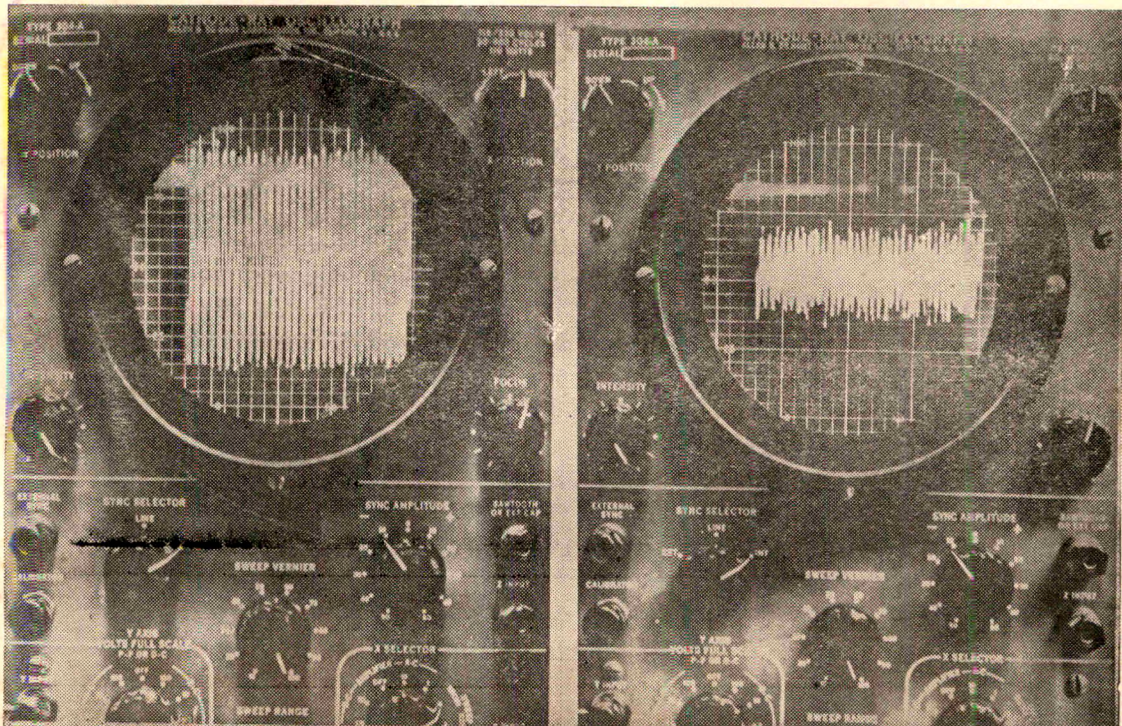


Dr. S. Radhakrishnan greets in New Delhi Mr. Lebanov, President of the House of the Union Supreme Soviet and Chairman of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and the leader of the Soviet Parliamentary Delegation

EARTH SATELLITE WITH JUPITER-C ROCKET



On the launching pad at Cape Canaveral, Florida, technicians and scientists check out the Jupiter-C rocket



These oscillograph records show the radio signals as received from Explorer at the Radio Corporation of America Communications Building in New York City

stitution is to provide protection for the freedoms and rights mentioned therein against arbitrary invasion by the State, which as defined by Article 12 (of the Constitution) includes the Legislatures of the country. It would be a startling irony if the fundamental rights of property were, in effect, to be turned by construction into an arbitrary power of the State to deprive a person of his property without compensation in all ways other than acquisition or taking possession of such property. If the Legislatures were to have such arbitrary power, why should compensation and public purpose be insisted upon in connexion with what are termed two particular forms of deprivation? What could be the rational principle underlying this differentiation? To say that Clause (1) defines the 'police power' in relation to rights of property is no satisfactory answer, as the same power could as well have been extended to these two particular kinds of deprivation. Such extension would at least have avoided the following anomaly: Compensation is paid to indemnify the owner for the loss of his property. . . . according to Das J.'s reading of that Clause (i.e., Clause 1), the Constitution-makers have provided for no indemnification of the expropriated owner. Why? Because, it is said, deprivation under Clause (1) is an exercise of 'police power.' This, to my mind, is fallacious. You first construe the Clause as conferring upon the State acting through its Legislature unfettered power to deprive owners of their property in all other cases except the two mentioned in Clause (2), and then seek to justify such sweeping and arbitrary power by calling it 'police power.' According to Das J. Clause (1) was designed to confer 'police power' on the State to deprive persons of their property by means other than acquisition or taking possession of such property. He would read the Clause in a positive form as implying that a person may be deprived of his property by authority of law. In other words, the framers of our Constitution, who began Part III (of the Constitution) by formulating the fundamental rights of individuals against invasion by the Legislatures in the country, ended by formulating right of the Legislatures to deprive individuals of their property without compensation!"

Patanjali Sastri C. J. added¹³:

13. See *ibid*, pp. 606-618.

"The American doctrine of police power as a distinct and specific legislative power is not recognised in our Constitution and it is therefore contrary to the scheme of the Constitution that Clause (1) of Article 31 must be read in positive terms and understood as conferring police power on the Legislature in relation to rights of property. I entirely agree with the observations of Mukherjea J. in *Chiranjit Lal's* case, that 'in interpreting the provisions of our Constitution we should go by the plain words used by the Constitution-makers and the importing of expressions like 'police power', which is a term of variable and indefinite connotation in American law, can only make the task of interpretation more difficult.'¹⁴ The correct approach, in my opinion, to the interpretation of Article 31 is to bear in mind the context and setting in which it has been placed. As already stated, Part III of the Constitution is designed to afford protection to the freedoms and rights mentioned therein against inroads by the State which includes the Legislatures as well as the executive Governments in the country.¹⁵ A fundamental right is thus sought to be protected not only against the legislative organ of the State but also against its executive organ. The purpose of Article 31, it is hardly necessary to emphasise, is not to declare the right of the State to deprive a person of his property but, as the heading of the Article shows, to protect the 'right to property' of every person. But how does the Article protect the right to property? It protects it by defining the limitations on the power of the State to take away private property without the consent of the owner. It is an important limitation on that power that legislative action is a

14. Mukherjea J. had made this observation on 4th December, 1950, in the course of his judgment in *Chiranjit Lal Chourhuri Vs. The Union of India and Others*, with reference to the contention of the Attorney-General for India that "Clause (1) of Article 31 relates to a power different from that dealt with under Clause (2)" (of the Article), and that "What Clause (1) contemplates is confiscation or destruction of property in exercise of what are known as 'police powers' in American law, for which no payment of compensation is necessary". Mukherjea J. had also prefaced his observation with the remark: "I do not think it proper for purposes of the present case (i.e., the *Chiranjit Lal* case) to enter into a discussion on this somewhat debatable point which has been raised by the learned Attorney-General."—See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I; Parts IX and X; December 1950, p. 907.

15. Article 12 of the Constitution of India.

prerequisite for its exercise. As pointed out by Cooley,¹⁶ 'The right to appropriate private property to public uses lies dormant in the State, until legislative action is had, pointing out the occasions, the modes, conditions, and agencies for its appropriation. Private property can only be taken pursuant to law.' In England Parliament alone could authorise interference with the enjoyment of private property. Blackstone also says that it is the Legislature alone that can interpose and compel the individual to part with his property¹⁷. It is this limitation which the framers of our Constitution have embodied in Clause (1) of Article 31 which is thus designed to protect the rights to property against deprivation by the State acting through its executive organ, the Government. Clause (2) imposes two further limitations on the Legislature itself. It is prohibited from making a law authorising expropriation except for public purposes and on payment of compensation for the injury sustained by the owner. These important limitations on the power of the State, acting through the executive and legislative organs, to take away private property are designed to protect the owner against arbitrary deprivation of his property. Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 are thus not mutually exclusive in scope and content, but should, in my view, be read together and understood as dealing with the same subject, namely, the protection of the right to property by means of the limitations on the State power referred to above, the deprivation contemplated in Clause (1) being no other than the acquisition or taking possession of property referred to in Clause (2) It will now be seen that the two objections raised by Das J. to the view expressed above, namely, that Clauses (1) and (2) must be read together and understood as dealing with the same topic, are really baseless. The first objection is that Clause (1) would then be redundant. It would not be so, because it embodies one of the three important limitations on the exercise of the State power of deprivation of private property, namely, the necessity for the legislative action as a condition precedent to the exercise of the

power and constitutes a protection against the executive organ of the State. The second objection that the State's power in an emergency to deprive a person of his property without payment of compensation, as for example, to demolish an intervening building to prevent a conflagration from spreading, would be excluded, is equally baseless. Cases of that kind would fall within the exception in Clause (5) (b) (ii)¹⁸ (of Article 31), and no compensation would be payable for the loss caused by the destruction of property authorised under that Clause. No cut and dried test can be formulated as to whether in a given case the owner is 'deprived' of his property within the meaning of Article 31; each case must be decided as it arises on its facts. Broadly speaking, it may be said that an abridgement (of the rights of the owner) would be so substantial as to amount to a deprivation within the meaning of Article 31 if, in effect, it withheld the property from the possession and enjoyment of the owner, or seriously impaired its use and enjoyment by him, or materially reduced its value."

As we have stated before, Mehr Chand Mahajan and Ghulam Hasan JJ. agreed with Patanjali Sastri C. J. in his interpretation of Clause (1) and Clause (2) of Article 31 and in his view on their correlation. Jagannadhandas J. also stated¹⁹ on 17th December, 1953, in the course of his separate judgment in the *Subodh Gopal* case:

"Now as regards Article 31, I agree that Clause (1) cannot be construed as being either a declaration or implied recognition of the American doctrine of 'police power.' The negative language used therein cannot, I think with respect, be turned into the grant, express or implied, of a positive power. Indeed, as my Lord the Chief Justice²⁰ has pointed out in his judgment, no such grant of police power is necessary,

18. As shown in our preceding article in this series, Clause (5)(b)(ii) of Article 31 of our Constitution has laid down as follows:

"Nothing in Clause (2) (of Article 31) shall affect the provisions of any law which the State may hereafter make for the promotion of public health or the prevention of danger to life or property."

19. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V; Parts VI and VII, June and July 1954, p. 669.

20. I.e., Patanjali Sastri C.J.

E. "Constitutional Limitations, Vol. II, p. 1119."
F. "Commentaries, Vol. I, p. 110."

having regard to the scheme of the Constitution."²¹

Further, it may be noted here that in the course of his judgment in *Dwarkanadas Shrinivas of Bombay Vs. The Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Co. Ltd., and Others* (to be referred to hereinafter as the *Dwarkanadas Shrinivas* case), delivered on 18th December, 1953, that is, one day after the delivery of judgments in the *Subodh Gopal* case, Mehr Chand Mahajan J. expressed views similar to those of Patanjali Sastri C. J., as shown above. "Article 31," he said²², "deals with the field of eminent domain and the whole boundary of that field is demarcated by this Article. In other words, the State's power to take the property of a person is comprehensively delimited by this Article . . . Article 31(1) declares the first requisite for the exercise of the power of eminent domain. It guarantees that a person cannot be deprived of property by an executive fiat and that it is only by the exercise of its legislative powers that the State can deprive a person of his property. In other words, all that Article 31(1) says is that private property can only be taken pursuant to law and not otherwise. (Judge Cooley is then quoted here) Article 31(2) defines the powers of the legislature in the field of eminent domain. It declares that private property shall not be taken by the State under a law unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken. It is also implicit in the language of the Article that such taking can only be for public purposes Clause (5) (of Article 31) is the saving Clause. It saves from the operation of Clause (2) laws made on certain subjects. The scope of the first Clause (of Article 31) being merely to save private property from being taken purely by executive action and the only Clause which limits legislative action in the field of eminent domain being Clause (2), the saving Clause (5) therefore concerns itself with Clause (2) only."

Further²³:

21. Jagannadhandas J., however, also observed: "On the other hand, I am unable to agree with the view that Article 31(1) has reference only to the power of Eminent Domain".—For further details see pages 670-72 of *The Supreme Court Reports* referred to in foot-note 19 above.

22. See *ibid.* pp. 695-96.

23. See *ibid.* pp. 696-97.

"The saving Clause (5) in Article 31 has been designed with the express purpose of saving to a certain extent laws made in exercise of the police power of the State which may lead to deprivation of property. It has also saved laws relating to tax. It has thus delimited from the field of eminent domain the field of exercise of police power and the exercise of the power of taxation. Not only has it saved from the mischief of Clause (2) of Article 31 provisions of laws made for the purpose of imposing or levying any tax or penalty and the laws made for (the) promotion of public health or the prevention of danger to life or property, but it has also saved from the mischief of the Clause the provisions of all existing laws which may be construed as amounting to deprivation of property of a person as well as evacuee property laws under which the State takes possession of properties of persons who have left India for Pakistan. In the result the saving Clause comprehensively includes within the ambit all the powers of the State in (the) exercise of which it could deprive a person of property without payment of compensation. In other words, all forms of deprivation of property by the State without payment of compensation have been included within the ambit of the exception Clause (5), while (the) other forms of deprivation of property which are outside the ambit of the exception Clause are inevitably within the mischief of Clause (2) of the Article. From the language employed in the different sub-Clauses (Clauses?) of Article 31 it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the words 'acquisition' and 'taking possession' used in Article 31(2) have the same meaning as the word 'deprivation' in Article 31(1)."

In conclusion, Mahajan J. observed²⁴.

"The learned Attorney-General (for India) suggested that much weight could not be attached in construing Article 31 to the provisions of Clause (5) in as much as the saving Clause had been introduced by the Article merely by way of abundant caution. I am unable to accede to this contention as it seems to me that the Constitution while defining and delimiting fundamental rights would not introduce in the Articles dealing with those rights

24. See *ibid.* pp. 697-702.

some matters merely by way of abundant caution. To my mind, it was essential while delimiting and defining fundamental rights to fully define the field of the right and to say what was not included within that right. As already said, the Article read as a whole comprehensively defines the State's power of eminent domain as distinguished from all its other powers the exercise of which may amount to the taking of private property. The argument that these exceptions were incorporated in Article 31 by way of abundant caution further stands negated by the contents of Sub-Clause (5) (b) (ii) of the Article. Only laws made for the promotion of public health or for (the) prevention of danger to life or property have been excluded from the mischief of Clause (2) of the Article, while other laws made in (the) exercise of (the) power of social control which deprive a person of property have not been saved from the operation of Clause (2). Illustratively, laws made by the State dealing with morality and which may lead to deprivation of property are outside the ambit of the exception Clause. *A fortiori*, any deprivation of property under a law made for (the) promotion of morality would fall within the mischief of Clause (2) Article 31. It is thus clear that only that form of legislation which promotes public health or prevention of danger to life or property is saved from the provisions of Article 31 (2), while other laws made in (the) exercise of the power of social control, if they deprive a person of property, are not saved from the operation of Clause (2) of Article 31 The objections envisaged by my brother (*i.e.*, Das J.) in *Chiranjit Lal Chowdhuri's* case against the suggestion that Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 deal with the same topic of compulsory acquisition or taking of property do not at all oppress me and do not seem to me to be insurmountable or cogent. On the assumption that Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 deal with the same topic, it is not clear to me why in that context Article 31(1) somehow becomes redundant. This is the only clause in the Article which gives protection to private property from being taken under executive orders without legislative sanction behind them. The first requisite for the exercise of the power of eminent domain is that it can only be exercised pursuant to law. It was necessary while delimiting the field of eminent domain to state that in the

Article The result of the above discussion is that, in my opinion, Article 31 is a self-contained provision delimiting the field of eminent domain and Article 31 Clauses (1) and (2) (*sic*) deal with the same topic of compulsory acquisition of property As I read Article 31, it gives complete protection to private property as against executive action, no matter by what process a person is deprived of possession of it. In other words, the Constitution declares that no person shall be deprived of possession of private property without payment of compensation and that too under the authority of law, provided there was a public purpose behind that law. It is immaterial to the person who is deprived of property as to what use the State makes of his property or what title it acquires in it. The protection is against loss of property to the owner and there is no protection given to the State by the Article. It has no fundamental right as against the individual citizen. Article 31 states the limitations on the power of the State in the field of asking property and those limitations are in the interests of the person sought to be deprived of his property. The question whether acquisition has a larger concept than is conveyed by the expression 'taking possession' is really of academic interest in view of the comprehensive phraseology employed by Clause (2) of Article 31."

It may also be noted here that Ghulam Hasan J., too, stated²⁵ in the course of his judgment in the *Dwarakadas Shrinivas* case:

"I am not prepared to subscribe to the proposition that Article 31(1) stands by itself and should be read separately from (Article 31) (2) and I cannot attribute an intention to our Parliament to deprive a person of his property merely by passing an Act. The two parts of the Article (*i.e.*, Clause (1) and Clause (2) of Article 31) form an integral whole and cannot be dissociated from each other."

III

It should be evident from what has been shown above that the majority of the Judges of our Supreme Court consisting of Patanjali Sastri C. J. and Mehr Chand Mahajan and Ghulam Hasan JJ., have in essence held, in the

25. See *ibid.* pp. 737-38.

Subodh Gopal case and the *Dwarakadas Shrinivas* case, that Clause (1) and the original Clause (2) of Article 31 of our Constitution "are not mutually exclusive in scope and content," but that they "should be read together and understood as dealing with the same subject, namely, the protection of the right to property by means of limitations" on the power of the State to take away private property without the consent of the owner. Further, they have held that "the deprivation contemplated in Clause (1)" is "no other than the acquisition or taking possession of the property referred to in (the said) Clause (2)." And, as we have noted before, their reasonings equally apply in effect to correlation between Clause (1) and the new Clause (2) of Article 31. It may also be incidentally noted here that the view of the majority of its Judges is the view of the Supreme Court. Still, we may now refer to the rejoinder of Das J. to the views of the majority of the Judges. The rejoinder, however, is a very long one. Considerations of space do not permit us to quote it here at length. We shall only refer to what appear to us to be the salient points in it.²⁶

In the course of his judgment in the *Subodh Gopal* case, Das J. observed²⁷ in connexion with (the *Original*) Article 31 of the Constitution :

"It is suggested that the two Clauses (*i.e.*, Clause (1) and Clause (2) of Article 31) are not mutually exclusive but must be read together and that they are only concerned with what has been described as the State's power of eminent domain which, according to Professor Willis, means the legal capacity of sovereignty, or one of its governmental organs, to take private property for a public use upon the payment of just compensation. Reference is made to certain . . . eminent . . . writers²⁸ . . . to show that from early times jurists have insisted on three things as pre-requisites for the exercise of this power of eminent domain, namely, (1) the authority of law, (2) the requirement of public use, and (3) the payment of just compen-

sation.... The contention is that Article 31 reproduces those three limitations on the power of eminent domain, namely, that Clause (1) announces the necessity for legislative sanction as a pre-requisite for the exercise of the power, thus protecting all persons against expropriation by the State acting through its executive organ, the Government, and that Clause (2) reproduces the necessity of a public purpose and payment of compensation. It is concluded that these important limitations on the State's power of eminent domain are designed to protect a person against arbitrary deprivation of his property and (that) they constitute his fundamental right in relation to his property. The proposition thus formulated is certainly attractive and, indeed, has found favour with my learned colleagues but appears to me to be open to certain objections. I say in all humility that I consider the method of approach and the line of reasoning in support of that proposition entirely fallacious and wrong. The steps in the argument seem to be (i) that the power of eminent domain and the limitations thereon as explained by eminent jurists are incorporated in the Fifth Amendment²⁹ to the Constitution of the United States, (ii) that Clauses (1) and (2) of Articles 31 are concerned with the same topic of eminent domain, and (iii) that, therefore, Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 must be read as having reproduced the same limitations on the power of eminent domain."

Criticising the above views of his colleagues Das J. remarked,³⁰ among other things:

"If it were correct to say that the two Clauses, (1) and (2), of Article 31 deal with the same topic of the State's power of eminent domain which is inherent in its sovereignty then, as I pointed out in my judgment³¹ in *Chiranjitlal's* case . . . , Clause (1) must be held to be wholly redundant and Clause (2) by itself would have sufficed, for the necessity of

26. For details, reference may be made to the judgment of Das J. in the *Subodh Gopal* case.—See *ibid.*, pp. 619-68 and, in particular; pp. 634-68.

27. See *ibid.*, pp. 634-36.

28. Such as Hugo Grotius, William Blackstone and Judge Cooley.—See *ibid.*, p. 635.

29. Reference obviously is to the following provisions in the Fifth Amendment:

"No person shall . . . be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."

30. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V; June and July, 1954, pp. 637-38.

31. Already quoted by us in an earlier part of this article.

a law is quite clearly implicit in Clause (2) itself which alone would have served as a protection against State action through its executive organ, the government. Another and more serious objection against reading both the Clauses as dealing only with the same topic of eminent domain is, as pointed out³² by me in *Chiranjitlal's* case . . . , that such construction will place the deprivation of property otherwise than by the taking of possession or acquisition of it outside the pale of all constitutional protection. As I said there and as I shall also do hereafter in detail, one can conceive of circumstances where the State, in exercise of the State's police power, may have to deprive a person of his property without taking possession of it or acquiring it within the meaning of Article 31(2). This police power of the State is also one of the powers inherent in the sovereignty of the State. The suggestion that the first two Clauses of Article 31 should be read as dealing only with eminent domain will, if accepted, lead us to hold that our Constitution has not dealt with the State's police power to deprive a person of this property and has not provided for us any protection against the State by imposing any limitation on the exercise of that power. The suggested construction will render the enunciation of our fundamental 'Right to property' patently incomplete."

Further²³—

"To say that the entire police power of the State to deprive a person of his property is to be found only in Article 31 (5) (b) (ii)³⁴ will be to confine the exercise of that power by the Legislature within a very narrow and inelastic limit, namely, only for the promotion

of public health or the prevention of danger to life or property. On the assumption that Article 31(5) (b) (ii) is concerned with saving the police power it may cover the laws authorising the destruction of rotten or adulterated foodstuff or the pulling down of a dangerous dilapidated building or the demolition of a building to prevent fire from spreading. But it is quite easy to contemplate laws which do not fall within Article 31(5) (b) (ii) but are, nevertheless, made unmistakably in exercise of the State's police power. Consider the case of a law authorising the seizure and destruction of, say, obscene pictures or blasphemous literature. Such law is clearly necessary for the promotion or protection of public morality. Nobody can for a moment think of contending that such law will be void if it does not provide for compensation and yet that will be the result if we are to accept the suggested construction, for such a law made for protecting public morality is obviously not covered by Article 31(5) (b) (ii) and, will, according to such construction, be hit by Article 31(2)³⁵. A construction which leads to the astounding result of compelling the State to buy up obscene pictures and blasphemous literature if it desires to preserve public morality cannot merit serious consideration and must be discarded at once. Take the case of a law providing for the compulsory contribution by all banks based upon the average daily deposits for the purpose of creating a guarantee fund to secure the full repayment of deposits to all depositors in case any such bank becomes insolvent and is ordered to be wound up. This law quite clearly deprives the banks of property in the shape of their respective contributions and it is not covered by Clause (5) (b) (i) as it cannot be said to impose a tax or a penalty, and does not fall within (5) (b) (ii) either, for it is not a law for the promotion of public health or for the prevention of danger to life or property. This law being thus outside Clause (5) (b) cannot, according to the suggested construction, be supported as an instance of exercise of police power for, *ex hypothesi*, the entire police power with regard to deprivation of property is contained in Clause (5) (b) and consequently the law I have mentioned will not be protected from the operation of Article 31 (2)

32. Already quoted by us in an earlier part of this article.

33. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. 5; June and July, 1954, pp. 647-48.

34. As shown in our preceding article in this series, Clause 5(b) of Article 31 of the Constitution runs as follows:

"(5) Nothing in Clause (2) shall affect—

(a) * * * *
 (b) the provisions of any law which the State may hereafter make—
 (i) for the purpose of imposing or levying any tax or penalty, or
 (ii) for the promotion of public health or the prevention of danger to life or property, or
 (iii) * * * *

35. See in this connection the view of Mahajan J. previously quoted.

and must be void for not providing any compensation. Yet in the United States where so much is made of the sanctity of private property and from where we are prone to draw inspiration in these matters such a law has been upheld as constitutional, as an instance of a valid exercise of the State's police power 'which extends to all the great public needs'. (See *Noble State Bank V. Haskell*). Again, suppose there is a labour dispute between, say, a tramway company and its workers and the running of the tram cars is stopped. A law which in such circumstances authorises the State to take possession of the tram depot and run the tram cars by the military or other personnel during such emergency for the convenience of the travelling public is not within Clause (5) (b) (ii) and on this construction will be void if it does not provide for compensation to the tramway company. On the suggested construction pushed to its logical conclusion it will not be possible in future to impose any social control on the profiteers or blackmarketeers, for a law controlling and fixing prices of essential supplies will always deprive them of property of the value to be measured by the difference between black-market price and the controlled price. The suggested construction may even make it difficult to support any future law containing provisions similar to those in the procedure codes or other laws not strictly falling within the (*sic*) Clause (5) (b) (ii) but authorising the seizure of books, documents or other property or the appointment of a receiver or sequestrator to take possession of property, for in all such cases there will be a 'deprivation' of property. It is unnecessary to multiply instances. The several instances I have just given above appear to me to furnish ample justification for rejecting a construction which may make it impossible for the State to undertake beneficial legislation to promote social interest and may invalidate laws of the kind I have mentioned."

Moreover, inquiring into the reason why Clause (5) (b) (ii) was at all inserted in Article 31, Das J. observed:³⁶

"The answer will become obvious if it is remembered that it is extremely difficult to define,

precisely the ambit and scope of the State's police power over or in relation to private property and some of the instances and forms of the exercise of such police power over or in relation to property may superficially resemble the exercise of the power of eminent domain. The conclusion, therefore, becomes irresistible that although Clause (5) (b) (ii) was not strictly speaking necessary for saving the police power, nevertheless, our Constitution-makers, out of abundant caution and with a view to avoid (ing) any possible argument, thought fit to insert sub-clause (5) (b) (ii) in Article 31. It is impossible to hold that the entire police power of the State to deprive a person of his property is contained in that sub-clause."

Das J. next referred to the criticism of his colleagues that the acceptance of his interpretation of Article 31 of the Constitution would mean that there would be no "protection against the legislature in the matter of deprivation of property in exercise of the State's police power," and that thus there might be "legislative tyranny in respect of our property." To this his reply was, among other things:³⁷

"What, I ask, is our protection against the legislature in the matter of deprivation of property by the exercise of the power of taxation³⁸? None whatever. By exercising its power of taxation by law the State may deprive us, citizen or non-citizen, of almost sixteen annas in the rupee of our income. What, I next ask, is the protection which our Constitution gives to any person against the legislature in the matter of deprivation even of life or personal liberty? None, except the requirement of Article 21, namely, a procedure to be established by the legislature itself and a skeleton procedure prescribed in Article 22 Therefore what is there to complain of if, in the matter of deprivation of property by the exercise of the State's police power, our Constitution has, by Article 31(1), given us protection only against the executive but none against the legislature? What is abnormal if our Constitution has trusted the legislature, as the people of Great Britain have trusted their Parliament? Right to life and personal liberty and the right to private property still

37. See *ibid*, pp. 652-56.

36. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V; June and July 1954, p. 645.

38. See Clause (5) (b) (i) of Article 31 and Article 265 of the Constitution in this connexion.

exist in Great Britain in spite of the supremacy of Parliament. Why should we assume or apprehend that our Parliament or State legislature should (*sic*) act like mad men and deprive us of our property without any rhyme or reason? After all our executive government is responsible to the legislature and the legislature is answerable to the people. Even if the legislature indulges in occasional vagaries, we have to put up with it for the time being. That is the price we must pay for democracy. But the apprehension of such vagaries can be no justification for stretching the language of the Constitution to bring it into line with our notion of what an ideal constitution should be. To do so is not to interpret the Constitution but to make a new Constitution by unmaking the one which the people of India have given to themselves. That, I apprehend, is not the function of the Court. If the Constitution, properly construed according to the cardinal rules of interpretation, appears to some to disclose any defect or lacuna the appeal must be to the authority competent to amend the Constitution and not to the Court.

"Further, there may be quite cogent and compelling reason why our Constitution does not provide for any protection against the legislature in the matter of deprivation of property otherwise than by taking of possession or acquisition of it. It is futile to cling to our notions of absolute sanctity of individual liberty or private property and to wishfully think that our Constitution-makers have enshrined in our Constitution the notions of individual liberty and private property that prevailed in the 16th century when Hugo Grotius flourished or in the 18th century when Blackstone wrote his *Commentaries* and when the Federal Constitution of the United States of America was framed. We must reconcile ourselves to the plain truth that emphasis has now unmistakably shifted from the individual to the community. We cannot overlook that the avowed purpose of our Constitution is to set up a welfare State by subordinating the social interest in individual liberty or property to the larger social interest in the rights of the community. As already observed, the police power of the State is 'the most essential of powers, at times most insistent, and always one of the least limitable powers of the government'. Social interests are ever

expanding and are too numerous to enumerate or even to anticipate and, therefore, it is not possible to circumscribe the limits of social control to be exercised by the State or adopt a construction which will confine it within the narrow limits of Article 31 (5) (b) (ii). It must be left to the State to decide when and how and to what extent it should exercise this social control. Our Constitution has not thought fit to leave the responsibility of depriving a person of his property, whether it be in exercise of the power of eminent domain or of the police power, to the will or caprice of the executive but has left it to that of the legislature. In the matter of deprivation of property otherwise than by the taking of possession or by the acquisition of it within the meaning of Article 31(2), our Constitution has trusted our legislature and has not thought fit to impose any limitation on the legislature's exercise of the State's police power over private property. Our protection against legislative tyranny, if any, lies, in ultimate analysis, in a free and intelligent public opinion which must eventually assert itself."

Accordingly, Das J. reiterated³⁹ his views on "the true scope and effect of Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31" as follows :

"Clause (1) deals with deprivation of property in exercise of police power and enunciates the restriction which our Constitution-makers thought necessary or sufficient to be placed on the exercise of that power, namely, that such power can be exercised only by authority of law and not by a mere executive fiat and Clause (2) deals with the exercise of the power of eminent domain and places limitations on the exercise of that power. It is these limitations which constitute our fundamental right against the State's power of eminent domain. The language used in Article 31(2) clearly indicates beyond doubt that the power of eminent domain as adopted in our Constitution is concerned with only that kind of deprivation of property which is brought about by the taking of possession or acquisition contemplated by that Clause."

Again :⁴⁰

"Article 31(2) has imposed three conditions on the exercise of the State's power of eminent

39. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V; June and July, 1954, pp. 638-39.

40. See *ibid.*, p. 656.

domain over private property and those limitations constitute the protection granted to the owner of the property as his fundamental right. It insists that this sovereign power may be exercised only if it is authorised by a law. It is, therefore, clear that the executive limb of the State cannot exercise this power on its own authority and without the sanction of law. The taking of possession or acquisition must be for a public purpose which implies that this power cannot be exercised except for implementing a public purpose. It cannot be exercised for a private purpose . . . Finally, the law authorising the taking of possession or acquisition of the property must provide for compensation. Compensation, therefore, is payable only when the State takes possession of or acquires private property."

It may be noted in this connexion that with regard to "the meaning of the words 'taken possession of or acquired' and their grammatical variations as used in (the original) Article 31(2)," Das J. agreed⁴¹ "with what Mukherjea J. said in *Chiranjit Lal's* case . . . namely:

"It cannot be disputed that acquisition means and implies the acquiring of the entire title of the expropriated owner, whatever the nature and extent of that title might be. The entire bundle of rights which were vested in the original holder would pass on acquisition to the acquirer leaving nothing in the former. In taking possession, on the other hand, the title to the property admittedly remains in the original holder, though he is excluded from possession or enjoyment of the property. Article 31(2) of the Constitution itself makes a clear distinction between acquisition of property and taking possession of it for a public purpose, though it places both of them on the same footing in the sense that a legislation authorising either of these acts must make provision for payment of compensation to the displaced or expropriated holder of the property. In the context in which the word acquisition appears in Article 31(2), it can only mean and refer to acquisition of the entire interest of the previous holder by transfer of title"

And Das J. added:⁴²

41. See *ibid*, p. 658; also *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I; December 1950; p. 902.

42. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V; June and July 1954, pp. 658-61.

"It follows from what has been stated above that the word 'acquired' used in Article 31(2) must be given the special meaning which that word has acquired and cannot be read as synonymous with 'taken' as used in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.⁴³ It is . . . suggested that at any rate the expression 'taken possession of' should be read in the sense in which the word 'taken' is understood in the American law . . . (in America) there would be a 'taking' whenever any of the rights, powers, privileges or immunities making up the ownership was taken from the owner Our Constitution-makers were well aware of the very wide meaning eventually given to the word 'taken' by the American Courts. They did not, however, use the word 'taken' in Article 31(2) which they would surely have done if they intended to reproduce the wide American concept of 'taking'. Our Constitution-makers, on the contrary, deliberately chose to adopt the narrower viewpoint and accordingly used the words 'taken possession of' in order to make it quite clear that they required compensation to be paid only when there was an actual taking of the property out of the possession of the owner or possessor into the possession of the State or its nominee. Of course, the manner of taking possession must depend on the nature of the property itself

"It is finally said that both Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 deal with the topic of eminent domain and, therefore, the expression 'taken possession of or acquired' occurring in Clause (2) has the same meaning which the word 'deprived' used in Clause (1) has. In other words, both the Clauses are concerned with deprivation of property and there is no reason to think that the expression 'taken possession of or acquired' was used in Clause (2) to indicate any particular kind or shade of deprivation. The obvious retort that at once comes to one's mind is that if it were intended by our Constitution-makers to convey the same general idea of deprivation of property by whatever means or mode it was brought about, why did they use the word 'deprived' in Clause (1) and why did they use in Clause (2) a different ex-

43. Reference is to the following provision in the Fifth Amendment:

"Nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."

pression which, as commonly used and understood, connotes a much narrower meaning? It would have been quite easy to frame Clause (2) by using the word 'deprived' instead of the expression 'taken possession of or acquired'. As our Constitution-makers used different expressions in the two Clauses it must be held that they had done so for a very definite purpose and that purpose could be nothing else but (*sic*) to provide for compensation for only a particular kind of deprivation specifically mentioned and not for any and every kind of deprivation . . . it will not be unreasonable to hold that 'taking of possession' referred to in Article 31(2) is in the nature of 'requisitioning' . . . 'taken possession of or acquired' should be read as indicative of the concept of 'requisition or acquisition'.⁴⁴

IV

We have indicated above the nature and extent of the difference of opinion between Das J. and the majority of his colleagues in the Supreme Court on the question of interpretation of Clause (1) and (the original) Clause (2) of Article 31. As we have stated before, this difference of opinion is in essence equally applicable to the interpretation of Clause (1) and the new Clause (2) of the Article, although the wording of the new Clause (2) seems to be much better than that of the original Clause (2). Before, however, we express our own view on the question, we should like to mention here that the point of view of Das J. was virtually endorsed later on by some spokesmen of the Government of India in our Parliament. Thus we find Shri H. V. Pataskar, Minister in the Ministry of Law, observing in our Lok Sabha on 14th March, 1955, in connexion with the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill:⁴⁵

"On a proper interpretation of Article 31(1) and (2), the Supreme Court⁴⁶ could not have come to the conclusion which they have arrived at. It is true that, if as a matter of fact, this interpretation was allowed to stand,

many of the social problems which we want to solve will be incapable of being solved in the near future and hence the necessity of this amendment . . . Now, I will come to the point as to how to interpret Article 31(1) and 31(2) and what this connotes. There is a well-known classification of the State's sovereign power regarding property in constitutional law. These categories are: the power of taxation, the power which is known, as that of eminent domain and the police power . . . Police power is something which is different from actual taking over which is called the power of 'eminent domain.' Therefore, it is no good confusing the two. It may be difficult to define exactly what is meant by the power of 'eminent domain' and what is meant by police power. But the distinction is clear and one thing is entirely distinct from the other so far as constitutional law is concerned. . . . The police power is inherent in the constitution of every country in the world. For a sovereign body to carry on administration, it must have this power. Therefore, that is what is provided in Article 31(1), and 'deprivation,' 'acquisition' and 'requisition' cannot mean the same thing. Deprivation means the State does not take it over.* The owner is only deprived of it . . . It is also one of the accepted principles of constitutional law that police power requires no provision for compensation, while in the case of the exercise of the power of eminent domain the question of compensation comes in. Therefore, the whole trouble has arisen out of the fact that Article 31(1) and (2) which provide for two distinct categories of these powers as if they (*sic*) are one and the same. Critics have tried to show as if the whole object of both these clauses is to make provision only for eminent domain and nothing else. That is how the mistake has occurred. These two powers are provided for in our Constitution in Article 31(1) and 31(2). Article 31(1) makes provision for what is regarded in constitutional law as the police power, and 31(2) provides for the power which is called the power of eminent domain. These are distinct categories of sovereign powers with different connotations, subserving different needs of the society and the State. Article 31(5) (b) speci-

44. See in this connexion the wording of the new Clause (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution.

45. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 14th March, 1955, columns 1998-2019.

46. The view of the majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court is the view of the Supreme Court and is, under Article 141 of the Constitution, "binding on all Courts within the territory of India."

* Does this necessarily happen in all cases?

fically exempts the taxation powers or the police power from the operation of the power of eminent domain, because there you have to pay compensation. . . . No sovereign can function without this police power to deprive anybody of the property in the interest of public in general or those over whom that sovereign has to govern. . . . Article 31(1) has . . . been designed to formulate a fundamental right against the deprivation of property by the exercise of police powers by the executive. The Constitution-makers did not want these police powers to be exercised by the executive. It can only be done by the legislature. . . . There is no written provision in the Constitution of the U.S.A. regarding the police power . . . there is no provision (there) corresponding to Article 31(1). . . . There, the Constitution does not contain a provision (to that effect). They exercise that power by passing a law. . . . Article 31(2) is, as I have said before, what is called elsewhere the power of eminent domain. Therefore, with due respect to the Chief Justice Patanjali Sastri, I have to say that he has fallen into the error of not having tried to make a distinction between Article 31(1) and 31(2). As I said, Article 31(2) is what is called the power of eminent domain, that is, property is to be acquired for a public purpose. It provides that the law should provide for compensation for property acquired or taken possession of . . . Acquisition must always mean and imply the acquiring of the entire title of the person whose title has been expropriated—whatever the nature or extent of that title might be . . . The words 'taken possession of' were also deliberately used in Article 31(2) for the purpose of making it clear that compensation was required to be paid only when there was actual taking over of the property out of the possession of the owner or its possessor into the possession of the State, the manner of taking possession naturally depending on the nature of the property itself."

The view expressed by Shri Pataskar was in essence endorsed by Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, the then Minister of Commerce and Industry, on 15th March, 1955, in the Lok Sabha,⁴⁷ and by Shri G. B. Pant, Minister of Home Affairs, on 17th March, 1955, in the Rajya

Sabha,⁴⁸ in connexion with the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill. Notwithstanding this endorsement by the spokesmen of the Government of India of the point of view of Das J., we find it rather difficult, having regard to the language of Clause (1) and Clause (2) of Article 31, to reject as untenable the contention of the majority of his colleagues. It appears to us that the word "deprived" which means "being debarred from enjoyment," in Clause (1) of Article 31 is a general term, and that the expressions "the taking of possession" and "acquired" or "acquisition" in Clause (2) thereof, or their variants in it, are specific forms of deprivation, "the taking of possession"⁴⁹ implying a temporary deprivation and "acquired" or "acquisition" a permanent deprivation. It is, therefore, not necessary to import the American doctrine of police power in connexion with the interpretation of Clause (1) of the Article.

At the same time, we also feel that there is a considerable force in the reasoning of Das J. It seems to us that this difference of view between Das J. and the majority of his colleagues in connexion with the question of interpretation of Article 31 probably arose on account of the defective wording of Clauses (1), (2) and (5) of the Article. Perhaps, this defect in wording was unavoidable owing to the fact that, as shown⁵⁰ in our preceding article, the original Clause 24 of the Draft Constitution of India which later on became Article 31 of the Constitution had been, to quote the words of Shri G. B. Pant, Minister of Home Affairs, "the subject of a prolonged controversy," and that Article 31 "was by itself, a sort of a compromise Article."⁵¹

The defects in the wording of Article 31 are still there. It appears to us that all difficulties in connexion with the interpretation of the Article will disappear if its Clauses (1) and (2) are more explicitly and harmoniously worded with consequential changes in it, and if its present Clause (5) (b) (ii) is redrafted on the following lines:

"Nothing in Clause (2) shall affect—the provisions of any law which the State

48. See *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, of 17th March, 1955.

49. Or "requisitioning" (see the new Clause (2) of Article 31).

50. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1958, pp. 35-36.

51. See *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, 17th March 1955, Columns 2229-2230.

47. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 15th March, 1955.

may hereafter reasonably make—in the interests of decency, morality, the public welfare, or the public convenience, or for the promotion of public health, or for the prevention of danger to life or property, or”

Thus redrafted, Clause (5) (ii) of Article 31 will, together with what is laid down in Clause (5) of Article 19 in relation to Clause

(1) (f) thereof, provide an ample scope for all legitimate exercise of what may be considered to be the police power of the State in India. What, therefore, is really required is a further amendment of Article 31 with a view to removing all ambiguities, obscurities, or other defects in it.

For considerations of space, we propose to continue, further, our discussion of Article 31 in our next article in this series.

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DR. BRAJENDRANATH SEAL His Contributions to Philosophical Studies

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SIR Brajendranath Seal's contributions to philosophical studies are many and multifarious. It is not possible within the limited scope of the present article to enumerate them all or to discuss any of them at full length. Some of his contributions bear directly on strictly philosophical topics and problems, as for instance, his monographs on the Sankhya-Patanjala theory of Evolution, the Vedantic View, the Atomic theory of the Buddhists and of the Jainas, and the Scientific Method of the Hindus in his well-known work, *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*. To these we may add his learned paper on "The Test of Truth" read at the International Congress of Orientalists held in Rome in 1899 A.D., and *The Quest Eternal* in which he sought to transcribe basic philosophical ideas in forms of pure poetry. Some other contributions of his consist in a philosophical study of religious, sociological and cultural subjects, as for example, his remarkable dissertations on "Comparative Studies in Vaishnavism and Christianity with an Examination of the Mahabharata Legend about Narada's Pilgrimage to Svetadvipa," "Foundation of a Science of Mythology in Yaska and the Niruktas with Greek Parallels," "Origin of Law and Hindus as Founders of Social Science," and his most learned Presidential Addresses at the 14th Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society at Bangalore in 1924, and Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Parliament of Religions in Calcutta in 1936. Still some other contributions to philoso-

phical studies were made by him in his most instructive and illuminative talks and lectures to University students, some of which have been preserved in the form of notes, and in his wonderful "Syllabus of Indian Philosophy" based on those lectures and focussed on all the areas of the vast and variegated field of Indian philosophy, of which some have been explored and many still remain to be explored and studied. This syllabus will serve as a perpetual source of inspiration and guidance to generations of students, teachers and research scholars in Indian philosophy all over the world. But above all, the most valuable contribution he made to philosophical studies in India is his pioneer-work in the field of comparative studies in philosophy.

There was a time, which is within living memory, when the charge was often heard against Indian philosophy that it was not based on independent reasoning but on authority and, therefore, it was dogmatic, rather than critical. What was, and still now is, necessary to remove this stigma of dogmatism attached to Indian thought by uninformed Western critics, is a comparative study of Indian and Western philosophies, and a critical estimation of the value and validity of their respective contributions to the world of philosophy. Sir Brajendranath Seal was eminently qualified for this task, and it was he who probably first undertook the work in right earnest and accom-

plished it partly with great success. He is thus a pioneer in the field of comparative studies in philosophy and has inspired many other scholars to work in the same field. His great achievement in this direction is *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, published in 1915 A.D. We would here explain some of the chief contributions of this valuable work to the comparative study of Indian philosophy.

The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus is a series of monographs on the scientific concepts and methods formulated by the ancient Hindus. It is a study of ancient Indian scientific thought and it seeks to correlate the Indian scientific concepts and methods to parallel Western ideas and methods, and thereby bring out the contributions of the ancient Indians to the scientific thought of the world. These studies in Hindu Positive Sciences were intended by Sir Brajendranath to serve a preliminary to his "Studies in Comparative Philosophy," a projected work which did not see the light of day; and for this the philosophical world is left poorer today.

In *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus* we have first an illuminating interpretation of the Sankhya-Patanjala theory of *prakriti* and the *gunas*. The concepts of *prakriti* and the *gunas* pervade the whole of the history of Indian thought; and they are also found in popular literature. But their philosophical import is shrouded in mystery and could not be grasped even by many competent scholars. This has been brought out by a comparative study of them in this work. The Sankhya-Patanjala theory of *Prakriti*, we are told here, is the earliest clear and comprehensive account of the process of cosmic evolution, viewed not as a mere metaphysical speculation but as a positive principle based on the conservation, transformation and dissipation of Energy.

The manifested world of objects is traced in the Sankhya to an ultimate, unmanifested ground called *Prakriti*. The unity of *Prakriti* is an abstraction; it is in reality an undifferentiated manifold, an indeterminate infinite continuum of infinitesimal Reals. These Reals are termed *Gunas* and are classed under three heads: (1) *Sattva*, (2) *Rajas* and (3) *Tamas*. *Sattva* is the Essence which manifests itself in a phenomenon, and which is characterised by

this tendency to manifestation; the Essence, in other words, which serves as the medium for the reflection of Intelligence. *Rajas* is the Energy which is efficient in a phenomenon, and is



Sir Brajendranath Seal

characterised by a tendency to do work or overcome resistance. *Tamas* is Mass or Inertia which counteracts the tendency of *Rajas* to do work, and of *Sattva* to conscious manifestation. The ultimate factors of the physical Universe,

then, are Essence or intelligence-stuff, Energy or activity-stuff, and Matter or the stuff characterised by mass or inertia. The infinitesimals of Energy do not possess inertia or gravity, and are not therefore material, but they possess quantum (*parimana*) and extensity (*paricchinnatva*). The very nature of Energy is to do work or to produce motion (*chalam* and *upastambhakam*). All Energy is therefore ultimately kinetic; even potential Energy (*anudbhuta-vriti-sakti*) is only the Energy of motion in imperceptible forms.

The *Gunas* are conceived to be Reals or substantive entities. But they are not independent and self-subsistent entities; rather they are interdependent moments in every real object of the world. In intimate union these enter into things as essential constitutive factors. In everything of the world there is an intelligence-stuff by which it manifests itself to our intelligence, an energy-stuff by which it moves or sets other things in motion, and a matter-stuff which counteracts the tendencies to motion and manifestation. But though co-operating to produce the world of objects, these diverse moments with diverse tendencies never coalesce. In any phenomenal product of their co-operation they continue to exist distinctly in different proportions. Whenever anything is produced there is a preponderance of one over the other two. Thus in a body at rest, *Tamas* or mass is patent, *Rajas* or energy is latent and *Sattva* or conscious manifestation is sublatent. In a moving body, *Rajas* is predominant, while mass or inertia (*Tamas*) is overcome. In voluntary activity, the transformation of Energy (*Rajas*) goes hand in hand with the predominance of conscious manifestation (*Sattva*), while the matter-stuff or Mass (*Tamas*), though latent, is to be inferred from the resistance overcome. Thus the interaction among the *gunas* is of a peculiar nature; in it there is co-operation but no inter-penetration or fusion of the ultimate elements of things. In Western science and also Natural philosophy, the physical world is ultimately traced to matter and motion which were once supposed to be externally related, but are now taken to be inseparably connected with each other. On the Sankhya analysis, however, all physical things contain an intelligence-stuff in addition to matter and motion. For, without such an element we cannot explain the mani-

festation of objects in experience. Just as light manifests objects which reflect it in different measures, so intelligence manifests things which contain an element of manifestation in them. Hence, there must be a manifestation-essence in things in addition to their mass and motion constituents. This essence is *Sattva*, whereas motion and mass (or inertia) are *Rajas* and *Tamas* respectively.

If we keep in mind these ideas about the *Gunas* and their interaction we can understand the process of cosmic evolution. In the beginning of the process there was a condition of equilibrium, a state of uniform diffusion of the Reals, in which the tendencies to manifestation and motion were exactly counterbalanced by the resistance of Mass. Although all the materials necessary for building a world-system were there, the impetus for the creative process had to be given by the light of the *Purusa* or the self. Just as a sleeping body begins to move and act when it is awakened or enlightened by consciousness, so *Prakriti* begins to create when it is roused from quiescence by the consciousness of the self. But the self's consciousness does not add to the *Gunas* or the reals of *Prakriti*. It only serves to end the state of their uniform diffusion and equipoise. The process of cosmic evolution goes on and is closed within *Prakriti* itself. The law of evolution, according to the Sankhya, is differentiation in integration. The process of evolution is one of progressive differentiation of the undifferentiated and within the undifferentiated. The order of succession is not from the whole to parts, nor from parts to the whole, but ever from a relatively less differentiated, less determinate, less coherent whole to a relatively more differentiated, more determinate and more coherent whole. The process of evolution is not, as on the Spencerian theory it is supposed to be, the transition from a homogeneous unity to heterogeneous parts, and then the integration of the heterogeneous parts in a whole, a process which goes on repeating itself for ever. Nor does the process conform to the Hegelian formula of dialectical development from thesis to antithesis and from that to synthesis. On the Sankhya view, increasing differentiation proceeds *pari passu* with increasing integration within the evolving whole, so that by this two-

fold process what was an incoherent indeterminate homogeneous whole evolves into a coherent determinate heterogeneous whole.

The different stadia in the order of cosmic evolution are represented as follows:

(1) The unknowable and uncharacterisable original ground of the world of objects—*Prakriti* or the Reals in a state of equilibrium.

(2) The knowable or empirical universe as the stuff of consciousness—*Mahat* or the intelligible essence of the cosmos, evolved by differentiation and integration within the formless *Prakriti*.

(3) The individuated but still indeterminate stuff bifurcated into two series—Subject-experience and Object-experience, the one comprising the empirical Ego, *Asmita* or *Ahankara*; the other comprising, through the mediation of the former, the subtle vehicles of potential Energy, the ultimate subtle constituents of the material world—*Tanmatra* or *Sukshma-bhuta*.

(4) The determinate stuff of the Subject-series in the form of sensory and motor stuff, and that of the Object-series in the form of atomic matter-stuff in which the *Tanmatras* are actualised as specific sensible Energies—the *Paramanus* or the atoms of different kinds of gross matter.

(5) The coherent and integrated matter-stuff or individual substances like inorganic objects, vegetable and animal organisms, all of which are subject to change or evolution and dissolution.

(6) So the cosmic series moves on in ascending stages of unstable equilibrium until the reverse course of equilibration and dissipation of Energy, which constantly accompanies the evolution and transformation of Energy, completes the disintegration of the universe into the original unmanifested ground, the unknowable *Prakriti*.

Throughout the process of evolution the Reals—*Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*—assume an infinite diversity of forms and powers, but they can neither be created nor destroyed. The individual objects of experience are subject to addition and subtraction, growth and decay which are only due to changes of collocation and consequent changes of state from the potential to the actual. The total amount of Energy, therefore, remains the same, while the

world is constantly changing and evolving. It follows from this that cause and effect are only more or less evolved forms of the same ultimate Energy and that the sum of effects exists in the sum of causes in a potential form. What we call the cause and the effect are only the unmanifested and manifested forms of the same thing, power or energy. All effects are contained potentially in their material causes and are manifested by certain concomitant conditions which set free the energy of the cause and make it patent and manifest. The Sankhya view of causation thus follows logically from its doctrine of the conservation and transformation of Energy. On this view of causation the perplexing problem of the relation between cause and effect conceived as two separate entities does not arise. If the cause be something different from the effect and separated from it by an interval of time and space, we cannot understand how any energy or force can pass from the former to the latter. If, however, cause and effect be regarded as two different states of the same thing or power, the hypothesis of a passage of energy from the one to the other becomes unnecessary, and the effect may be said to be a manifestation of the energy latent in the cause or rather the unmanifested causal energy made manifest. Another point of special interest that should be noted here is the Sankhya conception of atoms as complex systems. Atoms are not regarded as simple, indivisible and ultimate constituents of matter. There are three stages in the genesis of matter: (1) the original infinitesimal units of Mass which arise within *Prakriti* when its original equilibrium is distributed (*tamasa-ahankara* called *bhutadi*) and on which *Rajas* or Energy does work, (2) the infra-atomic potencies, charged with different kinds of energy, which result from the action of Energy on the original Mass-units (*tanmatra*), and (3) the five different kinds of atoms which are said to be the indivisible parts of gross matter, but are themselves complex *Tanmatric* systems (*Sthula-bhuta-paramanu*). Thus atoms are found to be complex systems of potential powers or energies which are infra-atomic in their nature. This is a splendid prophecy about the divisibility of atoms now admitted by modern Western scientists.

The Advaita-Vedanta theory of *Maya* and

the world's evolution out of it is regarded by many as a philosophical puzzle. Let us see what light one gets on this puzzling matter from the standpoint of the positive sciences. *Maya* is regarded by the Vedantin as the material cause (*upadana-karana*) of the world. The power of *Maya* is the power to realise the unreal to impart practical Reality or mediate existence to that which does not and cannot possess absolute Reality or self-existence. *Maya* is at once real and unreal, while *Brahman* (Self) is absolute Reality, absolute Intelligence and absolute Bliss. The world evolves out of *Maya* (*maya-parinama*), so that *Maya* in the Vedanta replaces the *Prakriti* of Sankhya. But *Maya* and by implication the world, originate out of *Brahman* not by a process of evolution (*parinama*), but of *vivarta* or self-alienation. The self-alienation of the absolute, acting through *Maya*, produces in the beginning the subtle element of *Akasa* which is one, infinite and all-pervasive and has the capacity of sound. From *Akasa* evolves *Vayu* as a subtle gaseous matter which is instinct with the potential of mechanical energy, *i.e.*, of pressure or impact. From *Vayu* comes *Tejas* as a subtle radiant matter which contains *in potentia* the energy of light and heat. *Ap* evolves from *Tejas* and is a subtle viscous matter, instinct with the potency of taste. Lastly, Earth comes from *Ap* and is a subtle hard matter which possesses the potency of smell. These five subtle elements are compounded in five different ways to give rise to the five gross material elements of those names (*Mahabhutas*). The gross element of *Akasa* is produced by the combination of the five subtle elements in the proportion, four parts of *Akasa* and one part of each of the other four subtle elements. Similarly, each of the other four gross elements is produced by the combination of the subtle elements in the proportion, four parts of that element and one part of each of the other four—the four parts of the element to be produced being the radical in each case. This process by which a gross element is produced from the subtle elements is called *Panchikarana* or quintuplication.

The subtle elements (*sukshma bhutas*) are forms of homogeneous and continuous matter, without any atomicity of structure. The gross elements (*mahabhutas*) are composite, but even

these are regarded as continuous and without any atomic structure. The Vedanta speaks of *Anu* or the atom not as an ultimate indivisible discrete constituent of matter, but as the smallest conceivable quantum or measure of matter. When the gross elements are once formed, the different kinds of substance or individual things and beings are derived from them by the evolutionary process called *Parinama*. Matter is constantly undergoing change of states. Causation is this change of states in matter. The effect is only the cause in a new collocation. Change is of two kinds. It may be a spontaneous process, without external influence. Action from without is not always a condition of change, nor is it necessary that more than one substance should combine to generate another substance, *e.g.*, the formation of curds from milk. Change may also be due to combination with other substances. Such combination may produce a compound substance which possesses either like qualities with the constituents or unlike and new qualities not to be found in the constituents. In this way the world's evolution goes on until the reverse process of dissolution begins and completes the disintegration of the cosmos into its original ground—*Maya*, the inscrutable power of *Brahman* or the Self. The Vedanta is at one with the Sankhya in holding that the self which is just consciousness as such is above matter and the cosmic process of evolution. The self is the logical presupposition and the rational ground of both the process of evolution and the world-systems formed by it. It somehow starts the course of evolution, but is not itself subject to evolution or dissolution. This is a truth which no theory of evolution, old or modern, can afford to ignore and far less deny.

So far we have considered what light a comparative study throws on the Sankhya and the Vedanta theory of cosmic evolution. The limited scope of the present paper does not permit us to study in a similar way the contributions of other Indian systems to the same subject. But the value of the entire body of Hindu positive science depends on the scientific method of the Hindus. And this we propose to consider next.

By scientific method is meant the method of discovering scientific truths. It is the method

of establishing general truths about the facts of experience or the objects of the world, in other words, the method of discovering the laws of Nature. The value of a science depends entirely on the value of the method it follows in its investigation of the phenomena of Nature to arrive at certain general truths. So the question as to the right scientific method occupies an important place in Indian Logic. Scientific method consists of two main parts, namely, observation of and experiments on facts, and generalisation of facts in the form of laws or principles. With regard to the first part we find that the entire apparatus of Hindu scientific method proceeded on the basis of observed instances carefully analysed and sifted. This was the source of the physico-chemical theories and classifications. But, in Anatomy, the Hindus went a step further and practised dissection on dead bodies for purposes of practical demonstration. In some sciences the observation of facts was precise, minute and thoroughly scientific, while in others it was rather defective, probably on account of the lack of practical interest. Experiments were, of course, conducted for purposes of chemical operations in relation to the arts and manufactures. But of experiment as an independent method of proof or discovery the instances recorded in books are rare. This may appear to be a serious defect in the scientific method of the Hindus. But here we should point out that the experimental proof of a scientific hypothesis involves the logical fallacy of affirming the consequent. It is here supposed that if the consequences of an hypothesis are verified, the hypothesis itself is true. But this is not necessarily so, for there may be other hypotheses that would yield the same consequences. Experiment cannot prove a scientific hypothesis simply by verifying its consequences. For this, other factors like repeated observation and careful analysis of observed facts are essentially necessary. The observation of facts must be free from the fallacies of mal-observation and non-observation. These were carefully studied by the ancient Hindu thinkers and ascribed to three principal causes: (1) *Dosa* or defect of sense-organ and of necessary stimulus, *e.g.*, diseased condition of the senses, dim light, etc.; (2) *Samprayoga*, *i.e.*, presentation of a part or an

aspect instead of the whole; and (3) *Samskara* or the disturbing influence of mental pre-disposition, *e.g.*, expectation, memory, habit, prejudice, etc.

The second part of the scientific method deals with the problems of influence and generalisation, or induction from particular facts of observation. Inference in Indian Logic is based on the establishment of an invariable concomitance between the middle term and the major term, or the ground and the object of inference (*vyapti*). Thus inference is neither merely formal nor merely material, but a combined formal-material, deductive-inductive process. It is neither the Aristotelian syllogism which is a formal-deductive process, nor Mill's induction which is a material-inductive process, but the real inference which must combine formal validity with material truth. In the West, the modern school of mathematical logic now recognises this truth and makes a distinction between implication and inference. As regards logical form, inference in Indian Logic consists of five propositions for purposes of demonstration, and of three propositions for that of acquisition of knowledge for oneself. The third proposition is called *udaharana* and is a general proposition which is supported by facts of observation. It thus combines and harmonises Mill's view of the major premise as a brief memorandum of like instances already observed, with the Aristotelian view of it as a universal proposition which is the formal ground of inference. But the question is: What is our warrant for taking the leap from observed to unobserved cases? Under what conditions are we justified to assert a Universal Real proposition on the basis of our necessarily limited observation? What is the ground or the method of induction?

According to the Buddhists, a general proposition may be based on the principle of causality or essential identity (*karya-karana-bhava* or *tadatmya*). If two objects are related to each other as cause and effect, or if the two have the same essence, then we may say that they are universally related, *i.e.*, wherever the one is, the other must be. There can be no exception to their uniform relation, since that would lead to the absurd position that an effect may be produced without any cause or that an

object may be different from itself. If, then, we can discover the relation of causality or essential identity between two objects, we can arrive at a universal or general proposition which is the ground of inference. To discover the causal relation, the Buddhists recommend the method of *panchakarani* which consists of five steps as follows: (1) non-perception of the 'effect' phenomenon, (2) perception of the 'cause' phenomenon, (3) perception of the 'effect' phenomenon in immediate succession, (4) disappearance or elimination of the 'cause' phenomenon, (5) disappearance or elimination of the 'effect' phenomenon in immediate succession. The method of *panchakarani*, it will be seen, is a combination of the positive and the negative application of J. S. Mill's Method of Difference and, as such, it may be called the Joint Method of Difference. It has some advantages over Mill's methods of Agreement, Difference and Joint Method of Agreement and Difference, each taken by itself. It obviates the difficulties in which each of these methods is involved. If when all other circumstances remain the same, the appearance of one phenomenon is immediately followed by the appearance of another and its disappearance is immediately followed by the disappearance of the other, we become doubly sure that the one is the cause of the other. Similarly, a universal proposition may be based on the discovery of an essential identity between two objects. Thus we know that all men are animals, because animality belongs to the essence of both, and men without animality will not be men.

The *Nyaya* method of induction is different from that of the Buddhists. For the *Naiyayikas*, causality and essential identity are not the ultimate grounds or induction, but are themselves established by induction. There is but one method of induction which consists of the following steps: (1) *Anvaya* or observation of agreement in presence between two facts, (2) *Vyatireka* or observation of agreement in absence between them, (3) *Vyabhicharadarsana* or non-observation of any contrary instance in which the one is without the other, (4) *Upadhinirasa* or elimination of all external conditions on which the relation between the two facts may be suspected to be dependent, (5) *Tarka* or indirect proof of invariability of the relation by exposing the contradictions

which arise out of its denial, (6) *Samanyalakshana* perception or perception of the universals which underlie the particulars of experience and constitute the ultimate ground of induction. It will be seen here that the *Naiyayikas* agree with J. S. Mill in holding that the principle of causality is itself an empirical generalisation, although it is universal in its scope and is nowhere contradicted in our experience. But they do not accept with Mill four or five methods of induction. For them the inductive method is one, although it is a complex process in which we have to pass through several stages. That this is really so is now admitted by the Western logicians when they say that none of the methods of Mill can by itself establish and warrant induction and that they should supplement one another for conclusive inductive proof. As Sir Brajendranath says:

"Mill's Method of Agreement breaks down in dealing with cases of uniformities of co-existence unconnected with causation; the *Nyaya* method is a more daring and original attempt, and is far more comprehensive in scope, being applicable to all uniformities of co-existence and of causation alike."^{*}

The account of *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus* given here is very brief and fragmentary. It hardly does justice to the range and depth of the comparative study of Hindu positive science and its methodology that one actually finds in the book. But it will serve some useful purposes. It will give one some idea of the achievements of the ancient Hindus in the positive sciences and their methodology. It will also convince one that the contributions of the ancient Indians to these subjects deserve careful consideration even at the present day. Above all, it will, we hope, create a lively interest in the comparative and critical study of Indian philosophy. If competent scholars devote themselves to this much-needed and fruitful study of Indian thought in all its aspects, the unfinished work of Sir Brajendranath will be continued and some day completed. And the result will be a great revival of Indian thought with a great future before it.

* Cf. *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, p. 278.

EXHIBITION OF WORKS OF GOGONENDRANATH TAGORE

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

THE brilliant Exhibition of the works of Gogonendranath Tagore, the elder brother of Abanindranath, opened at the Rabindra Bharati Hall on Wednesday, 15th February last, is of exceptional interest and significance in the history of Modern Indian Painting in Bengal. The works of the two brothers stand in a peculiar relationship to each other in the modern movement in Indian painting.

The merit of the valuable contribution made by this great master of daring originality and versatility had been somewhat unjustly obscured by the world-wide fame achieved by his younger brother, for the works of Gogonendra Nath were no less brilliant, no less significant, no less great than the works of his more famous and illustrious brother. Gogonendranath could have and did, in fact, amicably challenge the



Thunder and Rain

brilliant quality of the works of Abanindranath, and he appears to have voluntarily stood down from the pedestal of fame setting up his brother there out of affectionate consideration, choosing for himself a comparatively obscure part in the new movement in Indian painting. Though the two brothers sat and worked side by side in two chairs in close proximity in the same studio, for years and years, they developed styles and techniques and chose subjects for painting diametrically different from each other, without in any way influencing the works of each other, and treading on independent paths working out their aesthetic career each in a different way according to his own inclination and bent of mind. Two brother artists working in intimate relationship and close physical proximity and yet developing two diagonically different kinds of outlook and technique, is a unique phenomenon unknown in the whole history of Art, surpassing the achievements of two other pairs known to history, Hubert and John Van Eyck in the Netherlands, and of the brothers Jacopo and Giovanni Bellini, the famous masters of the Venetian School.

Unlike his brother, Gogonendranath never had any formal instruction under any art-teacher, and his artistic career was built by his own exertions and initiative without any manner of preliminary training. He began to handle his brush very late in life, long after Abanindranath had made his success, in bringing a new life in Indian painting. His first entry in the world of Art was with a series of brush paintings of the studies of Indian crows, somewhat in the manner of Japanese painters, with vigorous bravura of techniques all his own. His next essays depicted the priest of the Jagannath Temple at Puri in an impressionistic style of great vigour and charm. Published in the form of two albums by the Indian Society of Oriental Art, they earned enthusiastic appreciation and Gogonendranath was at once hailed as a great talent by the best critics of the time, so that it may be said that his reputation was built in a day on the solid merits of his bold brush drawings. Unlike his brother, Gogonendranath never worked on the traditional schools of Indian painting, Rajput or Moghul, but took an independent path from the beginning. Shortly after his first success he struck a new path as

a cartoonist and a satirical artist, caricaturing the evils of Bengali society in a series of brilliant cartoons published under the title of *Virup-Vajra*, which created a great sensation and confirmed his position as an artist of new power and vision. A few selected examples of his caricatures and cartoons justly occupy a section of the current show.

The next chapter of his career opened with a brilliant series of coloured drawings illustrating the "Life of Sri Chaitanya," a collection of which provide an attractive section of the show. They are the most intimate and a reverent presentation of the life of a great Bengali saint, depicted with charming realism and rare imagination. They reveal a flavour of extreme religious saturation, challenging the quality of Giotto's "Life of St. Francis," without his pedantry and formality.

The next revelation of his talent opened with an astonishing excursion into the realm of landscapes, beginning with remarkable studies of the house-tops in this city, followed by a series of impressionistic presentation of the open fields of Bengal, punctuated with dreamy and distant apparitions of the cocoanut trees of rare charm and beauty. He now occupies a unique position in Indian landscape painting, and his works can be compared with the great masterpieces of Corot, the famous French landscapist. Rarely have the landscapes of Bengal been depicted with such simple charm and penetrating vision. Fundamentally, he was a black and white artist confining himself to the medium of Chinese ink, working with an infinite variety of gradations and values, rarely using any tint or colour in his studies.

And this is nowhere better illustrated than in his large series of black and white studies of deeply mystic and philosophical symbolism in which the mysteries of life and death are interpreted and solved through the presentations of types borrowed from actual life, and visualized through a procession of dreamy shadows set off against brilliant patches of light, which create a world of its own inviting us to enter the gates of a new paradise with a promise of the solutions of the problems of this life. In these brilliant essays in black and white he reveals himself as a great thinker and philosopher occupying a position far above the mere wielder



The Puppet Queen

of the brush. But his greatest contribution to Art consisted of a new and independent interpretation of the principles of Cubism, without in any way imitating the formulas and conventions of the European Cubists. Gogonendranath's first contact with the modernists of Europe began in the year 1919 when a group of works of Wasilisky Kandinsky and his disciples was brought to Calcutta from Munich and exhibited in the hall of the Society of Oriental Art. Very few of our Indian artists visited this exhibition, and Gogonendranath was the only

artist who studied those new experiments of the European studios analysing their aims and assimilating the doctrines of their new philosophy of painting.

Within a short time Gogonendranath began to give his own original interpretation of the doctrines of Cubism, boldly challenging their futility of banishing all subject-matter or spiritual contents reducing their essays to dry and naked geometrical abstractions.

Tagore justified his challenge by investing his own compositions with rich spiritual con-

tents and depicting a new world of romance and problems of lights and shadows mystery never achieved by any Cubists in the illustrated in his two great West. By a new analysis of lights and shadows "Laughter" and "Lights Dream." he discovered a new way of presenting solid His works in this section are inst forms in which Cubes of lights and shadows to our young painters slavishly provided a new and powerful vocabulary. He formulas and conventions of the invariably used typical models from Indian life, of Europe. Tagore has ably dem into a series of vibrating composition full of without imitating the phrases and mystical meaning and significance. This is manners and mannerisms, of typically illustrated in his "Reverie" and Cubists.*

"Equilibrium." His more abstract studies are more daringly original composition solving the

* By the courtesy of the All-India

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REPUBLIC DAY DIARY, 1958

By K. N. MEHROTRA

UNLIKE last year, this time, I was in Delhi for the Eighth Republic Day sufficiently earlier than the actual festivities started. On reaching Delhi I noticed that the preparations for the great day had already started earlier than expected for the armed forces' parade and cultural pageant on January 26, and festival of folk dances on January 27, and 28, 1958.

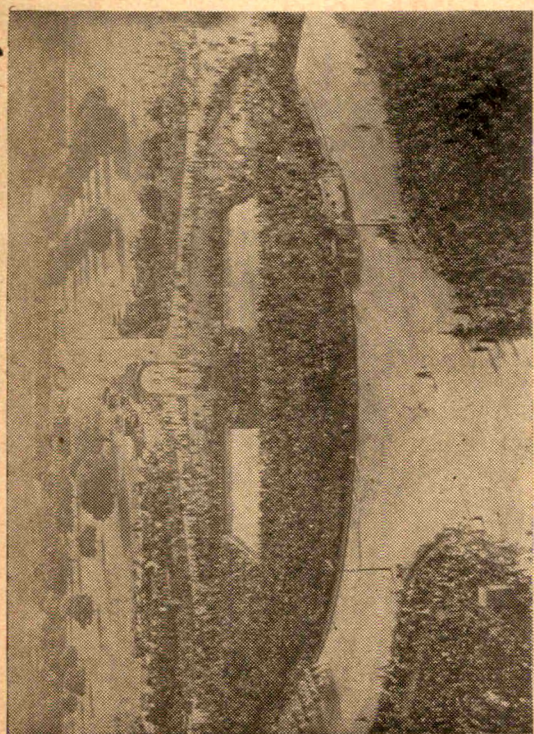
On January 26, 1958 from atop the massive 136 ft. high India Gate, I could notice a great crowd massing on both sides of Rajpath (Kingsway) much earlier than the parade was scheduled to start. The crowd grew deeper and deeper as the time for the parade approached nearer and nearer.

About half an hour before the President's arrival, two helicopters flew over the waiting crowd up and down the Rajpath showering flower petals much to the excitement of children. Exactly at 9.30 hrs. the President, in his gleaming State coach escorted by his mounted body-guard in red tunics and blue turbans, drove to the saluting base where he was greeted and received by the Prime Minister. Later with the breaking of the National Flag, heralding the arrival of the President of the Republic of India, a 31-gun salute was fired and the long-awaited Republic Day parade started to schedule from Vijai Chowk (Great place) much to the excitement of the huge crowd on either side of the Rajpath.

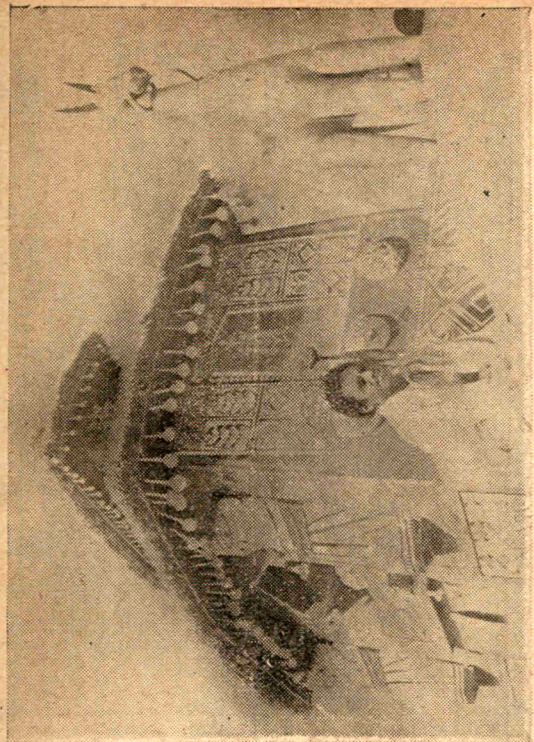
As the parade reached near I noticed light and heavy tanks



One of the richly caparisoned Republic Day parade surmount and chhatris under which are playing *sawai* and dr



Bird's eye view of the crowd watching the parade just below the India Gate around George's statue



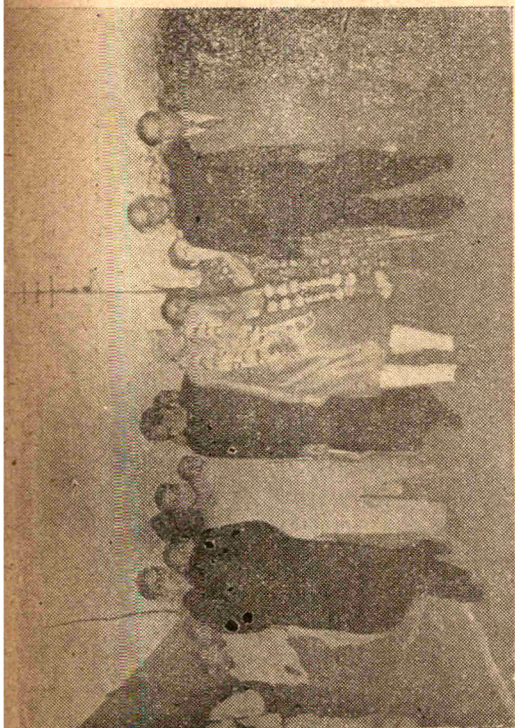
Tableaux put up by West Bengal depicting 'Cottage Industries' in the Republic Day parade which was adjudged as the Second best by a panel of Judges



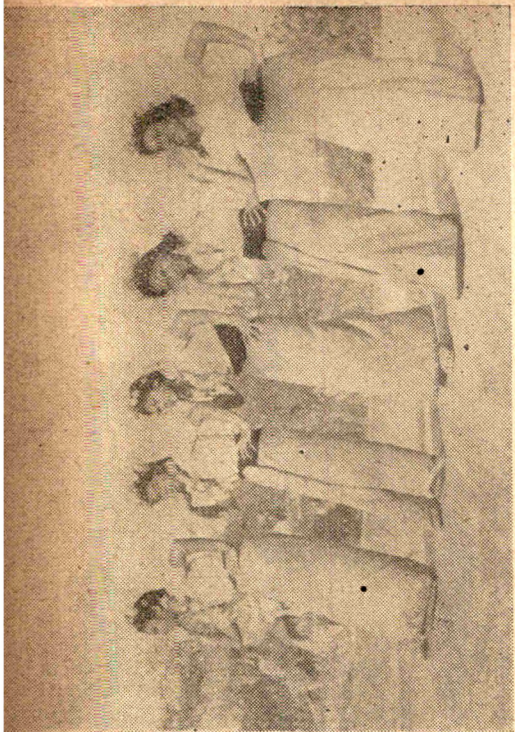
The happy Prime Minister in the Talkatora Gardens with a folk dancer from Madras when he visited their camp



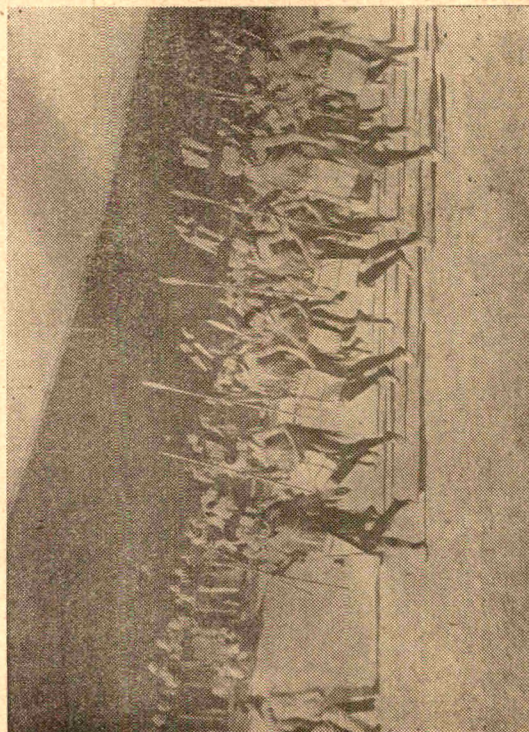
Dancers from Madras practising their Karagam or Pot dance number in Talkatora Gardens for the Folk Dance festival



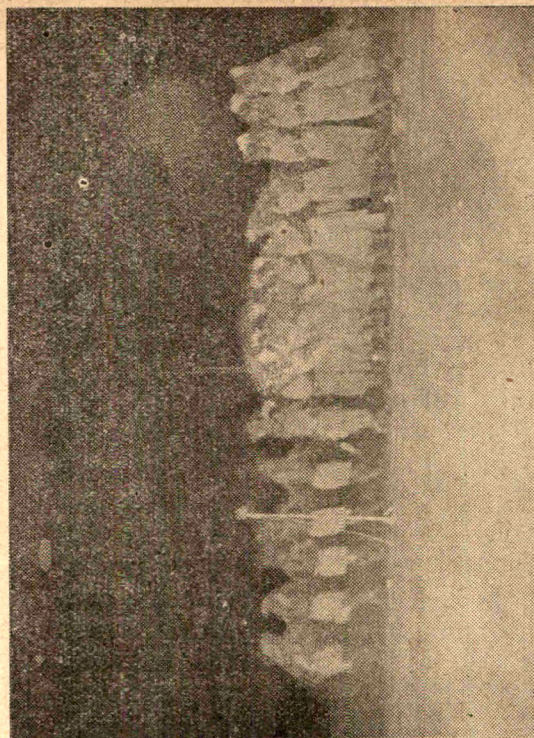
The Prime Minister and the Defence Minister, Government of India, along with other very important personalities in the Talkatora Gardens when they paid short visits to folk dancers' camps on the eve of the Republic Day



For the first time this year came the folk dancers from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to present a Nicobari dance in the Folk Dance festival at the National Stadium



Naga dancers at the National Stadium who gave the 'Sangatam Dance'



The Jhumar dance in progress at the National Stadium presented by folk dancers from Bihar which was adjudged the best of all folk dances presented during the festival

corps moved close behind the leader of the parade, Maj. Gen. U.S. Dubey, G.O.C., Delhi Area. They were followed by other pieces of heavy, medium and light artillery and anti-aircraft guns. Then came detachments of several other corps of the Army, Navy and Airforce comprising nearly 3000 officers and other ranks besides Ex-Servicemen wearing various glittering medals, Sea cadets, St. John Ambulance Brigade, the Delhi Fire Service, etc., punctuated by various Service Bands.

Military College, Dehra Dun, as also Sea Cadet Corps of Bombay.

Then came richly caparisoned elephants, eight in number surmounted by Howdahs and coloured Chhatris under which sat musicians playing Sanai tune and drums, etc.

The elephants were followed by a score of floating tableaux from Andhra (Custard apple), Assam (Silk industry), Bihar (Community projects and river dams), Bombay (Koyna project with a figure of Luxmi), Himachal



Tableaux put up by Jammu and Kashmir depicting 'Winter in Kashmir' in the Republic Day parade which was adjudged the best of all by a panel of Judges

The colourful camel corps of Jaiselmer followed cavalry pieces from Jodhpur, Gwalior, Patiala and Nawanagar. There was also a small group of white-uniformed soldiers of winter warfare carrying skis on their shoulders.

In the rear of the army detachments was India's tallest soldier 7ft. 3 ins. in height Shri Janak Singh marching gracefully swinging his arms in the air.

Participating in the parade for the first time were also 51 gentlemen cadets from the



The writer with folk dancers from Madras who gave Karagam or Pot dance in the Folk Dance festival at the National Stadium

Pradesh (Shepherd's life), Jammu and Kashmir (Winter in Kashmir), Kerala (Coir industry), Madhya Pradesh (Sanchi stupa), Madras (Navaratri festival), Manipur (Fishing girls), Mysore (Khedda operations), North-Eastern Frontier Agency (Dancing girls around their leader with a sword), Orissa (Boita Bandana), Punjab (Kulu Valley), Rajasthan (Haowa Mahal and Tower of Victory), Uttar Pradesh (Emperor Akbar holding Court at Fatehpur Sikri), West Bengal (Cottage industry), Tata Iron and Steel Company (Steel production) and Ministry of Railways (Chittaranjan and Perambur work-

shops). In the last there was yet another all-flower boat tableaux put up by the Central Public Works Department.

Later the tableaux put up by Jammu and Kashmir was adjudged as the best and next best were those put up by Himanchal Pradesh, Kerala and West Bengal by a panel of Judges.

Following tableaux were about 2,500 school children in various coloured uniforms and flags followed by folk dancers from different parts of the country in their traditional costumes singing and dancing.



Dancers from Uttar Pradesh who presented 'Baradi Nati' dance in the Folk Dance festival

While the folk dancers wended their way through the India Gate, the Indian Air Force's latest operational aircraft flew in formation over the Parade for the first time dipping in salute before the Presidential dias and all were surprised to hear a double bang overhead produced by two jets which crashed the sound barrier diving headlong from a height of 40,000 ft.

Unlike last year, this time, there were the record-breaking Canberra bombers, and the Mystere and Hawker Hunter interceptors both capable of flying faster than sound. In all there were 74 such fast running planes of the IFA having a speed of 400 to 600 miles per hour which is celebrating its 25th year Jubilee in April this year.

The last of the aircrafts of the IAF, a Toofani jet trailing clouds of red, white and green traced the tricolour across the sky.

Thereafter ended the 8th Republic Day Parade, the finest ever seen which wended its way on the five-mile route from Vijai Chowk to the Red Fort through the heart of New and Old

Delhi which presented a colourful appearance with flags, buntings and festoons put up by residents of various localities for which the Government of India has instituted two running trophies every year, i.e., one each to the owners of the best decorated residential premises and business houses on the route.

The parade being over, I then proceeded towards the Talkatora Gardens, city of tents or the little India where rural dancers from all parts of the country had assembled for participating in the Republic Day festivities. This little township of tents was humming with activity as usual as I had witnessed on previous occasions. Here and there groups which could not or did not join the Parade were preparing their various dance items for a public show the next day afternoon at the National Stadium which has now formed an important function of the Republic Day celebrations since 1953.



A folk dancer from Rajasthan which presented the Gher dance in the Folk Dance Festival at the National Stadium

Late in the evening I set out to see fire-work displays and illuminations in the Old as well as in New Delhi. Quite a good number of buildings were tastefully illuminated with multi-

coloured electric bulbs while the Rastrapati Bhawan and the Parliament House had their own place and appeared to be the best.

Next day morning after paying another visit to the Talkatora Gardens, I proceeded towards the National Stadium for witnessing the Folk Dance Festival. The stadium was full to capacity with a record crowd of at least 20,000 spectators. The President, surrounded by various tribal chiefs, the Prime Minister and his daughter and other VIPs, etc., were at their respective places when the show started on a special stage set up in the centre of the stadium exactly at 3 P.M.

The first to come on the stage were the Gaddi dancers from Jammu and Kashmir. The dance which is performed in three phases, is a popular feature of a fair at the Kailash lake in Bhaderwah in Jammu and Kashmir State. The dance began with slow movements to the accompaniment of flutes and drums, but its tempo increased as it progressed. The dancers clapped their hands and raised slogans in praise of God.

From Madras was presented the unique Karagam or the Pot dance in which the gay dancers balanced brass pots decorated with flowers and filled with rice their respective heads with astonishing skill which kept everyone almost spell-bound till the item was over. To the accompaniment of pipes and drums, the dancers made various kinds of movements, both slow and fast, all the time keeping their heads straight with pots skillfully balanced as already mentioned above.

For the first time this year, the Andaman and Nicobar islands presented a Nicobari dance, a dance of the aborigines in which both men and women participated. The dance is an important feature of the famous annual festival 'Baradin' in the islands.

Uttar Pradesh presented one of the most popular dances from Jaunsar-Bawar area, namely 'Baradi Nati' which is performed on religious occasions and social festivals. As the

dance progressed three girls rotated brass discs on their fingers with jugs over their heads while others went through evolutions of many varieties.

Dressed ceremonially in long black overcoat-like costume, wearing a white turban and carrying a dagger and sticks, men from Mysore (Coorg) performed the Balakat dance to the accompaniment of folk songs and instrumental music.

After a short interval, Bombay presented the Gaje dance, a devotional dance dedicated to Lord Shiva. Waving their handkerchiefs to the rhythm of a haunting tune, the dancers



Folk dancers from Bihar who presented the Jhumar dance in the Folk Dance festival at the National Stadium and won the year's Republic Day trophy presented by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Sangit Natak Akademi for presenting the best dance number

moved with gay abandon. Drums, Sanai and Cymbals created a musical crescendo as the dance progressed.

Dressed in colourful costumes, the performers of the Nati Sword dance from the Punjab (Kulu Valley) carried swords and handkerchiefs. The dance began with the blowing of trumpets, flashing of swords and waving of handkerchiefs. After a mock fight, the dancers suddenly slowed down and adopted graceful movements. Later they formed a circle holding each other's hands. Gradually, the tempo of the dance mounted to a climax when the dancers pained off and danced vigorously to the accompaniment of drums.

Pondicherry presented the Chindu Dance of the nomadic tribes (Bird-trappers, etc.) which features six persons dressed in costumes typical of their communities. A popular folk tune described happenings during trapping.

Bihu Dance, an important feature of the week-long celebration of the Bohag Bihu festival in Assam was presented by the colourful troupe from there.

Orissa presented its Paik dance number which is very similar to the camp-fire dance at present prevalent in rural areas of the State.

Quaint instruments and songs provided the musical background to the very interesting Gher dance from Rajasthan in which charming men and women participated.

In the end was presented the gay and vigorous Dhuriya or Karma Dance from Madhya Pradesh by the rural folks of Raigarh District

in which both men and women joined. The dance which began at fresh tempo continued with changing pattern with musicians taking position amidst the dancers.

Later it was reported that the Sangeet Natak Akadami trophy for the best dance troupe has been awarded by the Prime Minister to the Bihar team which presented Jhumar Dance on the other occasion and silver cups to U.P., Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Pondicherry and a Special Cup to North-Eastern Frontier Agency for their Sangatam Dance performed on other occasions.

And thus ended the gay and beautiful programme of the Republic Day Folk Dance Festival at the National Stadium and with it ended my programme too and I departed back home bidding farewell to the capital.

Photographs by the writer.

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EARTH SATELLITE WITH JUPITER-C ROCKET

Cape Canaveral, Florida: The scientific earth satellite, placed in orbit by means of a Jupiter-C rocket vehicle launched by the U.S. Army at Cape Canaveral, is gathering and transmitting information that is being shared by all nations participating in the International Geophysical Year.

Designed "1958 Alpha" and popularly called "Explorer," the projectile measures 80 inches long and 6 inches in diameter and weighs 30.80 pounds. The 18.13-pound instrument-carrying section and the 12.67-pound final stage of the rocket are orbiting as a single unit.

Instrumentation and telemetry equipment in the satellite are designed to gather and transmit four types of information: Temperature on

the surface of the projectile, internal temperature, cosmic dust erosion and cosmic ray data.

Two transmitters are dispatching the information gathered. The more powerful unit operates on a frequency of 108.00 megacycles, transmitting with a power of 60 milliwatts. It is expected to transmit for two to three weeks. The second operates on 108.08 megacycles with 10 milliwatts of power. Its predicted lifetime of operation is two to three months.

Ten Minitrack tracking stations, operated by the U.S. Armed Forces, are following the movements of the satellite and are relaying the information to the Naval Research Laboratory and a digital computing center, both in Washington, D.C. Moonwatch teams around the world are also tracking Explorer.—*USIS*.

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ERRATUM

The Modern Review for March, 1958, p. 196, l. 2 (top); Read Dr. J. Edward Scindia for Dr. J. Edwards.

SRI SRI GAURIMATA

By SWAMI SHARVANANDA

IN the annals of the nineteenth century, the appearance of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa was a memorable event, as it was he, for the first time, who tried to stem the tide of cultural conquest of India by the West. It was he who first showed in this century that the true spirit of Hindu culture was most catholic and sublime, so much so that it could harmonize itself with all forms of genuine religious beliefs and devotional life. Only the material verities of the physical life should be reckoned, according to Sri Ramakrishna, as of secondary importance and must be subjugated to the highest ideal of spiritual attainment; otherwise the society is bound to get swamped by the natural materialistic tendencies innate in man. From the very early days of the Vedic Age, it was the main principle of the Hindu society to keep flesh under the control of Reason, and Reason under the sway of the Soul which is the Supreme reality in life; then only, the whole structure of the social life can have a spiritual basis. So Dharma was the ruling principle of Hindu society. With the first onslaught of Western culture with its armoury of material science, this Dharmic foundation of the Hindu society was about to get stultified, but Sri Ramakrishna by his life and teachings showed to the world how glorious was the true spirit of Hinduism and how its truths can be verified like all other truths of empirical science. Though he lived only for fifty years, yet within this short span of life he lived through the whole life of the nation.

It is always the case that when an epoch-making Superman comes to this world he brings with him a number of such souls who can feed and foster the force that he generates and carry on the torch of light that he has lit from generation to generation. So we see along with Sri Ramakrishna came a number of men and women who got themselves saturated in his ideal and became veritable spiritual dynamos in life. Swami Vivekananda was the chief of such of his male disciples who carried the torch to distant lands like America and England and it is kept still burning there. Gauri Mata was the principal female disciple who took up the torch of her Guru and tried to illumine the hearts of the womenfolk of her country with its light. Sri

Ramakrishna charged her with the mission of educating the women in this ideal.

Gauri Mata was seized with a tremendous religious zeal and renounced her home in her teens. She lived through a most strenuous and hazardous life as a wandering nun and travelled through all the sacred places of India gathering experience and spiritual strength. At last she came to Sri Ramakrishna and lived with Sri



Sri Sri Gaurimata

Holy Mother in Dakshineswar. It seems she had met her Guru first even at the age of nine and followed his instructions. In fact the whole of this episode was miraculous. Now by her stay with the Guru, her spiritual life was reinforced and revitalized. From that time on her connection with Sri Ramakrishna and the Holy Mother became very intimate and the Master gave her full instructions on how to carry on his mission and message to the womenfolk.

In those days the ladies of Bengal used to be very shy and timid, mostly ignorant and illiterate, their life being circumscribed within the narrow four corners of their family dwellings. Under these circumstances they could not but be simple, unsophisticated, superstition-ridden,

yet devout and pure at heart. But Gauri Mata was imbued naturally with a character that was masculine in its self-assertive and self-reliant aspect, and exceptionally brave and without any shyness, yet it had the glory and grace of a mother's heart. In her external movement one would notice that it was not a woman, but a man. On many occasions she donned the male attire of a long flowing gown with a turban on her head to cover her locks and a long stick in her hand. I remember, in such dress she attended even the Religious Conference, which was held in Calcutta sometime in 1908. But in her speech and manners at close quarters she would exhibit a wonderful tender heart and motherly concern for all those who would come to her. Her deep spiritual fervour, stern spirit of renunciation and Tapasya, a wonderful disciplined mind, deep devotion to her chosen *Istam*, yet great earnestness to acquire more knowledge and wisdom, all these went far to make her the fittest teacher and head of a women's organization to carry on the behest of her Master.

After the physical disappearance of Sri Ramakrishna, there was some confusion and uncertainty in the ways of his Sannyasin disciples. So it was with Gauri Mata also. After some ramblings she started her little Asram in Barrackpore some sixty three years ago. Through many vicissitudes her endeavour at last fructified and developed into a huge Institution today with a hundred of ladies of dedicated life and disciplined mind to carry on the mission of their Guru into the society, not only of Bengal, but also even outside the province.

Sri Ramakrishna used to say that his movement will spread like the growth of the seed of a banian tree. Though the seed is tiny and insignificant, yet it develops into a mighty banian tree with thousands of branches and thick foliage to give protection to millions of people under its cool shade and harbour thousands of birds in its branches. Similarly, every institution that is christened with the Holy name of the Master has humble beginning and slowly develop into a huge institution, "to the benefit and happiness of many." The institution started by Sri Gauri Mata, naming it as Sri Sri Saradeswari Asram, shared the same glorious fulfilment of the Master's promise. Starting from that humble beginning, it now owns large buildings in Calcutta with branches in Nadia and Giridhi. It has within a short time of, say, forty to fifty years, collected many accomplished ladies of devout soul and dedicated life as its workers; that is not a small measure of success and it speaks highly of the energy, power of organization and a spirit of discipline born of self-devotion of Sri Gauri Mata. Such institutions are the greatest need of India today. If India is to be revived and rejuvenated, her womenfolk ought to be trained and disciplined in such institutions like Sri Sri Saradeswari Asram.

In conclusion, I join the band of devotees and admirers of Sri Gauri Mata in offering our hearts' homage to her sacred memory on this day of completion of a hundred years of her advent.

Om Shanti ! Shanti ! Shanti !

—: O :—

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRAHMANS IN INDIA

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S. (Lond.)

THE Brahmans numbered 15,237,452 in 1931 in India as it was then, i.e., Bharat and Pakistan together. By the partition of the country their geographical distribution has been materially altered. Almost all, without any exception, the Brahmans have been driven out of West Pakistan and they have been and are slowly squeezed out of East Pakistan. They formed 5.3 per cent of the total population.

Their geographical distribution as it was in 1931 is given below:

Area	Per 1,000 Brahmans
Assam	10.3
Bengal	94.4
Bihar	88.5
Orissa (Div.)	28.1
Bombay	49.5
Sind	1.6
Central Provinces	25.5
Berar	6.8
Madras Presidency	88.6
Punjab	50.3

Agra	201.5	madans, or about one-eleventh of the total population.		
Oudh	85.5			
(United Provinces)	(287.0)	Area	Percentage of Brahmans	
Baroda	8.1		among	in total
B. & O. States	8.8		Hindus	population
Bombay States	8.7	1. Ajmer-Merwara	6.4	5.0
Central India Agency	3.7	2. Assam	3.2	1.8
C. P. States	1.6	3. Assam States	0.4	0.1
Gwalior	19.4	4. Bengal	6.7	2.9
Hyderabad	24.6	5. Bengal States	1.4	0.9
Jammu & Kashmir	16.5	6. Bihar	6.4	5.3
Mysore	16.1	7. Orissa (Div.)	8.4	8.1
Punjab States	18.6	8. B. & O. States	3.3	2.9
Rajputana	55.1	9. Chota Nagpur (Div.)	3.8	2.7
Western India States	14.1	10. Bombay Presidency	4.8	4.2
Travancore	4.0	11. Baroda	5.8	5.1
Cochin	2.7	12. Bombay States	3.4	3.0
U. P. States	10.1	13. W. I. States	6.6	5.3
		14. Sind	2.4	0.6
		15. Central Provinces	3.9	3.2
		16. Berar	3.0	3.0
		17. C. P. States	1.3	1.0
		18. Madras Presidency	3.3	2.9
		19. Madras States	3.2	2.9
		20. N.-W. F. Province	10.1	0.6
		21. „ Agency	5.7	0.03
		22. Punjab	12.1	3.3
		23. Punjab States	13.0	11.4
		24. Punjab Agency	12.4	5.2
		25. Agra	10.2	8.6
		26. Oudh	11.9	10.2
		27. U. P. States	1.6	1.3
		28. Central India Agency	9.8	8.6
		29. Gwalior	9.0	8.4
		30. Hyderabad	3.1	2.6
		31. Kashmir & Jammu	34.5	7.0
		32. Cochin	5.2	3.4
		33. Travancore	2.2	1.3
		34. Mysore	4.0	3.7
		35. Rajputana	9.0	7.6

From the above distribution it will be seen that about one-third of the Brahmans are concentrated in the United Provinces region, to be exact 297 out of 1,000. Their next great stronghold is in Bengal.

Perhaps, a better picture of their influence and distribution may be obtained, if we give percentages of Brahmans among the Hindus and in the total population. The percentage figures will eliminate the effects of unequal areas of different regions, and of unequal densities of population in different regions. We give the percentages among the Hindus and in the total population both for comparison and for eliminating the effect of forcible conversion to Muhammadanism during five centuries (1200 to 1750). It will not, however, affect the effect of more rapid growth of the Muhammadans on account of absence of any restriction on remarriage of widows among them; nor will it affect the effect of migration of tribes and clans from beyond the Indus. But the effect of migration of Muhammadan tribes and clans is of secondary importance; for, even in the Punjab, which has been the cock-pit of fight between the invaders and the Hindus, and where the Hindus have been massacred on a mass scale and transported to slavery beyond the borders of India, for several centuries, the Punjab Superintendent of Census in 1911 estimated the proportion of immigrant Muhammadans at one-sixth of the total Muham-

We have given the percentages in details by regions. It will be useful, if we combine certain regions, and give the percentages in the combined regions.

Combined Areas	Percentage of Brahmans	
	among	in total
	Hindus	population
Assam (2 + 3)	3.1	1.7
Bengal (4 + 5)	6.5	2.8
B. & O. (6 + 7 + 8)	6.1	5.6
Bombay (10, 11, 12, 13)	4.9	4.2

C.P. (15, 16, 17)	3.4	2.9
Madras (18, 19)	3.3	2.9
N.-W. Frontier (20, 21)	9.7	0.3
Punjab (22, 23, 24)	12.2	3.7
U. P. (25, 26, 27)	10.8	9.1
Tra. Cochin (33, 34)	2.7	1.7

From the above figures we find that the percentage of the Brahmans among the Hindus and in the total population is the highest in the United Provinces (10.8 and 9.1) followed by Orissa (8.4 and 8.1); and it is the lowest in North-West Frontier and in Sind (0.3 in total population and 0.6 in Sind).

That the percentage of the Brahmans in the U.P. would be the highest is no wonder. The religious capital of Hindudom, Benares or Kashi is within it. Within the area are the sacred cities of Prayag (Allahabad), Hardwar, Ajodhya and Mathura-Brindaban. The sacred Ganges and the Jamuna flow through it.

Proceeding eastwards the percentage steadily falls down; in Bihar it is 5.3, in Bengal 2.9 and in Assam 1.8. Proceeding westwards it is 8.6 in Gwalior, 7.6 in Rajputana, 5.3 in W.I. Agency (i.e., in Saurashtra), 5.1 in Baroda, and 4.2 in Bombay. Proceeding southwards in the Central India Agency the percentage is 8.6; further south in the C.P. it is 2.9, it is 2.6 in Hyderabad and 2.9 in the Madras Presidency and 3.7 in Mysore—after the slight lowering down in Hyderabad the percentage has somewhat improved further south. It comes down to 3.4 in Cochin and to 1.7 in Travancore. Turning north-westwards from the U.P. area the percentage in the Punjab area is 3.7; in the Frontier it is the very small figure of 0.3. The U.P. area is the radiating centre of Brahmanism.

Orissa seems to be the only exception. Here the percentage of the Brahmans is as high as 8.1. Why it is so? An explanation may be attempted. Orissa remained independent of the Muhammadans till 1568; and it definitely passed under the Maratha control in 1750. The period of Orissa's subjection to Muhammadan rule is 180 years only, during the last 10 years of which the Muhammadan control was slackened. The Oriya's conservatism and the short period of subjection prevented too many conversions to Islam. And successive dynasties of

Hindu kings have invited a large number of Brahmans to come and settle there by giving them liberal grants of land and other privileges. Their percentage would have been higher still but for the heavy migration of Orissa Brahmans from Orissa for several centuries. There are Bengali Brahmans in Bengal whose traditions say that they came from the south (Orissa); and they have lost all touch with Orissa. They number several thousands—though no accurate estimate is possible. In 1931, the number of Utkal Brahmans in Bengal was 29,744. Had they remained in Orissa the percentage of the Brahmans there would have been 8.6 instead of 8.1. We do not know how many Utkal Brahmans have gone out to other parts of India.

The percentage of the Brahmans amongst the Hindus is highest (34.5) in Kashmir and Jammu. There was serious oppression and forcible conversion of the Hindus as early as the fourteenth century. Vincent Smith in his *Oxford History of India* writes thus:

"Sultan Sikandar (1386-1410): Sikandar was a gloomy, ferocious bigot, and his zeal in destroying temples and idols was so intense that he is remembered as the Idol-Breaker. He freely used the sword to propagate Islam and succeeded in forcing the bulk of the population to conform outwardly to the Muslim religion. Most of the Brahmans refused to apostatize, and many of them paid with their lives the penalty for their steadfastness. Many others were exiled and only a few conformed."

Most of the non-Brahmans have been converted to Islam; and many of the Kashmiri Brahmans have migrated to other parts of India. The remnants of Brahmans left in Kashmir form therefore a large percentage of Hindus.

The normal percentage of the Brahmans among the Hindus in northern India seems to be about 10. Any great deviation may be explained as due to mass conversion, emigration and immigration and to other causes.

A closer and further study on regional basis is required to answer the question what is the normal proportion of Brahmans amongst a fully Hinduised population.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

HINDU CIVILIZATION: By Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji. Parts I and II. Bhavan's Book University, Nos. 46 and 47. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1957. Pp. 411.

This third edition of the above work by the well-known Indian historian is based, as we learn from the successive references on pages 38n, 107n, 151n, 172n, 187n (apparently a mistake for 144n), 265n, 276n and 285n, upon full utilization of the best modern works on the different phases of our ancient civilization. Part I contains, besides two preliminary studies, namely 'Introduction' (Ch. I) and 'Geographical and Social Background' (Ch. III), surveys of the Indian prehistoric cultures and the civilizations of the *Rigveda*, the later Vedic *Samhitas* and the literature of *Sutras* (or as we should prefer to call it *Kalpa-sutras*, *Epics*, *Puranas* and *Dharma-sutras* down to Narada, c. 300-400 A.D. (Chs. II, IV and VI). It does not appear why the author does not continue his survey down to the *Smritis* of Brihaspati and Katyayana which form a trilogy with that of Narada. Part II consists of a single chapter (Ch. VIII) entitled Northern India, c. 650-325 B.C. A number of maps and other plates and a good index add to the usefulness of this work. It is impossible in the space at our disposal to give a detailed review of its contents, but we may make some general remarks. High praise is due to the author for the industry with which he has collected his material at least from the best derivative sources as well as his clear and attractive style. But still there is room for improvement in some respects. Firstly, the work should be brought up to date by reference to the discoveries of relics of the Harappa civilization on the Upper Sutlej and Gujarat sites, and omission of such references as the general belief

in the beginnings of writing in c. 800 B.C. (p. 6) and the coins of the Indian king Sophytes (p. 344). Again, the description of the four great kingdoms and the republics in the period of the early Buddhist literature should be re-written by means of a critical appraisal of the traditions of different periods, the value of the *Jataka* evidence and that of the commentary on the *Dhammapada* as well as Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Nikayas* being rated at their true worth. Care should also be taken against the repetition of such loose phrases as 'the democratic elements' in the later Vedic policy, 'the parliament' of the Sakyas and of the Mallas, and 'the democratic body' of the Lichchhavis together with their 'federal assembly'.

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDEX TO THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY—1788-1953 (Vol. I, Part I): Compiled by Sibdas Chowdhury. Published by Asiatic Society, Calcutta-16. December, 1956. Price Rs. 22.

Here is a most useful guide-book which every research-scholar working on oriental subjects as well as on certain aspects of science must have at his elbow. The Asiatic Society's publication in the Bibliotheca series, such as the edited texts and their translation are distinguished for their erudition and scholarship, secure from criticism behind an armour-plating of foot-notes. Hence, they are hardly offered for critical review, as a result of which works by lesser-known authors, perhaps, moulder on the society's shelves.

Thanks to the initiative of Dr. J. N. Banerji, the present General Secretary, in presenting the above index for review, the hoarded treasures of the Society's publications are now opened to the common view.

Sibdas Chowdhury, Librarian of the Society who was commissioned to undertake the compilation, has performed the work in an admirable manner. Anybody who goes to the Society and dips into its collection of ancient MSS. and modern books, becomes familiar with the gentle and elusive figure of the librarian assisting him almost imperceptibly. The temper which Mr. Chowdhury brings to bear on his work as a librarian is transparently apparent in this volume. He has drawn up an alphabetical list of the authors' names, giving their contribution, serially and specifying the number and year of the journal in bold print. The scholars now have no difficulty in immediately finding the reference needed by him. The authors flit before us like the scenes in a kaleidoscope. Blochmann, Buhner, Burnes, Hodgson, Hodiwala, Hora, Sarkar, Smith, Sprenger and a host of other names introduce themselves to the reader and guide him to his particular work.

The Society's publications commenced in 1788 and have continued through various stages, such as:

a) *Asiatic Research* from 1788-1795 in five volumes and 1798-1839 in twenty volumes;

b) *Quarterly Oriental Journal*—1821-27.

c) *Transactions of the Medical Society*—1821-27.

d) *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* started by Prinsep in 1832 and became the Society's organ since 1842.

Journal of the A.S.B., 1st Series, Vols. 1-74—1832-1904.

Proceedings—1865-1904.

2nd (New Series) *Journal and Proceedings*, Vols 1-30—1905-34.

3rd Series (*Letters and Science and Year-book*), since 1935.

It has been no easy task to comb through the series of volumes and put the authors and their contributions in order of consequence. The index is a remarkable publication and the scholars' debt to Chowdhury is beyond repayment.

Attention is drawn to certain slips in the Introduction, para. 2, page x, which should be "succeeded in" prevailing upon the C of D to agree to the request and under certain conditions to recommend that the G of I should appropriate funds for, etc." Sentences are sometimes too involved for clarity, e.g., para 5, page xi. They should be corrected in the next edition.

N. B. Roy

BULGARIA UNDER THE RED STAR:
By H. L. Saxena. Published by S. Chand and Co., Delhi, Jullundur, Lucknow. Price Rs. 15.

Bulgaria, which forms a part of the Balkan peninsula, the soft under-belly of Europe, has an ancient and chequered history dating back to centuries. The country and the people have been the victims of ruthless exploitation for long centuries by exploiters—alien and indigenous.

Bulgaria began a new chapter in her history when the Fatherland Front Government under Kimon Georgiev took over the government of the country on September 9, 1944. Bulgaria became a Republic when monarchy was abolished and the boy King Simeon went into exile in September, 1946.

Bulgaria's career as a Republic has been marked by an all-round progress in the national life. Thus, unemployment is a memory of the past. Percentage of literacy has gone up. The industrial life of the country has been reorganised. Agricultural and industrial production have been stepped up. Natural resources have been harnessed to the service of the nation. The result is a rise in the standard of living of the people. A new Bulgaria has risen during the post-war years, a Bulgaria which faces the future with courage and confidence.

The story of Bulgaria is of immense interest to us here in India. Our past experiences are similar to Bulgaria's. We too turned over a new leaf when India awoke "to life and freedom" "at the stroke of the midnight hour" ten years ago. Our post-independence experiences are, however, different from Bulgaria's.

The author, we are pained to note, has spoiled an excellent story by his indifferent manner of presentation, his propagandist tone and last but not least, by his misreading of historical facts. These defects, we hope, will be removed in the next edition.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

WISDOM BEYOND REASON: By Prof. S. R. Sharma. Published by the Lakshmi Narain Agarwal Educational Publishers, Hospital Road, Agra. Price Rs. 2-8.

The book under review deals with the deeper problems of life which baffle man who cares more for the discursive reason than for intuition. The traditional rivalry between head and heart for supremacy in the supra-sensuous world leads us nowhere. The author hits a happy mean between the rival claims of the heart and the head and points a way to the attainment of

peace. This peace, both individual and social, can be attained through the fullest integration and fulfilment of human personality. Prof. Sharma's mystic experiences have lent grandeur to the volume. He had glimpses of the transformed consciousness and he spoke in his book, of the irresistible call of the 'silence of God' which, he felt, must conquer us all eventually as 'we approach the sunset hour of our life.'

The book has been divided into ten chapters. Special mention may be made of 'The Plea for Passivity,' 'A Gospel for the Godless,' 'The Value of Vedanta,' and 'The Love of Life.' The above-noted chapters reveal a clear understanding of the problems so rare in books of similar nature. The author has adroitly presented a rationale of his deeper experiences wherein the true nature of the metaphysical realities have been revealed.

Sri Dilip Kumar Roy's learned 'Foreword' is an added attraction in the volume under notice. We wholeheartedly recommend this book to the serious students of metaphysics and religion.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

INTERPRETATIONS OF GHALIB: By J. L. Kaul. *Atmaram and Sons, Kashmere Gate, Delhi-6. Price Rs. 5.*

Mirza Ghalib was one of the foremost of Urdu poets and is widely respected for his liberality of outlook. He was born at Agra in 1797 and lost his father at the age of five. Since then he had to pass through various hardships. The note of despair is heard in a few of his poems but many others strike a contrary note. His poems are generally of a contemplative nature. They have an intellectual quality, which 'demands alertness of mind in a reader.' Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his Foreword praises the author for his complete success in translating the original Urdu verses into facile English.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

THE STREAM: By M. V. Rama Sarma. *Triveni Publishers, Masulipatam. Pp. 214. Price Rs. 3.*

This novel gives us a glimpse of life in the south of India. The author has attempted a philosophical explanation of the essential nature

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of Man and Life, but nonetheless it is a novel—plot full of suspense, characters true to life, and situations facing the middle class are there. It is a realistic-cum-interpretative novel.

J. M. DATTA

SANSKRIT

PREKSHANATAKATRAYI: *By Kovikokila V. Raghavan.*

CHHAYA SAKUNTALAM: *By Jivanlal Parikh. Published by J. T. Parikh, M.T.B. College, Surat. Price Rs. 2.*

We have here a number of Sanskrit playlets written by two Professors of Sanskrit. They do not strictly follow any of the numerous older types of Sanskrit drama but are designed to suit the taste and meet the requirements of the present age. They are, of course, based on older themes with adaptations and innovations. Dr. Raghavan of the Madras University portrays interesting imaginary incidents in the lives of well-known Sanskrit poetesses, Vijayanka, Vikatanitamba and Avantisundari, incidentally utilising the verses attributed to them in older works. Prof. Parikh supplements the story of Sakuntala as described by Kalidasa and depicts an interesting situation, in imitation of the *Chhayanka* of the *Uttara-Ramacharita* of Bhavabhuti, in which Sakuntala, in an invisible form, meets and consoles Dushyanta who comes to Kanva's hermitage and is overwhelmed by the reminiscences of Sakuntala. These are fine productions which may be successfully put on the stage on ceremonial occasions before cultural gatherings. It is understood the staging of Dr. Raghavan's playlets has already won appreciation.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

NAVA JNAN-BHARATI: *By Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee. Published by Messrs. General Printers and Publishers Private Ltd., 119, Dharmatala Street, Calcutta-13. Pp. 612. Price Rs. 20 and Rs. 15 respectively for special and ordinary editions.*

The former librarian of the Visva-Bharati and the well-known biographer of Rabindranath Tagore is to be congratulated for compiling *Nava Jnan-Bharati*, the Geographical Dictionary, first of its kind in Bengali language. The volume contains short descriptions of all important countries, rivers, lakes, mountains, cities and historical sites and places of the world. Even the places, cities and countries

which have changed names have found a place in these pages, particularly those more than 650 former Indian States which have vanished from the map of India.

After the partition, Pakistan has gone out of geography of India. The author has, therefore, taken a special care to include in this volume the names of all important places of East Bengal (East Pakistan), Bengal being linguistically and culturally one and the same country in spite of political division.

In future editions, proper revision and additions should be made to make the book authoritative and dependable like the best publication of the Western countries. Maps may also be given in future editions for the benefit of readers.

As a reference book *Nava Jnan-Bharati* should find a place in all educational institutions—colleges and schools, in public libraries and reading rooms. We wish the book a wide circulation among the public. The paper, printing and binding of the book are excellent.

A. B. DUTTA

BHARAT-E SWADHINATAR ITIHAS, Part I: *By Ranjit Kumar Banerji. Published by Vani-Mandir, 44-6, Muraripukur Road, Calcutta-11. Paper cover. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The book under review is a collection of rhapsodical and rambling thoughts, in prose as well as in verse, on the attainment of Independence by India. The chapters are written in a haphazard fashion, but display a great deal of zeal, fervour and patriotism of the author over the freedom struggle of our motherland. A few photos of our great leaders satisfy the reader. But there are some grammatical mistakes in the book and the bulk of the book could have been reduced by rational condensation.

B. K. SEAL

HINDI

BHODAN YAJNA: *By Acharya Vinoba. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 32. Price four annas.*

RAJAGHAT KI SANIDHI MEN: *By Acharya Vinoba. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 80. Price fourteen annas.*

Vinobaji is making history these days with his non-violent revolution to have land restored to the landless by the landlord in a spirit of sharing by the latter out of the abundance of the heart, goodness and of the material goods. These two booklets embodying some of his

speeches, mirror forth the working of his enlightened mind in the field of laying down the foundations of a love-broadbased and love-buttressed society. Vinobaji is, indeed, Gandhian gospel incarnate.

G. M.

GUJARATI

MANAVTANAN ZARANAN: *By Hon'ble Shrijut Ganesh Vasudev Mavlankar, B.A., LL.B., Ahmedabad. Published by the Bharati Sahitya Sangh, Ltd., Ahmedabad. 1956. Thick cardboard, with a jacket showing prison bars. Pp. 186. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The Hon'ble Shri Mavlankar, though hailing from the centre of Maharashtra, has, by his long residence in Ahmedabad, transformed himself into a Gujarati in speech and writing. It is difficult to find out that he is a non-Gujarati. In the days of Civil Disobedience, he had to go to jail, like other followers of Gandhiji, and this

book, which he aptly calls *Humanitarian Streamlets*, narrates his jail work. Shrijut Mavlankar is a distinguished lawyer, and while in the Sabarmati Jail in 1942, he obtained permission of the Jail authorities to see prisoners, specially those condemned to death, with a view to help them, materially and spiritually. The incidents narrated by the author, read like romance, so great was the transformation brought in their minds by the straight talk given and the path of truth pointed out to them, that those who were hanged at the last moment realised how wrongly they had behaved spiritually and those who came out of jail after serving their sentence, came out socially reformed persons. The spirit of Gandhiji hovered over Shrijut Mavlankar's work. The book requires to be translated into every Indian and European language.

K.M.J.

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Indian Periodicals

The Study of Literature

Prof. M. K. Venkatarama Aiyar observes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

It is necessary to understand what exactly the term 'literature' stands for. It is sometimes rather loosely used to denote all sorts of books. We speak of medical literature, legal literature and even wall-literature. But a little reflection will show that the word connotes certain qualities which entitle books to be termed literature. It is rather difficult to define these qualities, but two outstanding ones may be mentioned. They relate to the matter and manner of the book, *what* is said and *how* it is said. The subject-matter must not be too recondite or technical. Books dealing with such abstruse subjects will appeal only to the specialist. But the appeal of 'literature' is not confined to any special class of people. Its appeal is universal. The subject must therefore relate to the fundamental urges and emotions of man. This does not mean that the poet is not free to deal with other subjects. There is practically no limit to the domain from which the writer can draw his materials. But whatever the matter, the poet has a way of expressing it. He gives it an excellent form. He has the knack of presenting the matter, whatever it is, in a beautiful manner. His way of putting things ensures universality of appeal. The *Bhagavat Gita*, for example, though it deals with problems of Ethics and Metaphysics, has such an appeal because of the catching way in which the author has given expression to them. Rightly it has won its place as universal literature. So also the Upanisads and the Bible.

Such great books can be written only by men who have wide experience of life, who have sounded the depths of human nature, who have profound insight into the primary urges of life and who have unbounded sympathy for mankind and unshakable faith in human redemption. A great book can be written only by a great man. "A good book," as Milton says, "is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life." The same writer says in one of his prose pamphlets that before one could write a good poem the author must himself be a poem. It is from God that the poet's thoughts

come. The grace of God is necessary for producing a great literary work.

The true meaning of all this is that the writer must forget himself, rise above his natural self, transport himself into the unself-conscious level, to be able to write good poetry. This is the idea conveyed by Matthew Arnold when he says that Nature took the pen from the hands of poets like Byron and Wordsworth and wrote out some of their best pieces for them. Great authors forget themselves when they write great poetry.

At that transcendental level, all that is merely accidental, adventitious, local and particular will fall away from the ken of the writer and he will deal only with what is permanent and abiding in human nature,—man's elemental joys and sorrows, his hopes and aspirations, his ideals and ambitions. Such themes, being intimately connected with human nature as such, will have an unfailing and universal appeal irrespective of age or clime.

Coming to form, we have to note that the way in which we say things is as important as what we say. There are some who exalt matter at the expense of manner and there are others who go to the other extreme and maintain that form is everything and that content is only of secondary significance. Both are one-sided views. If matter becomes preponderant and form goes to the background, the result will be a book of knowledge and not of power. Scientific treatises, History and Philosophy come under the category of books which are weighted with matter and which are therefore only informative. Books on travel, adventure and exploration also come under this head. We read such books for the information they impart and not in the sense of literature. Even these books may sometimes be quite readable and possess excellence of literary form. Gibbon and Macaulay, though primarily historians, have considerable claims to literary merit. Plato and Bergson, among philosophers, are known as much for the poetic qualities of their expression as for the depth and profundity of their thoughts. It is well known that Sri Sankara's great commentary on the *Brahma Sutras* is a model of Sanskrit prose style. His religious poem, *Saundarya Lahari*, is as remarkable for its lyrical excellence

as for the depth of its religious emotion. No hard and fast distinction, therefore, is to be made between what Newman calls literature of knowledge and literature of power. The difference is one of degree and not one of kind. Books on History, Philosophy, Exploration, Travel and even Science may occasionally rise to literary excellence. It depends on the amount of constructive imagination that enters into such books. Poetry also may degenerate into drab prose if it lacks imagination and is over-weighted with matter. Pope's *Essay on Man* and many portions of Wordsworth's *Prelude*—'deserts of preaching,' as Lord Morley calls them—are instances in point.

If we go to the other extreme and make much of form to the utter neglect of matter, then there is the danger of the book becoming thin and insubstantial. It will cease to be of abiding interest. With a change of literary fashion the book will become obsolete. It will flutter for a brief space of time when the momentary fashion is on and will soon sink into obscurity. The true Classics are those which blend in happy measure both form and matter. We must remember that there is an intimate, vital and organic relationship between the two. We can make a razor out of steel but not out of stone or wood or wax. Form must be sustained by matter. It cannot be an imposition from without but a natural flowering of the matter. What is individual and unique in things can be grasped only by deep insight and inward communion, and not by mere scientific observation and experiment. The object, therefore, enters into the very being of the poet. It gets transformed in the process. When it finds expression it bears the stamp of the poet's individuality.

Insight and communion presuppose imagination of a high order. It is constructive imagination that enables the poet to give to 'airy nothing a local habitation and a name.' The poet writes in a 'fine frenzy'. The whole work of art takes shape in the white-heat of imagination. Then he bodies forth his deep-felt experiences in a medium with which by long practice he is well acquainted. The poet uses language, the painter uses pencil and canvas, the sculptor works on marble stone with his chisel, and the musician plays on mere sound.

This is, however, a side-issue. Coming to our main theme, we said that the poet expresses his high experiences in the medium of language. But, as it obtains in current use, it is a very imperfect vehicle for conveying the original

insights of the inspired poet. Words are but broken light on the depths of the unspoken, said George Eliot. There is a gap between the original intuitions of the poet and the common words that are in daily use. Language is an instrument that we have forged for the transaction of everyday life. It was not intended for such high purposes. But still the poet has to take it, such as it is, and bend it to his own purposes. He sometimes takes liberties with grammar and idiom. Hence, we speak of Shakespearian grammar and we know also how Carlyle coined his own phrases which have come to be called Carlylese. But even otherwise, the poet uses common words and phrases in his own special way. That is what we call the style of the writer. It is the personality of the writer that shapes his style. It has been well said that a man's style is not like his coat or cloak which he can put on or put off at will; it is rather like his skin. There is no question, therefore, of one man adopting or copying the style of another.

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Since the poet has perfect control over the language he has chosen as his medium, he will use words with maximum effect. The right word will be in the right place and not a word too much. Coleridge has referred to this point in his Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*. The critic cannot take the least liberty with the order and arrangement of the words. No word can be dispensed with as being superfluous, nor can it be replaced by its equivalent. Several words may convey more or less the same meaning, but yet the poet selects a particular word for its suggestiveness and melody. This is what is called poetic diction. We cannot take a word from where it is and put it elsewhere in the same stanza or even in the same line. Such is the organic symmetry of the piece. It is all due to the fact that the poem as a whole takes shape in the glowing imagination of the poet and drops like Minerva from the head of Zeus.

So much with regard to the form and matter of great poetry. Let us now come to the

reader. To be able to read and appreciate literature two requisites are essential. One is that the reader must try to meet the author half-way. He must be willing to be enlightened and hence he must read with sympathy. He must put himself *en rapport* with the author. It is no use beginning with a prejudice. The reader must also make allowance for the passage of time. While reading a book written two hundred years ago the reader must try to recreate the conditions and the social milieu that prevailed then. It is unfair to judge a writer of the 17th century from the vantage ground of the present age. The second requisite is the disposition of the mind that is willing to listen without being hyper-critical, what Coleridge calls the 'willing suspension of disbelief'. What we take from a book will be in proportion to what we bring to its study in terms of sympathy, imagination and willingness to be enlightened.

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Government and Administration of the United Kingdom

"An Englishman" writes in *The Indian Review*:

Parliamentary Government is one of the most important institutions to originate in Britain. Its effect is to combine responsibility with representation. While the will of the majority prevails, every opportunity is given to the minority to have its say and exert its proper influence.

Under the system of universal adult suffrage, each citizen has the right to vote periodically, freely and secretly to choose his representatives in Parliament. Therefore each citizen has an equal influence and an equal responsibility. The system has grown in strength and flexibility over many centuries, and, while much remains of traditional pageantry, which is not without point and value, it may be fairly claimed that the British Parliament is an efficient and up-to-date instrument.

The supreme legislative authority in the United Kingdom is the Queen in Parliament, that is to say the Queen and the two Houses of Parliament, the House of Lords and the House of Commons.

The House of Lords is constituted primarily on a hereditary basis. Of the eight to nine hundred peers who have the right to sit, fewer than a hundred normally take any part in the proceedings. Archbishops and certain bishops of the Church of England, as well as a few members of the judiciary (law lords), also sit. New peerages are created by the Sovereign on the advice of the Prime Minister.

The House of Commons is elected by universal adult suffrage. There are at present 630 members, each representing a single-member constituency.

By the Parliament Act, 1911, the normal life of a Parliament was fixed at five years, although it may be and often is dissolved in less than that time. The main functions of Parliament are legislation and the taking of formal action, cast in legislative form, to make available finance for the needs of the community and to appropriate the funds necessary for the services of the State. Parliament also criticizes and controls the Government.

In the past, legislation was initiated from both sides of the House; but in present-day practice almost all Bills—and all money Bills—are brought forward by the Government. Bills may be introduced in either House, unless they deal with finance or representation, when

they are always introduced in the Commons. After a Bill has passed through its various parliamentary stages, it is sent to the Sovereign for Royal Assent, which is automatically given either by the Sovereign in person or, usually, by Commission.

In the normal course of events, the Lords either accept a Bill from the Commons and return it unchanged, or amend it and return it for the consideration of the members of the other House, who frequently agree to the amendments made. They cannot require the Commons to agree to amendments, nor can they delay a Bill indefinitely.

Parliament's function of controlling the Government is exercised, in the final analysis, by the power of the House of Commons to pass a resolution of 'no confidence' in the Government, or to reject a proposal which the Government considers so vital to its policy that it has made it a 'matter of confidence'; and thus to force the Government to resign.

The party system has existed in one form or another since the seventeenth century, and has now become an essential element in the working of the constitution.

The party which wins the majority of seats (although not necessarily the majority of votes) at a General Election forms the Government. The Prime Minister is appointed from its numbers by the Sovereign, usually on the formal advice of the retiring Prime Minister; and its most outstanding members in the House of Lords and the House of Commons receive ministerial appointments on the advice of the Prime Minister. The large minority party becomes the official opposition with its own leader and its own council of discussion or unofficial Cabinet.

The Cabinet is a conventional organ of government composed of a number of Ministers selected by the Prime Minister. Membership is not fixed by statute; no individual Minister can claim by virtue of his office to be included, and the number of members varies now-a-days between 15 and 25. The Cabinet is not in itself an executant, in that it has no legal authority, its decisions being valid by convention and not by law. It is designed to formulate general policy, to bring about co-operation between the different forces of the State without interfering with their legal independence, and to exercise general control.

The doctrine of collective responsibility imposes upon Cabinet Ministers the obligation to act not as individuals but (in the interests

of stability of government) as a united group. Any Minister who feels himself unable to agree or compromise with the view of the majority or his colleagues in Parliament or elsewhere must resign. If he does not resign, he is held to be responsible, and cannot afterwards reject criticism on the ground that he did not personally agree with the policy adopted. By the same token, the Cabinet is bound to offer unanimous advice to the Sovereign, even when its members do not hold identical views on a given subject. The individual responsibility of a Minister for the work of his Department means that, as political head of that department, he is answerable for all its acts and omissions.

Government Departments exist for the most part to assist ministers in the discharge of their functions by providing information and advice as a basis for the formation of policy,

and by putting that policy into effect when the necessary legislation has been passed. Both in their advisory and executive capacities Government Departments may and frequently do work with and through local authorities, public corporations and many Government-sponsored organisations which, while not forming part of Government Departments, are under varying degree of Government control.

A change of Government does not generally affect the number of functions of Government Departments, although a radical change in policy may be accompanied by a corresponding change in the Departments concerned. The widening scope of Government activity has, however, led to the formation of a substantial number of new Departments in the past half-century. A few have existed for over 200 years.

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I, the publisher of the Modern Review, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Date—25. 3. 1958

Signature of Publisher—S/d. Nibaran Chandra Das

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Gandhi's Unknown Autograph

Alexander Shifman, Scientific Worker, Leo Tolstoy Museum in Moscow, writes in the *Information Bulletin* of the U.S.S.R. Embassy in India:

An Invaluable Discovery in Tolstoy's Library at Yasnaya Polyana

Almost half a century has passed since the times of the correspondence between Leo Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi. Nevertheless, it is still the object of great attention and deep study in many parts of the world. Numerous cultural leaders of the East and the West again and again turn to these letters of the great thinkers, amazed at the depth of their ideas and finding it a source of criticism of contemporary bourgeois society.

The correspondence between Tolstoy and Gandhi was first published by Tolstoy's friend and biographer P. I. Biryukov in his book *Tolstoy und der Orient* (Tolstoy and the East), which came off the press in 1925 in Zurich and Leipzig in the German language. It subsequently became known in this form in many countries during several decades.

When Romain Rolland wrote in 1933 in his celebrated book *The Life of Tolstoy* on the influence of Tolstoy and Gandhi on world culture, he had before him Gandhi's letters in the way they were published by Biryukov. In this way the correspondence was also known to Stefan Zweig when he drew the portraits of Tolstoy and Gandhi in his popular book *Three Singers of Their Life*. The correspondence was also published in this form in 1939 in the Soviet Union in a special Tolstoy Volume of the *Literaturnoye Nasledstvo* (Literary Heritage) magazine.

But strange as it may seem the publishers and commentators of this outstanding correspondence did not notice that one of the most interesting and important letters by Gandhi . . . was missing. The publishers, including even P. Biryukov, did not even mention the loss of this letter; they commented on the correspondence in such a way as if it had never existed. In this they put their trust entirely in the reputation of Leo Tolstoy's archives, where every document having anything at all to do with Tolstoy

was carefully preserved, and which did not contain this letter.

Nevertheless this letter did exist and Tolstoy had read it. This is confirmed, if we are to think of them more deeply, by the letters Tolstoy sent in reply to Gandhi. This letter undoubtedly had arrived in Yasnaya Polyana and had been in Tolstoy's hands, but where did it disappear and where could it be? Almost fifty years there was no answer to these questions.

And quite recently the original of Gandhi's letter was found. It was accidentally discovered by Nikolai Puzin and Yelena Naselenko, staff members of the Yasnaya Polyana Manor Museum, while looking over old foreign magazines which had come there from all parts of the world. This letter turned out to be in one of the old British magazines; it lay together with a Russian translation of one of the articles of this magazine made for the writer by his daughter-in-law O. K. Tolstaya. The writer evidently put Gandhi's letter there with the intention of answering it. But he fell ill the very same day; the magazine was removed from his study, and this invaluable letter was lost for almost fifty years.

Now the letter has finally been found, to our great joy. The big white spot in the correspondence of the two outstanding men has been filled. But what is this letter about? What does Gandhi write in it to Tolstoy? What place does this letter hold in the entire correspondence between the great thinkers? In order to reply to these questions we will have to briefly recall this correspondence. Without this it would be incomprehensible what Gandhi was writing to Tolstoy about and how the Russian writer answered his distant Indian fellow-thinker.

Gandhi wrote his first letter to Tolstoy on October 1, 1909, from London, where he had come for talks with members of the British government. The young lawyer Gandhi headed at the time the struggle of the Indian population of the Transvaal (South Africa) against the so-called Black Law, which placed the Indians under conditions of discrimination and virtual slavery. Gandhi devoted his first message to Tolstoy to description of the cruel

repressions to which the Indian population in the Transvaal was subjected.

The appeal of the Indian from the distant Transvaal whom he did not know then greatly interested the Russian writer. "The letter of the Transvaal Hindu stirred me very much," he wrote at the time to his friend V. G. Chertkov.

On October 7, 1909, Tolstoi replied to Gandhi's letter with a friendly message in which he expressed his sincere sympathy for "our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal."

"That same struggle of the tender against the harsh, of meekness and love against pride and violence," he wrote, "is every year making itself more and more felt here among us also..."

The Russian writer approved of Gandhi's intentions to distribute among his compatriots Tolstoi's *Letter to a Hindu* written in 1908. "The translation into, and circulation of my letter in the Hindi language, can only be a pleasure for me," he wrote.

Tolstoi's encouraging letter came to London just at the time when Gandhi's talks with the British officials broke up, and therefore it delighted him extremely. He immediately sent to Tasniaya Polyana a second letter in which he continued his description of the struggle waged by the Transvaal Indians against the powers that be.

This second letter to Tolstoi is the very same one which has been discovered recently. Here it is:

Westminster Palace Hotel,
4, Victoria Street,
London, W.C.
10. 11. 1909.

Dear Sir:

I beg to tender my thanks for your registered letter in connection with the letter addressed to a Hindu, and with the matters that I dealt with in my letter to you.

Having heard about your failing health I refrained in order to save you the trouble, from sending an acknowledgement, knowing that a written expression of my thanks was a superfluous formality, but Mr. Aylmer Maude, (Aylmer Maude—British biographer of Tolstoi, and also the translator and publisher of his works) whom I have now been able to meet, reassured me that you were keeping very good health indeed and that unfailingly and regularly attended to your correspondence very morning. It was very glad some news to me, and it encourages me to write to you further about

matters which are, I know, of the greatest importance according to your teaching.

I beg to send you herewith a copy of a book written by a friend—an Englishman, who is at present in South Africa, in connection with my life, insofar as it has a bearing on the struggle with which I am so connected, and to which my life is dedicated. As I am very anxious to engage your active interest and sympathy, I thought that it would not be considered by you as out of the way for me to send you the book.

In my opinion, this struggle of the Indians in the Transvaal is the greatest of modern times, inasmuch as it has been idealised both as to the goal as also the methods adopted to reach the goal. I am not aware of a struggle, in which the participators are not to derive any personal advantage at the end of it, and in which 50 per cent of the persons affected have undergone great suffering and trial for the sake of a principle. It has not been possible for me to advertise the struggle as much as I should like. You command, possibly, the widest public today. If you are satisfied as to the facts you will find set forth in Mr. Doke's book, (This is a reference to J. Doke's book *M. K. Gandhi, An Indian Patriot in South Africa*, published in London in 1909.) and if you consider that the conclusions I have arrived at are justified by the facts, may I ask you to use your influence in any manner you think fit to popularise the movement? If it succeeds, it will be not only a triumph of religion, love and truth over irreligion, hatred and falsehood, but it is highly likely to serve as an example to the millions in India and to people in other parts of the world.

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who may be down-trodden, and will certainly go a great way towards breaking up the party of violence, at least in India. If we hold out to the end, as I think we would, I entertain not the slightest doubt as to the ultimate success; and your encouragement in the way suggested by you can only strengthen us in our resolve.

The negotiations that were going on for a settlement of the question have practically fallen through, and together with my colleague I return to South Africa this week, and invite imprisonment. I may add that my son has happily joined me in this struggle, and is now undergoing imprisonment with hard labour for six months. This is his fourth imprisonment in the course of the struggle.

If you would be so good as to reply to this letter, may I ask you to address your reply to me at Johannesburg, S.A. Box 6522.

Hoping that this will find you in good health, I remain,

Your obedient servant,
M. K. Gandhi

Count Leo Tolstoi,
Yasnaya Polyana,
Russia.

I have already mentioned about that Tolstoi did not reply to this letter because of his illness, although Doke's book on Gandhi he received at the same time greatly interested him.

The correspondence was resumed five months later, in April 1910, when Gandhi sent Tolstoi a new, the third, letter and with it his book *The Indian Home Rule* in English.

"It is my own translation of a Gujarati writing," Gandhi wrote to Tolstoi about this book, "curiously enough the original writing has been confiscated by the government of India. I, therefore, hastened the publication."

Gandhi asked Tolstoi to read the book and give his opinion on it, which would be very valuable for him. Together with the letter Gandhi sent Tolstoi also several copies of "The Letter to a Hindu" which he had published with his own foreword.

Tolstoi was unable, however, at the time to fully carry out his intention of writing a detailed reply to Gandhi's letter. On April 25, 1910, he sent Gandhi a brief letter in which he commented favourably on the books he had received.

By that time the struggle of the Indian patriots in the Transvaal grew still keener. Hundreds of Indian families refusing to submit to the colonial administration were ruined and deprived of home and hearth. In order to save

the most needy of them Gandhi organized a farm colony which he named 'The Tolstoi Farm' on land which his friend Kallenbach placed at his disposal. Gandhi, together with Kallenbach, wrote all about this to Tolstoi on August 15, 1910.

Gandhi's new letter, his foreword to "The Letter to a Hindu" and, especially, the book he received on the colonial regime in India drew the attention of the Russian writer to the lot of the Indian people with still greater force. For a number of days Tolstoi read with interest Gandhi's book *The Indian Home Rule* and Doke's book about Gandhi, which he noted in his diary.

These letters, as well as Gandhi's magazine *Indian Opinion* which he received simultaneously, gave Tolstoi great satisfaction: "Pleasant news from the Transvaal about the colony of passive resisters," he noted down in his diary on September 6. The same day he dictated a reply, which was his last letter to Gandhi. This letter is widely known and therefore we will not discuss it. I will merely point out that this was written two months before Tolstoi's departure from Yasnaya Polyana.

This letter reached Gandhi after great delay. At the time the Russian writer was already at the backwoods station of Astapovo on his death-bed.

That is how this remarkable correspondence which stirs the minds and hearts of progressive people to this very day terminated.

The mutual friendly messages of Tolstoi and Gandhi are a striking landmark in the history of the friendship and cultural ties between the Indian and Russian peoples. The invaluable discovery at Yasnaya Polyana enhances the great book of friendship of the two peoples by a new bright page.

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ON FAITH IN TRUTH

Lincoln: I know that there is God, and that he hates injustice and slavery. I see the storm coming, and I know his hand is in it. If he has a place and work for me, and I think he has. I believe I am ready. I am nothing, but truth is everything.

Gandhi: In the midst of humiliation and so-called defeat and a tempestuous life, I am able to retain my peace, because of an underlying faith in God, translated as truth.

ON FAITH IN THE JUSTICE OF THE PEOPLE

Lincoln: Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?

Gandhi: To me, Hind Swaraj is the rule of all people, is the rule of justice.

ON THE PRESERVATION OF LIBERTIES

Lincoln: If there is anything which it is the duty of the whole people to never intrust to any heads but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties and institutions.

Gandhi: Self-government depends entirely upon our own internal strength, upon our ability to fight against the heaviest odds. Indeed, self-government which does not require that continuous striving to attain it and sustain it, is not worthy of the name.

ON LOVE FOR ALL

Lincoln: With malice toward none, with charity for all.

Gandhi: We can only win over the opponents by love, never by hate.

ON FAITH IN THE MASSES

Lincoln: If my own strength should fail, I shall at least fall back on these masses, who, I think, under any circumstances will not fail.

Gandhi: Power resides in the people and is entrusted for the time being to those whom they may choose as their representatives.—
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Technology—A Challenge to Humanity

Prof. Siegfried Balke, German Federal Minister of Atomic Energy, reminds the readers of the dangers inherent in technology in *Deutsche Correspondenz*, January 1, 1958:

D. K. Bonn. Technology is on the defensive today. It is frequently regarded as a troublemaker endangering the form and very structure of modern society. The psychological balance of mankind is threatened by the fear that the misdeed of Cain may have been renewed through the bombs of Hiroshima, and that it may be repeated once again in an even more horrible way at any time.

It cannot be denied that the methods of mathematics have become a determining factor in the applied sciences, forcing them along a path where biological reality is dominated by functionalism. The functional possibilities inherent in technology are undoubtedly in danger of being ruthlessly exploited, and the annihilation of the entire biological substance of the earth has become at least conceivable. If one considers that, in addition, scientific and technological research and its economic results are used not only as a means of improving man's standards of living but also, and not infrequently, as instruments of political power, those who defend the humane nature of work in the sphere of technology seem to have a difficult time of it.

Is not a pessimistic outlook on life inevitable in view of such considerations? I would answer this question in the negative. After all, technology is vitally needed by mankind because, for instance, it alone can secure enough food and adequate power supplies for coming generations. These two examples alone entitle us to be optimistic about technology. The biological existence of mankind depends largely on the extent to which we succeed in regulating and controlling the forces of nature. It is the technologist who offers to all the other applied sciences working on behalf of mankind the means without which their work could not be continued.

During the century between 1850 and 1950 the population of the globe has just about doubled, growing from 1.2 to 2.4 billion per-

sons. This unprecedented increase has given rise to problems which only technology with its resources can cope with, and therein lies a truly humanitarian task.

Man has learned to utilize the technical and economic aspects of the natural sciences, but he risks at the same time to become utterly dependent on factors of civilization, for any technically and economically well-organized society depends increasingly on the functioning of mechanisms. The fact that our life rests more and more on foundations dependent on science, has caused growing apprehensions about our robot civilization. Domination by robots, however, is by no means

the inescapable destiny of mankind, as certain prophets of catastrophe would have us believe. We are simply faced with the challenge to guard and preserve our human rights. We should refuse to define our values in terms of civilization, to accept such concepts as "the machine age" or "the atomic age." There is always only one age, the age of man, whose existence is predicated on ideals and not on functions. I am convinced that in the long run only one social system will survive, the system that integrates man as a creature of God. It is our task to create and maintain such a system.



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Sewing Machine of Elias Howe

The way of life of an early American inventor was often extraordinarily hard—not only for himself but also for his wife and children. The story of Elias Howe, inventor of the sewing machine, follows a familiar pattern of desperate poverty, family tragedy, indomitable perseverance and in the end success that laid the foundation of a new industrial development of far-reaching benefit to mankind.

Howe was a farm-bred boy from near Cambridge, Massachusetts, who in 1834 was supporting a wife and three children on the meagre salary he earned in a machine shop in Boston. At that time the American republic was 60 years old, growing rapidly and suffering from a shortage of skilled labour to supply its many needs. As in Europe, clothing was all made by hand, and there were not enough tailors or seamstresses to keep up with the demand. In the shop where Howe worked he heard it said that a fortune awaited the man who could invent a machine that would sew.

The desperately poor 21-year-old decided to work on such an invention in his spare time, and eventually devoted all his time to it. A former schoolmate caught Howe's enthusiasm, and in return for a half interest in the expected invention provided a home for Howe and his family and advanced him money for the necessary tools.

Apparently unaware of previous efforts in this direction, Howe first laboriously went over the ground that others had already covered. By 1845 he had developed a machine—with two needles, one moving up and down, the other back and forth beneath the cloth—that could sew a straight seam, and in September of the following year he received a patent on it.

Manufacturers inspected and admired, but were slow to adopt this new invention, so Elias's brother Amasa took one of the machines over to England to demonstrate. An English manufacturer bought the rights for that country and insisted that Elias come over and develop a machine that could be used for sewing leather. The two brothers went to England and Elias's wife and children followed. But the project did not turn out well, and the Howes were stranded without funds in London.

Howe begged money from his friends to send his family back to the States, and, by pawning his machine and his precious patent papers and serving as cook for steerage passengers on board ship, made his own way back to New York.

He was looking for any kind of employment in a machine shop there when he learned that his wife was dying of tuberculosis in Massachusetts, and only through his father's help was he able to reach her bedside.

At last, the tide began to turn for the young inventor, by this time a crushed and embittered man. Manufacturers started using his machine in increasing numbers. But his troubles were not yet over. Several other American inventors were working on the idea of a sewing machine and it seemed likely that the fruits of his pioneering work would be lost if Howe did not assert his patent rights. He found a friend in the man who had bought his former partner's half interest in the invention and with his financial support was able to sue in the courts to defend his claim. In spite of powerful opposition, the courts decided in Howe's favour.

One of the men who had manufactured a machine based on the same principles as those patented by Howe was a machinist named Isaac M. Singer. Singer had seen a crude sewing machine in operation and, unaware of Howe's work, developed an improved machine. While Singer's invention incorporated some new ideas, a court of law decided it infringed Howe's patent and ordered substantial royalty payments to Howe. Singer now made a far-sighted suggestion—that various companies with sewing machine patents should pool the best of these, incorporating the improvements in one machine, and then pay Howe a royalty on each one sold. Howe agreed; seven companies combined; Singer proved to be a promotional genius, and in a few years Howe, his brother and others connected with the invention were wealthy men. And in factories and homes the sewing machine was proving a boon to men and women all over the world—*USIS*.

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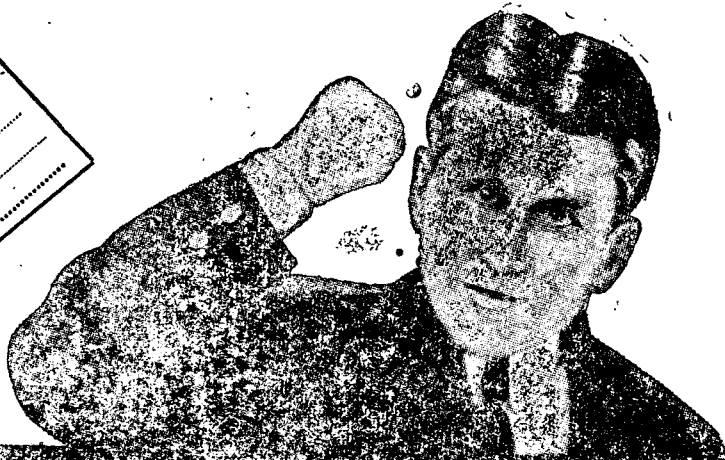
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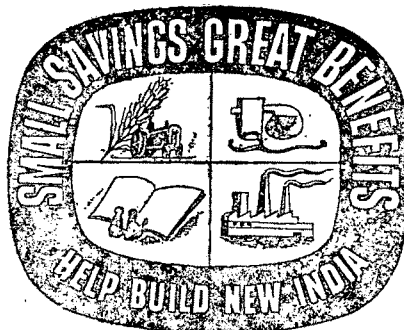
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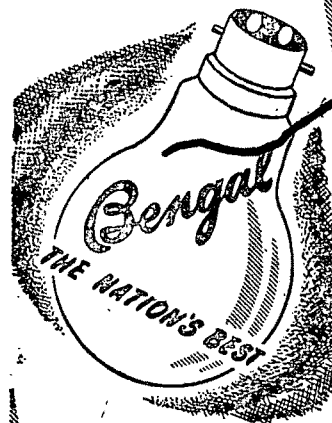
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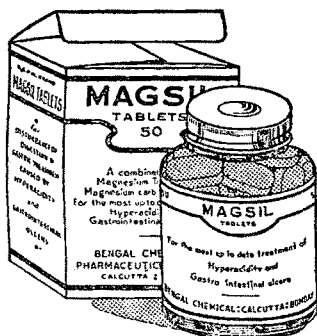
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WHOLE No. 617

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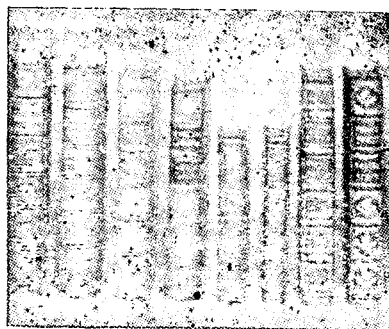
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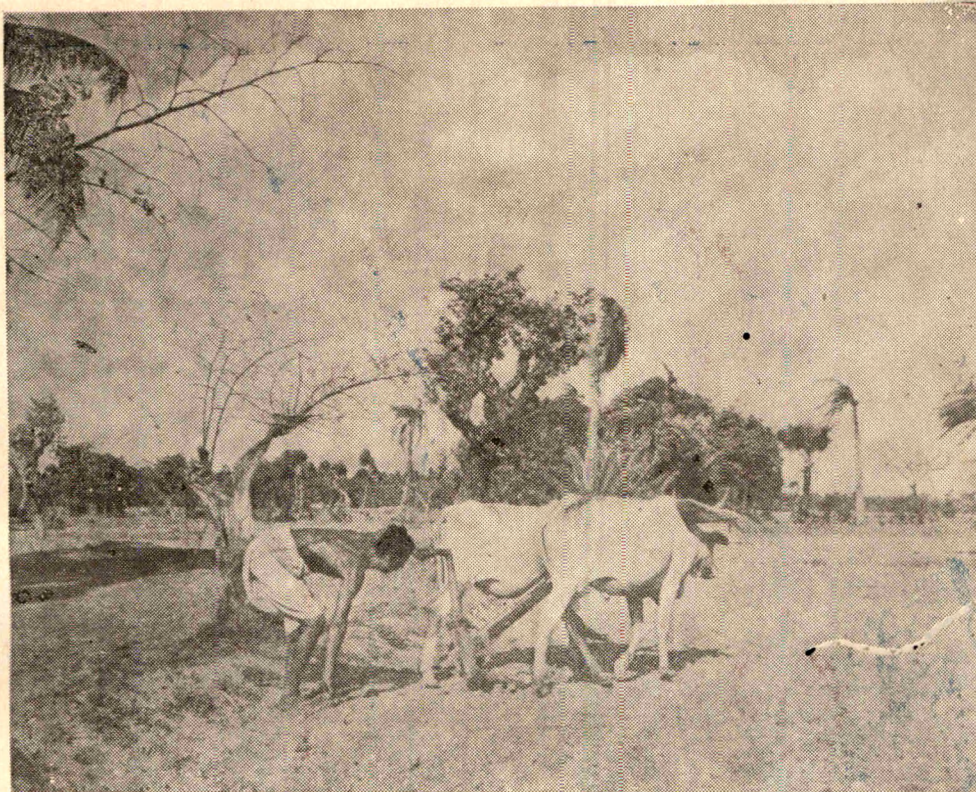
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THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY



1958

VOL. CIII, No. 5

WHOLE No. 617

NOTES

Congress is Beyond Reproach

In a country like ours, where the vast majority of people have lived a life of misery for almost two centuries, and where exaction and oppression was the custom for almost a thousand years, those who are in power can work their will on the vast majority of peoples with hardly any reaction for a fairly long time. But even then there comes a time when some determined people, with some organising capacity and a fair reputation for courage and integrity, start reaction against such reckless exaction and oppression. This is what has happened many times over in this country of dumb millions, during the last few centuries.

But while there is no apparent reaction of any considerable momentum, those in power can ignore the sufferings of the people as they will. In our memory that has happened several times over, during the first half of this century, when the British were in power.

And there is reason to fear that if the Congress—which at present means Pandit Nehru—persists in this process of self-delusion, then history will repeat itself. What is more lamentable is the fact that Pandit Nehru, who formerly used to evince some anxiety about the condition of the nation, seems no longer to care, so long as his party is safely placed in the Lok Sabha. Otherwise his statement before the conference of the P.C.C. presidents and secretaries, which held quite a self-satisfied smirk within its compass, cannot be accounted for. Pandit Nehru strongly challenged the current belief that the Congress had grown weak in recent months. Such “loose” talk was “futile and useless,” he declared.

Needless to say the only ground he had for this refutation was that the weaknesses in the Congress were no worse than the deficiencies in other political parties!

We are astonished at Panditji's attempt at justification of the degradation of his party. Could anything be more puerile than trying to whitewash the Congress in this way?

We know that the Congress has retained its hold on the legislatures—and on the loaves and fishes of office—simply because the Opposition had trotted out the same collection of disgruntled has-beens, clever political jugglers and slogan merchants. If they had changed their stand and widened their political approach, thereby permitting honest and earnest newcomers to enter the field, then the picture would have been not quite so rosy for the Congress.

Of course, we do not say that the Congress has no record of service to the country. Pandit Nehru is quite right in claiming that much for his party, and we allow that no other party in India has anything like that to its credit. But what we do say is that the majority of Congressmen today are far more intent on “doing good”—by any means, good or evil—to their own-selves and their precious party, than to the country or its people.

And they are doing it behind the presence and prestige of Pandit Nehru. Else there cannot be any explanation for the general blether and bleat of his followers on his announcement that he would like to give up governmental office temporarily. One of his principal party leaders went so far as to say “Panditji, you are leaving us orphans!”

Commenting on this the *Radical Humanist* says

"But has the party in power, of which Mr. Nehru is the leader, learnt to run itself without its leader? The deliberations which went on inside the party, while considering Mr. Nehru's suggestion to relieve him of his responsibilities, betrayed a pathetic state of mind, befitting an immature adolescent, helplessly dependent on authority, a kind of emotional dependence that makes the party unworthy of leadership in a democratic country. The sentiment was best expressed by a member who made a fervent appeal to the leader not to forsake his followers, saying: 'We have smiled when you have smiled and we have wept when you have been in sorrow . . .,' and, as was but expected, the party adopted a resolution saying: 'It cannot contemplate the acceptance of any suggestion which would mean the severance, even though for a temporary period, of the ties that bind the leader to the party . . .'. These piteous entreaties of the faithful, of course, prevailed with the leader."

Did Pandit Nehru even once stop to think as to why these piteous appeals were made? We think not.

If they had vowed that they also would go into the wilderness with their leader, leaving the shining shekels of party graft, then we could have understood such devotion. But no, Pandit Nehru must be there with the lights shining on him, while they carried on their nefarious programme in the shadows, safe in the might of party power.

The people are having their life-blood sucked out by blackmarketeers. Nothing in either the First or the Second Five-Year Plan has been so meticulously planned or so logically carried out as these schemes of blackmarketeering. We refuse to believe that the Congress party bosses had no hand in the artificially created shortages, and the total denial of relief, even where acutely indicated, as in the case of imported medicines and drugs, of vital essentials.

There is corruption in high places, as is apparent to all but who would not see. Can the Congress say that it has lifted even its little finger in protest? No!

There is a general breakdown of discipline and moral values in every sphere of our life. The reason being the example shown by the

Congress party-bosses and leaders, in complete negation of the ideals and tenets laid down by Gandhiji.

Pandit Nehru has finally reversed his firm decision to retire temporarily, thereby puzzling and pleasing millions of people. But what of the future, are things to go on as they are, until the peoples' cup of misery is full and the Congress execrated on all sides?

Re-phasing the Plan

In recent weeks suggestions are being made for the pruning of the Second Plan in view of the shortage of resources. There is a section of opinion in this country which maintains that the Plan being ambitious against the availability of limited resources, the volume of deficit financing envisaged in the Plan will lead to a severe inflationary spiral. But the opposite section holds that this is the minimum amount which the country must spend for the improvement of the lot of the people and any pruning would mean a backward step. The Planning Commission is against any cut in the expenditure as laid down for the Second Five-Year Plan. The Commission, in a memorandum presented to Parliament on May 8, expressed itself against the pruning of the Second Plan to the available resources of Rs. 4,260 crores since that would entail a large cut in social services endangering the balance in the structure of the Plan. Instead it has suggested that without giving up the original total outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores, the efforts should be made not to allow the level of outlay to be incurred to fall below a minimum of Rs. 4,500 crores.

The National Development Council recently considered this memorandum and decided to split the Plan projects into two categories. The Development Council points out that there will be a shortfall in the resources to the extent of Rs. 540 crores and this amount cannot be met by further deficit financing which has been quite heavy in the first two years. It will not also be practical to rely on external assistance. The Commission, therefore, feels that the gap has to be covered by raising further resources through taxes, loans, small savings and economics in non-Plan expenditure. The Development Council has split up the Plan into two sections—Part A and Part B. The former will involve an outlay of Rs. 4,500 and

it will include the core of the Plan. The balance of Rs. 300 crores out of the original outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores has been included in Part B of the Plan and this will be implemented when resources will be available. It is with much regret we have to note the admission of the Planning Commission that a large part of the tax effort already made has been covered by other demands—defence, non-development expenditure and development expenditure outside the Plan. In other words, only a negligible contribution has been made towards covering the original gap of Rs. 400 crores in resources.

While foreign resources are being strained to the utmost and to conserve foreign exchanges even essentials including valuable medicines are not being allowed to be imported, it is a surprise how the Hind Motors could be allowed to import so large a number of motor vehicles. About this questions were recently raised at the Lok Sabha. To allow the motor vehicles to be imported at a time when the country is frantically fighting for preservation of foreign exchanges is an act of criminal wastage. This is reminiscent of the adage, "Penny wise, pound foolish." The authorities can allow the expenditure of foreign exchanges on the import of goods which are not at all essential at the moment; but they will not allow import of certain essential goods on the plea of preservation of foreign exchanges. The import of motor vehicles has in recent years been involving a considerable expenditure of foreign exchanges. The Hind Motor case calls for an inquiry as to whether it was essential. There are many such instances of wasteful expenditure of foreign resources to which the Government of India is carefully unmindful.

The Planning Commission rightly views that the goal of the Second Five-Year Plan is well within the reach of the country, although it calls for an effort greater and more arduous than had been previously estimated, owing to unavoidable additional expenditures incurred in this direction not originally envisaged and increase in internal and external prices. The Planning Commission has estimated that for completing an outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores, the balance of resources required in the last two years of the Plan is Rs. 2,344 crores, which amount is just a little less than half of the total outlay for the Plan. The resources available for the last 2 years

of the Plan are placed at Rs. 1,804 crores, thus bringing the five-year total to Rs. 4,260 crores. In the first two years of the second Plan, the extent of deficit financing has been unexpectedly heavy and that is why the Planning Commission suggests that the deficit financing should be kept at a minimum level. But there is a danger if the Plan is pruned to the level of available resources, that is, 4,260 crores. A cut in the expenditure will present very great practical difficulties. In view of the decision to adhere to the ceiling of Rs. 4,800 crores despite increased costs, some adjustments of allocations have already had to be made in favour of industries and minerals. If in view of the resources position, the Plan outlay cannot be raised above Rs. 4,260 crores, the cut on social services will be larger. This would be undesirable from the point of view of maintaining a reasonable balance in the structure of Plan allocations. In view of this, the level of outlay to be actually incurred must not fall below Rs. 4,500 crores.

In our view, however, the actual outlay will be much higher than what has been originally estimated. The higher expenditure will be on account of rise in the price level, internal as well as external. The total outlay for even the core of the Plan will not be less than Rs. 5,200 crores. A strain on resources has been continuously felt since the commencement of the Second Five-Year Plan. Wholesale prices rose by 14 per cent between April 1956 and August 1957. The cost of living index has been making a bid upwards since then. The balance of payments deficit over two years from April 1956 to March 1958 was Rs. 821 crores. This is no doubt an alarming situation. Various measures have been taken to check these trends. But the Planning Commission thinks that the stresses and strains in the system are basically related to the development effort and are expected to continue throughout the Plan period.

The outlay on the Plan in the first two years was Rs. 1,496 crores. For the current year it may come to Rs. 960 crores. The resources expected to accrue during the first three years of the Plan were as follows: Balance from revenue—Rs. 439 crores; Railway contribution—Rs. 129 crores; Loans from the public, small savings and other capital receipts—Rs. 533 crores; External assistance—Rs. 438 crores and

Deficit financing—Rs. 917 crores. The resources that were available were below these expectations. In 1957-58 the budgetary deficit was as high as Rs. 464 crores. The overall deficit in the budget for the year 1958-59 has been placed at about Rs. 200 crores.

As against the estimated deficit financing of the order of Rs. 1,200 crores during the Second Five-Year Plan, the overall deficit financing, measured in terms of withdrawals of cash balances and increases in floating debt of the Centre during the first two years is estimated at Rs. 565 crores—Rs. 185 crores in 1956-57 and Rs. 380 crores in 1957-58. The total deficit financing of the Centre in the first three years of the Plan would come to Rs. 764 crores. The total foreign assistance by way of loans and grants during the five years of the First Plan period was about Rs. 166 crores. The total foreign assistance made available since the commencement of the Second Plan to the end of December, 1957, amounts to Rs. 480 crores. This includes the loss of Rs. 17 crores suffered on the wheat loan from the USA. In the current year, the amount of foreign assistance that will be available has been estimated at Rs. 325 crores. Of this amount, Rs. 285 crores will be by way of loans and the rest as grants. The external loans will include Rs. 13.56 crores from the World Bank for the second Railway Project loan, Rs. 35 crores from the USSR for the Bhilai Steel Project and Rs. 190.85 crores from the USA. Of the loan from the USA, Rs. 22.85 crores would come under the T.C.A. programme, Rs. 68 crores under P.L. 480 and Rs. 100 crores under the aid of \$225 million. India will also receive a deferred credit of Rs. 30 crores from West Germany for the Rourkela Project. India's total foreign indebtedness stands at present at Rs. 221.32 crores.

One thing India seems to forget and it is that she will have to repay foreign loans and deferred payment arrangements. Between 1960 to 1971, India will have to repay foreign loans to the extent of Rs. 49.50 crores and deferred payments for Rs. 46.52 crores. India should, therefore, utilise her foreign exchange mainly on productive projects. It was revealed by the Government recently in the Rajya Sabha that the aggregate gap in the balance of payments over the Plan period was estimated at about

Rs. 1,700 crores against the original estimate of Rs. 1,100 crores. The additional amount of foreign exchange required over and above the amounts of external assistance authorised so far, in order to fill the estimated payments gap during the rest of the Plan period is placed at around Rs. 500 crores. In order to make up the gap in the internal resources, the Planning Commission has recommended additional taxation during the rest of the Second Plan period to the tune of Rs. 100 crores. The country has reached the farthest limit of taxation, both direct and indirect, and to extend the taxation structure further may lead to a breaking point.

It is about time a survey was made, by trained specialists from abroad, of the effects of the totally blind restrictions and exactions imposed on the suffering peoples. It is no exaggeration to say that the nation is being stifled and bled to exhaustion.

Co-operation at the Crossroad

The co-operative movement in India has failed to make any appreciable headway towards improving the organisational structure of rural credit. At the third All-India Co-operative Congress held during the middle of April in New Delhi, an assessment was made of the trends in co-operative movement in this country. It may be recalled that the most important development in the co-operative movement in this country in the post-independence era is the State participation following the recommendation of the Rural Credit Survey. But that measure is now found to be an obstacle to the growth of the spirit of co-operation. Pandit Nehru has bitterly criticised the State participation in the co-operative movement in this country. He said that State-sponsored co-operatives did infinite harm to the movement, as they did not allow people to develop the "spirit of self-reliance and self-dependence." The result has been quite contrary as the co-operative have now developed the tendency to look up to Government for everything. He observes that the Government was quite wrong in accepting some of the recommendations of the Rural Credit Survey which tended to push the co-operative movement in this country in a wrong direction. He particularly criticised the tendency to have large co-operatives and Govern-

ment participation and control in such co-operatives. He stressed for the revision of the Government's earlier policy towards co-operatives and favoured small societies without official interference.

Sri K. D. Malaviya also pleaded for less official interference in the Co-operation in this country. He said: "A co-operative that is dependent on someone else, be it Government or any other agency, and cannot manage its own affairs, is no longer a co-operative. It can under no circumstances fulfil the basic objectives which Co-operation cherishes and stands for." In his view the progress of organising societies is that of educating and rousing the spirit and not just registration. The Co-operative Congress noted "the growing inroads being made by Governments into the independent working of co-operative institutions" and recommended the appointment of a small team to examine the legislative and administrative provisions governing the working of co-operative societies in the different States and advise on how far and in what stages and manner official control could be progressively replaced by suitable arrangements of co-operative bodies themselves instituted for the purpose. It also recommended that State Governments should proceed immediately to give up their present practice of placing officials at the head of apex and district co-operative banks and other organizations and allow them to be their presidents.

Under the Second Five-Year Plan, the supply of co-operative credit is to be increased from Rs. 43 crores to Rs. 225 crores, over 2,200 marketing and processing societies are to be formed, 5,500 godowns and 350 warehouses are to be built and the number of members of societies are to be raised from 5 million to 15 million. Sir Malcolm Darling in his recently published report on the Co-operative Movement in India has come to the conclusion that the pace set by the Second Five-Year Plan for the development of co-operative movement is too rapid even for States like Bombay, Andhra Pradesh and Madras where the movement is well-advanced. Sir Malcolm also deprecates State participation in the co-operative movement because it is likely to undermine the independence and self-reliance essential to the strength of the movement at its base. He also finds that

societies, old and supervised and guided by experience in co-operative work, being increasingly difficult sphere of human experience extends to the administering co-operatives practice of making appointments from outside and their frequent failure also greatly responsible for the ineffectiveness of the co-operatives in this country.

It may be re-called that the Rural Credit Survey recommended the formation of larger societies with a view to augmenting the financial resources of such societies. Sir Malcolm is against large societies as a large society will fail to develop in its members a real co-operative spirit. The formation of larger societies involves a complete break with the Raiffeisen model on which the co-operative agricultural credit system has been built up in India. Sir Malcolm observes that the larger area of operation would deprive the members of the society of the spirit of mutual help and understanding which should inform every co-operative society. A large society will lack informal atmosphere which is the basis of co-operation. Recognising the various short-comings of a small society, he suggests that experimentation with the large-sized type of society should proceed on three lines, namely, with Government participation (a) in shares and membership, (b) in shares and not-membership, and (c) neither in shares nor in membership, so that results could be judged in three or four years. He points out that the thrift aspect of the movement has been completely neglected and although incomes have generally increased after the war, deposits in agricultural societies have not increased. He pleads for the restoration of the word 'thrift' in the names of credit societies. He has warned a caution against laying down targets for loans. While the target for loans has been increased, the target for recoveries has been neglected. Larger loans have resulted only in increasing the outstandings rather than improving the recoveries. So caution is advocated in granting loans.

Cabinet Solidarity

In India, the system of Cabinet government has developed on the pattern of British conven-

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 tion provides for a both at the Centre as well as the formation and working of Ministers has been patterned on the lines of the British Cabinet system. The main basis of Cabinet Government is the solidarity of the Cabinet. The Cabinet solidarity is founded on two principles, namely, the collective responsibility and the obligation of secrecy. In this country a practice has developed and it is the right of a retiring Minister to make a statement in the respective legislature as a matter of course. A Minister before he assumes the charge of his office, is required to take an oath of secrecy, besides the oath of office. The statement made by Sri Siddhartha Sankar Roy on his resignation may be regarded to have violated in certain respects the oath of secrecy taken by him. •

In England, if a Minister differs from his Cabinet colleagues, he resigns. If a Minister wishes to speak or write in his defence on leaving the Cabinet, convention requires that he should obtain permission of the Crown. But this means getting permission from the Prime Minister. On Mr. Thorneycroft's resignation from the Macmillan Cabinet, a simple statement was made that he differed from the financial policy of the Government. In India, on the contrary, an undesirable practice has developed to utilise the situation as it were to deliver a speech something amounting to an election campaign. This is certainly not a healthy sign for the development of a responsible government on Cabinet system. As regards the importance of Cabinet secrecy, Jennings makes the following observations: "The Cabinet deliberates in secret; its proceedings are confidential. The Privy Counsellor's oath imposes an obligation not to disclose information; and the official Secrets Acts forbid the publication of Cabinet as well as other official documents. But the effective sanction is neither of these. The rule is primarily one of practice. Its theoretical basis is that a Cabinet decision is advice to the King, whose consent is necessary to its publication. Its practical foundation is the necessity of securing free discussion by which a compromise can be reached, without the risk of publicity for every statement made and every point given away."

On the same analogy it may be taken that in India the Cabinet decision is advice to the President or the Governor as the case may be and no Cabinet decision should be made public without the consent of either of the President or the Governor in appropriate cases. In England, the permission of the Crown is sought through the Prime Minister and the Crown cannot give his consent without consulting the Prime Minister. In this country also this convention should develop that without the prior consent of the Governor (or the President) no Minister should make any statement relating to decision of the Cabinet. This is essential for the healthy development of responsible government in the country.

Foreign Trade of West Bengal

The Report on the "Sea and Foreign Airborne Trade of West Bengal" for the official year 1954-55 gives many valuable information about the importance of West Bengal in the foreign trade of India and also the importance of Calcutta as the hinterland for exportable goods in the eastern region of this country. During the year 1954-55, goods worth Rs. 299.97 crores were exported. More than 80 per cent of the total exports were covered by jute manufactures and tea, of which jute manufactures topped the list with 41.19 per cent closely followed by tea with 39.71 per cent. Exports of jute manufactures advanced appreciably both in terms of quantity and value, but those of tea declined in quantity, though the total value recorded an increase over previous year's figures by Rs. 35 crores. Of other important items of exports, lac recorded a substantial improvement.

Under imports, machinery headed the list as in the last year followed by oils, mainly minerals. Other items in order of importance were metals and ores and grain, pulse and flour. More than 60 per cent of the total imports were shared by these articles. Instruments and apparatus stood fifth as in the last year. The United Kingdom and the United States of America were the leading buyers and suppliers sharing about 48 per cent of the total trade. The share of the former was about 34 per cent and that of the latter, 14 per cent. Other important countries were Australia, sharing about 6 per

cent; Burma, about 5 per cent; Canada, about 4 per cent; and Western Germany, Singapore and the Argentine Republic sharing about 3 per cent each.

As regards air traffic, 6,695 planes arrived at and the same number departed from the Dum Dum aerodrome in 1954-55 as against 8,613 planes in 1953-54. Of them 1,669 were Indian; 1,209 British, 1,153 Pakistani, 1,019 French, 424 Dutch, 348 American, 333 Burmese, 207 Australian, 188 Swedish and 105 of Thailand. The total value of merchandise imported from foreign countries by air advanced from Rs. 1.17 crores to Rs. 1.33 crores while that of exports including re-exports declined from 3.70 crores to Rs. 2.42 crores.

In 1954-55, 851 shipping vessels entered the port of Calcutta with cargoes from foreign lands, as against 951 in 1953-54. Of these vessels, 461 were British, 45 Indian, 121 Japanese, 24 Panamanian, 17 American, 32 Dutch, 36 Norwegian, 31 Philippine, 9 Swedish, 3 Grecian, 6 Italian, 6 Danish, 9 Chinese, 1 Costarican, 18 Pakistani and 32 others. The net tonnage of vessels that entered the port of Calcutta in 1954-55 was 4,799,033. The total number of coasting vessels that entered the port of Calcutta in 1954-55 with coastal cargoes was 1,326 as against 1,449 in the preceding year. The net Customs revenue earned by the port of Calcutta in 1954-55 was Rs. 63.21 crores as against Rs. 53.47 crores in the previous year. During 1954-55, the Commonwealth countries shared 53.13 per cent of the total foreign trade of West Bengal as against 51.94 per cent in the previous year. The total value of coasting trade of West Bengal in 1954-55 amounted to Rs. 61.45 crores as against Rs. 63.68 crores in the preceding year. The decline in the total trade is accounted for by the decrease in exports. Imports, however, recorded an improvement. More than 50 per cent of the total coasting trade of West Bengal was shared by Madras.

As regards the relative importance of principal articles exported from West Bengal to foreign ports in 1954-55, the export of jute manufactures represents 41.19 per cent, tea 39.71 per cent, lac 3.54 per cent, Mica 1.73 per cent, coal and coke 1.20 per cent. In the foreign trade of India, West Bengal's contribution is not less than 40 per cent of total. Tea

and jute manufactures jointly contribute nearly 30 per cent of the total foreign exchanges earned by India on her exports. Calcutta is one of the foremost ports in South East Asia. One thing that strikes us most in this connection is that Calcutta should have a ship building centre and it is more than overdue in that respect. The Government of India will shortly start a second ship-building centre. When the name of Calcutta was suggested for the site at the Union Parliament, the Union Minister, Sri Patil rejected the suggestion raising a queer plea. He said that there cannot be two ship-building centres in the eastern part of India. The second centre would be opened in Bombay. The argument is certainly without any reasoning. Bombay has two oil refineries and no objection was raised to that. Calcutta can naturally claim to have an oil refinery. Rejecting Calcutta's claim to an oil refinery, the Government of India has decided to set up one at Barauni in Bihar. One thing that evinces in such matters is the regional rivalry ignoring the overall interest of the country as a whole. Therefore, Sri Patil's plea for setting up the second ship-building centre in Bombay is based on regional preference and not on economic and strategic grounds.

In India the mobility of labour is not up to the mark. On account of that unemployment is more or less confined to particular regions. West Bengal has been over-burdened with perhaps the largest number of unemployed people in India. It is, therefore, quite in the fitness of things that the region should have a ship-building centre to create employment opportunities for the millions unemployed. From the view-point of employment opportunities, Bombay is much more favourably placed than West Bengal. Economic regeneration is much more important than regional rivalry and the resources of the country should be developed on a balanced basis. Over-development of one place will mean under-development and unemployment in the other. In the export trade of the country Calcutta occupies a position of pre-dominance in view of her hinterland advantages. Calcutta has the tradition of being a fine ship-building centre and the ships built here were used with admiration in the battle of Trafalgar. We do not see why that reputation cannot be reviewed in the steam and Diesel Age.

The American Recession

The United States of America was in the midst of a rather severe recession—the third since the end of the Second World War. Describing the nature of the present recession, Mr. M. J. Rossant, an American business expert, writes in the fortnightly *Reporter* of New York.

Every economic downturn, no matter how mild, inevitably gives rise to fears of a serious depression. Such fears, engendered by the current decline, appear more widespread now than in any other period since the end of the Second World War. For, in both of the previous declines, in 1948-1949 and 1953-54, strong positive forces were in evidence that not only cushioned the drop but also provided some basis for recovery. This time, though, few if any optimists are talking in terms of a new boom. Instead, the expressions of faith in the government's 'built-in stabilizers' and the 'secure underpinnings' of the economy seem calculated to exercise the ghosts of 1937 and 1929 rather than to promise a new upturn.

That the fears are not wholly unreal is furnished by the alarming number of business failures in the U.S.A. American business failures in March increased 21 per cent over February reaching a total of 1,495—the highest peak in the past 19 years. The failure rate per 10,000 businesses was 60 in March, compared with 72 in March 1939—the only year when it was exceeded since the depression year of 1933.

"Middle East Oil, 1957"

The monthly magazine, *Middle Eastern Affairs*, of New York writes in the February, 1958 issue:

Middle East oil production in 1957 showed a gain of 1.8 per cent over 1956. Every producing country but Iraq shared in the modest increase; the only spectacular expansion took place in Iranian fields. Iraq, plagued by damaged pipe-line pumping stations in Syria, suffered a loss of over 30 per cent.

The changes in production were reflected in the direct payments of the oil companies to the Governments. Payments to Iraq declined from \$207 million in 1955, to \$193 million in 1956, to \$135 million in 1957; Iran's oil revenue rose from \$90 million in 1955, to \$146 million 1956, to \$210 million in 1957.

The share of the Middle East in total world oil production declined slightly—from 20.9 per cent in 1956, to 20.2 per cent in 1957. The average daily output per well in 1957 was 3,448 barrels, compared with 13 barrels for the United States, and 28 for the world as a whole.

Estimates proved crude reserves continued their steady upward movement, using from 144.7 billion barrels at the end of 1956, to 169.8 billion barrels at the end of 1957—an increase of 17 per cent. Over half the increase was for Kuwait and the Neutral zone, and much of the rest for Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Middle East reserves account for slightly less than two-thirds of the total world reserves.

The above-quoted summary would amply indicate the reasons for increasing interest of the powers in that area. The pre-eminent American concern for the areas is explained by the sharp rise in American holdings in the oil companies operating in the area over the decade 1946-1955. The United States now has a greater financial interest in the area than all other nations combined together. Gross investment in the Middle East oil concessions increased from \$900 million at the end of 1946 to \$2,750 million at the end of 1955, of which American companies accounted for \$1,290 million, and all other companies \$1,460 million. A detailed comparison is provided by the following table:

Changes in total Financial Interests in Middle East Oil Conventions
(In percentage)

	1946	1955
American	35.3	58.4
British	49.9	28.4
Anglo-Dutch	6.8	7.0
French	6.8	5.3
Others	1.2	0.9

The State of the Congress Organisation

The Congress Working Committee in its early April session gave much anxious consideration to the means to enforce discipline within the organisation. It was decided that henceforth signature campaign against Congress Chief Ministers on Cabinets by Congress Legislators would not be tolerated and firm actions would be taken against the rebels. It was further decided to hold another session of the All-India

Congress Committee in New Delhi on May 10—the third such meeting in New Delhi within a year—evidently to obtain more authoritative sanction to the directives of the Working Committee.

The problem was by no means so easy as could be solved by such flat directives. The root of the problem lay much deeper and unless some fundamental changes were effected in the outlook and the organisation of the Congress, indiscipline could hardly be expected to be checked. "Srikrishna," the *Bombay Chronicle* columnist, neatly summarises some of the points about current Congress organizational ferment. We reproduce below a few paragraphs from the dispatch published in the *Bombay Chronicle* for April 14:

"The Congress Working Committee held its session here during the week. The Congress is faced with the rising tide of revolt within its own ranks. One method of arresting the tide was to ban the signature campaign. The crisis has deep roots. It is largely due to imposing leaders on State organisations.

"The case of Dr. Kailash Nath Katju should illustrate the point. He has spent better part of his life in Allahabad. For the sake of elections to the Union Parliament, a constituency in Madhya Pradesh was given to him. This by itself was an imposition. Because of the Congress prestige, Dr. Katju was elected. On the strength of this election, he was sent to Madhya Pradesh to become the Leader of the Congress Party in the Legislature and its Chief Minister. This was over the head of the Congressmen, who had spent their lives in the service of their State.

"For reasons still undisclosed, Dr. Harekrishna Mahatab was brought from Orissa to join the Union Cabinet. One morning he was dropped out of the Union Cabinet. Meanwhile young blood in Orissa Congress, had been promoted. Dr. Mahatab after his wanderings in the wilderness returned to Orissa. His return is creating unhappy results.

"The case of Punjab stands by itself. Here again it is a case of imposition by the Centre. The present Chief Minister is backed because he is a 'safe Sikh'. Some issues arise.

"Firstly, discipline is not a slogan. It is necessary in a civilised society. Congress leaders

talk of discipline but refuse to enforce it. This is why Congress is falling to bits.

"It may look a paradox but an employer prefers to deal with a Communist controlled trade union because it is able to honour its agreement by enforcing discipline amongst its members. The Labour Minister, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, may quote figures to prove the representative character of INTUC, but events have shown that the Communist controlled trade unions are gaining strength every day. This is again by the way of illustration.

"So long as Congress is not prepared to do the unpleasant duty of enforcing discipline, it would never be able to put its own house in order.

"Secondly, there should be some age of retirement even for Congressmen.

"The Prime Minister had raised great hopes when he had spoken against the practice of Mahantship, Congressmen sticking to their jobs till they were cremated. Maulana Azad, for example, might have been living today had he retired last year. There are men who are sick in bed for almost three days in a week. And yet they refuse to go home. Any suggestion for their retirement is met by a signature campaign.

"Thirdly, no top-ranking leader is prepared to leave his Ministerial assignment to devote himself to Congress. Men who are managing the Congress affairs have not the requisite stature to evoke respect and following."

The Problem of Official Language

The Official Language Commission headed by the late B. G. Kher did not specifically say if a general changeover from English to Hindi in the Centre would be found practicable by 1965. Two members of the Commission—Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Dr. P. Subbarayan—it may be recalled, emphasised the fact that it would be unwise to introduce Hindi in 1965. It is now reported that the Parliamentary Committee on the Union's official language which was appointed with the task of reporting to the President its opinion on the recommendations of the Official Language Commission resumed its session since the middle of March.

The Committee cannot be unaware of the fact that the majority of the people in the South and East India are opposed to the idea of the introduction of Hindi in 1965. It would,

however, appear that even the saner section of Hindi intelligentsia does not consider it wise to introduce Hindi in 1965. The *Hitavada* of Nagpur in a leading article on April 8 gives expression to the views of the right-thinking Hindi people about the matter. We reproduce below the substantial parts of the article which must strike everybody by its objectivity and reasonableness. Opposing the suggestion that Hindi must be introduced by 1965 the *Hitavada* writes:

"Right-thinking persons in the non-Hindi areas are not opposed to Hindi being made the official language of the Indian Union. By virtue of the fact that it is spoken by 42 per cent of the Indian population, Hindi has a claim to the mantle now worn by English. But sufficient time must be allowed both for the non-Hindi-speaking people to acquire a grasp of the Hindi language and for Hindi to be equipped for the role that English is at present playing. The Hindi enthusiasts would do well to recognise the difficulties of the non-Hindi-speaking areas and to acknowledge the fact that Hindi has yet to be developed. The observance of an 'Anti-English Language Week' is hardly the right way of promoting the cause of Hindi and of allaying the fears of the non-Hindi-speaking people. The Prime Minister has supported the Gauhati approach to the language issue. The Gauhati Session of the Congress wanted the approach to be 'flexible and practical' and suggested that English may be used after 1965 for official purposes as provided in Article 343(3) of the Constitution. The Gauhati resolution does not, in our view, meet the practical needs of the situation. The fact remains that we are not in a position to switch-over from English to Hindi by 1965—either from the practical or psychological points of view. Instead of forcing the pace and hustling the non-Hindi-speaking people into accepting Hindi in place of English, we are of the view that it would be advisable if the target date of 1965 were changed to 1990, as was once proposed by 40 M.Ps. elected from the non-Hindi areas. The Constitution can and should be amended so as to provide for the retention of English as the official language till 1990. During the intervening period Hindi could be propagated and equipped for its appointed role. Such a decision would create the

right atmosphere for the adoption of Hindi for official purposes in those areas where it is not spoken at present. It is not suggested that the Constitution should be amended in order to drop all reference to the choice of Hindi as the official language. All that we expect is that the target date for the switch-over from English to Hindi should be changed. The Constitution has been amended several times in the past and for less important reasons. There is, therefore, no reason why we should fight shy of making another change when the unity of India is at stake over the language issue."

It is to be hoped that the Parliamentary Committee would take note of this sensible view at the time of making its recommendations to the President.

Population Studies in India

Professor S. Chandrasekhar, the internationally recognised authority on demography, writes in the latest issue of the bi-annual *Population Review* of Maddas:

"A fruitful and widely accepted way of studying human populations is to approach them from three clearly demarcated points of view: facts, problems and policy.

"Perhaps, the most important and the basic minimum needed for any demographic study is factual data. These include total numbers, trends of growth or decline, composition and characteristics or what is sometimes called formal demography, the vital processes involving births, marriages and deaths, and last, quality both positive and negative aspects.

"The second approach is to consider the total group in terms of a problem—economic, social or cultural or whatever the criteria adopted. The problem arises from the social or economic or other values in contemporary vogue which might vary from time to time and from country to country. The problem might be one of 'too many people' or 'too few people.'

"The third approach," Dr. Chandrasekhar writes, "stems directly from the second. If a problem of population is granted to exist, something can or should be done about it. Hence, the need for social action. But such action is possible only when there is both awareness of desire and capacity for social action. Therefore,

all demographic problem areas, no matter what the exact nature of the problem, may not embark on governmental or non-official policies. And such policies when embarked upon may differ from country to country depending on the nature of the political system, traditional, cultural and religious values and cherished political, economic and other goals."

It is now admitted on all hands that in India a problem of population does exist. However, Indian efforts to study the population-growth in the country have not been very conspicuous. No doubt, individual scholars like Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji, Dr. Gyanchand and Dr. Chandrasekhar had made valuable contributions to the understanding of the various aspects of our population-growth, but no concerted effort was visible until the formation of the Indian Institute for Population Studies. The Institute is carrying out valuable researches in quantitative and qualitative aspects of population with special reference to India and Asia. It publishes a biannual journal, the *Population Review*, which serves as a forum for the exchange of information and ideas between scholars. The latest issue of the *Population Review* contains discussions on topics which are not to be found often, e.g., a case study of the ecological structure of Indian cities (Bangalore), the phenomenon of longevity (the factors that determine longevity), spatial aspect of housing in Indian cities (a case study of Aligarh), psychiatric institutional services in India and an essay on the composition of India's population according to the 1951 Census. The contributions reach the highest standards and pool together much useful information for further research as well as for forming an intelligent opinion about Indian population. They also indicate an integral approach to the problems of numbers, housing, health and other social and economic problems. We hope that the Institute would soon become the foremost centre of demography in India and Asia as well.

Rural Water Supply

India is a land of rivers. Yet, paradoxically enough, India is one of the worst affected of countries as regards the adequate supply of water for drinking and other purposes. There

are places in what are known as fertile regions where no water of any description is available. In the villages of West Bengal, summer portends a very hard day for the villagers. It would, however, not be correct to think that only villagers suffer from shortage of water. The cities and towns are no less affected. The present cholera epidemic in parts of Calcutta is ascribed largely to defective water supply. The condition in smaller towns is still worse. The picture holds good for all parts of India with minor variations. A *Press Trust of India* report (dated April 13) from Igatpuri says that a number of women with empty vessels on their heads and babies in their hands marched to the municipal office demanding adequate supply of drinking water. The women told the municipal councillors of their extreme difficulty in getting water even if they stood in queue for hours together.

Referring to the scarcity of water in the rural districts of Madhya Pradesh, the *Hitavada* writes:

"The Public Health Sub-Committee of the Vidarbha Divisional Development Council, it is reported, has asked the District Development Boards to draw up lists of villages suffering from acute water scarcity. This would enable the Sub-Committee to approach the Bombay Government for immediate measures to solve the problem of water scarcity in the rural areas of Vidarbha. There is acute scarcity of drinking water in the rural areas on account of the recent drought. The villagers are undergoing great hardships as, according to reports, the wells have started drying up. The Bombay Government would do well to give priority to the question of providing safe drinking water to the villagers by deepening the existing wells and constructing new wells in those areas where water scarcity is acute. If the supply of pure drinking water is not ensured during this summer to the villagers, there is the possibility that water-borne diseases like cholera and typhoid might break out in an epidemic form."

In view of the exceptionally heavy incidence of cholera in Calcutta, the Government of West Bengal might also consider early the desirability of taking effective steps so that the disease does not spread to the villages.

Russia and Hungary

M. Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Prime Minister and Communist Party Chief, made a tour of some of the East European countries immediately upon his election as the head of the Soviet Government. In the course of that tour he went to Hungary. Contrary to previous practice Mr. Khrushchev this time put forward some explanations for the Soviet intervention in the Hungarian Revolution of October-November, 1956. Obviously, he was trying to induce the Hungarian people to forget the wounds caused by the Soviet intervention. He had perforce to tell some truth and had therefore to admit, though in a rather roundabout way, that the Hungarian uprising of 1956 had substantial working class backing and was not the "all-bourgeois affair," it had earlier been scught to be described. M. Khrushchev spoke of "painful days" of consideration before the Soviet Government had decided to send its troops to Hungary. "Believe me, my friends," M. Khrushchev told his Hungarian listeners, "we spent painful days and nights before making a decision. If we had not given our help, the dearest dreams of the Hungarian people would have been drowned in blood."

M. Khrushchev's sense of justice was betrayed by his characterisation of "error" and "treason." He characterised Imre Nagy's actions (M. Khrushchev did not specify the actions) as treason. Nagy, it should be noted, acted in complete good faith and the views now being criticised by the Soviet Premier were not new. Moreover, it should also be recalled that the Communist Party of Hungary (and indirectly the Soviet Government) found no better man in those crucial October days to save the regime than Nagy, who was until then an expelled member of the Communist Party. Yet through the magic of "dialectics" Khrushchev did not find any difficulty in calling Nagy a traitor. On the other hand, M. Khrushchev described the actions of the former Hungarian Premier and party leader Matyas Rakosi as "errors"—on the face of the fact that Rakosi had killed in cold blood and with full consciousness hundreds of thousands of Hungarians including leading Communists who had later on to be rehabilitated to glory. Indeed, the Hungarian uprising, as everybody including Com-

munists everywhere admitted, was the culmination of grave popular resentment against "Communistic fascism" of Rakosi and his gang. But to Khrushchev these criminal actions were only "errors." Why? Because, after all, Rakosi had never failed to glorify the "great Stalin" and "the land of Socialism," the Soviet Union. The test of Communism would now seem to rest upon one's attitude to the Soviet Government irrespective of what one might do in practice for the betterment of the masses in one's own country. Thus we find an otherwise Communist country Yugoslavia being despised by the Communists because of her critical attitude to the Soviet Government.

The Revival of Stalinism ?

The Soviet Affairs Analysis Service published by the anti-Soviet Institute for the study of the U.S.S.R. in Munich wrote in its issue dated the 5th March as follows: "Ideologically, . . . the way has been prepared for a revival of Stalinism. This, of course, does not mean that a revival of Stalinism has, in fact, taken place. . . . Nevertheless, there is at the present time an unmistakable trend towards re-Stalinization. It is impossible to say how far this process will go, since it is determined by a number of unknown factors."

The subsequent developments would seem to bear out this analysis to a degree. During the last week of March, M. Nikita Khrushchev, following Stalin's example, stepped into the position of the Prime Minister in addition to retaining his existing position as First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Internationally, the Stalinist technique found expression in the concerted move of the diplomatic representatives of Communist States, resident in Yugoslavia in leaving the session of the Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists when Mr. Rakovic, the Yugoslav Communist leader, rose to reply to the debate on the political report before the Party Congress. Ostensibly the pro-Soviet Communist diplomats left the hall to show their disapproval of Yugoslav criticism of Soviet policy and actions. They did not care to show even the formal courtesy of attending the session (the Polish ambassador came back, the report says).

This allergy to criticism of any type is a

peculiar Soviet characteristic. Even when wrong, the Soviet leadership would not stand criticism—even from friends, who are Communists, or even from their own comrades in the Soviet party and government. To be in the good books of the Soviet leaders, one should be prepared always to praise whatever they do. This snobbery has been raised to the level of “principle” of proletarian internationalism by the ideological imbecility of the greater majority of non-Soviet Communists who, though utterly failing in acting up to their promises in their respective spheres, consider all crimes forgiven so long as one would be willing to acknowledge the absolute superiority of the Soviet Government and Party in all spheres.

Murders and Torture in Algeria

Sixty-two thousand Algerian nationalists had been killed by the French since November, 1954, when the Algerian movement for national liberation began. This was disclosed by the French Minister of Defence, M. Chaban-Delmas. In contrast six thousand Frenchmen lost their lives. This clearly showed that the nature of the unequal struggle in Algeria where the French had all the material support and the nationalists nothing but their ideal of independence and self-sacrifice.

The unemotional figures are, however, poor conveyors of the magnitude of French terror and the extent of endurance by the Algerian nationalists. French conduct in Algeria has surpassed all previous records in torture and murder—even their own in Vietnam, Morocco and Madagascar and the British barbarities in Kenya and Malaya.

Mr. Henry Alleg's book *La Question* gives an idea of the nature of French torture in Algeria. It presents a record which the French Government did not want to show its own people in France, so that the French police confiscated the issue of the weekly *France Observateur* which carried excerpts from Mr. Alleg's book. We reproduce below a few paragraphs (in English translation made by the *Manchester Guardian*) from his book which would shock civilised people everywhere. The story reads as follows:

“J., still smiling, waved in front of my eyes the clips at the ends of the electrodes. Small, glittering steel clips, long and toothed.

‘Crocodile clips,’ as the telephone engineers call them. He attached one of them to the lobe of my right ear, and the other to a finger of my right hand.

“Suddenly I strained against the ropes that tied me, and yelled at the top of my voice. C. had just switched the first shock of electricity through my body. A long spark flashed near my ear, and I felt my heart pounding in my chest. I screamed and twisted, tensing till my muscles hurt, while C., with the switch in his hand sent the shocks through me one after another. To their rhythm C. repeated the same question over and over hammering out each syllable: ‘Where is your hide-out?’

“Between shocks, I turned to him and said: ‘You shouldn’t do this. You will be sorry for it’. Furious, C. turned the switch all the way on, and said, ‘The more you moralise, the more I turn on the juice,’ and as I went on screaming, he said to J., ‘Bon Dieu, what a big mouth he’s got! Stuff a gag in it!’ J. rolled my shirt into a ball and forced it into my mouth, and the torture went on. I bit hard on the cloth, and almost found some relief in doing so. Suddenly I felt as if the teeth of an animal were ripping my flesh. Still smiling over me, J. had clipped the wire on to my penis. The convulsions were so violent that the straps that held my ankles came undone. They stopped to fasten them, and went on.

“Shortly afterwards the lieutenant took over from J. pulled the wire free from one clip, and ran the end of it over my chest. I shook all over with more and more violent convulsions, and the business went on. They had poured water over me so that I would get the full force of the current, and so between shocks I was shivering with cold. Around me, seated on their knapsacks, C. and his friends were drinking bottles of beer. I bit my gag to ease the cramps that were twisting my muscles. No use.

“At last they stopped. ‘All right, untie him!’ The first session was over.

“I stood up, staggering and put on my trousers and jacket. K. stood before me. My tie was on the table. He took it, knotted it round my neck like a rope, and, to the laughter of the others, dragged me after him like a dog, into the adjoining office.

“‘Well?’ he said. ‘Is that enough for you?’

We shalln't let you go. Get down on your knees!' With his huge lumps of hands he slapped me across the face, putting his full strength into it. I fell to my knees, but I could not hold myself upright. I swayed from side to side, his blows knocking me up straight each time—those that did not flatten me on the ground. 'Well, are you going to talk? You know you're done for. You're as good as dead now . . .'

"K. roughly pulled me to my feet. He was furious. This was going on too long. 'Listen, you bastard! You're finished. You're going to talk. You hear me? You're going to talk!' His face was close to mine, almost touching, and he went on shouting, 'You will talk! Everybody talks here. We fought in Indo-China—that's where we learnt about you people. This is like Gestapo. Have you heard of the Gestapo?' Then, ironically, 'So you wrote articles about tortures, did you, you bastard? Well, now you're getting some from the 10th Parachute Division.' I heard the torture squad laughing behind me. K. slapped my face with his hands, and drove his knee into my stomach. 'We'll do what we're doing here in France too. Your friends Duclos and Mitterand, they'll get what you're getting, and your . . . Republic, she'll get it too. You're going to talk, I'm telling you.' A piece of hardboard lay on the table. He picked it up and hit me with it. Every blow stupefied me more, but at the same time strengthened my determination not to give in to these animals who flattered themselves that they were as good as the Gestapo

"Can you swim?" L. said, leaning over me. We're going to teach you. Come on, under the tap."

"Between them they lifted the plank with me, tied to it, and carried it into the kitchen. They rested the end where my head was on the sink. Two or three parachutists held the other end. The kitchen was lit only by a faint light from the passage. In the shadows I made out K., C., and Captain D., who now seemed to have taken over. L. fitted a rubber tube to the tap that I could see gleaming above me. Then he crapped my head in a rag, and D. said 'Put a wedge in his mouth.' Through the cloth, L. gripped my nose. He tried to force a piece of wood between my jaws, so that I would be unable to close my mouth or spit out the tube.

"When it was all ready, he said to me, 'When you want to talk, all you have to do is move your fingers,' and he turned on the tap. The cloth quickly became soaked. The water ran everywhere—in my mouth, in my nose, all over my face. But for a while I could still breathe short gulps of air. I tried, by tightening my throat, to swallow as little water as possible, and to resist suffocation by holding my breath. But I could only manage to do so for a short while. I felt as if I was drowning, and a frightful terror took hold of me, like the terror of death. Involuntarily every muscle in my body tightened in vain effort to rescue me from suffocation. Involuntarily, the fingers of both hands moved wildly. 'That's it! He's going to talk!' said a voice.

"The water stopped flowing, and they took the cloth away from my face. I could breathe. In the shadows I could see the lieutenants, and a captain, with a cigarette in his mouth, striking swinging blows at my stomach, to make me throw up the water, I had swallowed. Drunk with the air I was breathing, I hardly felt the blows. 'Well?' I said nothing. 'He's making mugs of us! Put his head back under!'

"This time I clenched my fists, digging my nails into my palms. I was determined not to move my fingers again. I might as well die of suffocation straight away. I was afraid that once again I should have that terrible sensation of sinking into unconsciousness, and struggling against death with all my strength. I did not move my fingers, but three times in succession, I felt that intolerable fear. When I was in extremis, they let me get my breath back while they made me throw up the water I had swallowed.

"The next time I lost consciousness . . .

"When, a long time afterwards, the door opened again, K. came in with two officers I had not seen before. In the darkness, one of them crouched down by me, and put a hand on my shoulder in a confidential manner. 'I am General M's aide-de-camp.' This was Lieutenant M. 'I'm sorry to see you like this. You're thirty-six—that's young to die'. He turned to the two others and asked them to go out. 'He wants to talk to me alone', he told them. The door closed, leaving us together.

"Are you afraid that someone will know

you talked? Nobody will know. We'll take you under our protection. Tell me everything you know, and I'll have you transferred to the hospital immediately. In one week you'll be back in France with your wife. You have our word. Otherwise, you will disappear.'

"He waited for an answer. I gave him the only one that came into my head. 'That's too bad!'

"'You have children,' he went on. 'Perhaps' I could see them. Would you like me to tell them that I knew their father? Well? You don't want to talk? If you let me leave here, they will come back. And this time they won't stop.'

"I remained silent. He got up, but before he went he said, 'The only thing left for you is to kill yourself'."

We have to resort to this rather long quotation as no summary can substitute it. And the world must know the truth.

Accra Conference on Algeria

The Accra Conference of eight African States in a resolution expressed its concern at the continuance of the war in Algeria and the denial by France to the Algerian people of the right of independence and self-determination despite various United Nations' resolutions and appeals urging a peaceful settlement, notably the offer of good offices made by the Moroccan and Tunisian heads of States.

The Conference, the resolution reads:

1. Recognises the right of the Algerian people to independence and self-determination.

2. Deplores the appalling scale of hostilities and bloodshed resulting from the continuance of the war in Algeria and urge an immediate cessation of hostilities.

3. Calls upon France (a) to recognise the right of the people of Algeria to independence and self-determination; (b) to enter into immediate peaceful negotiation with the Algerian Liberation Front with a view to reaching a final and just settlement; and (c) to put an end to her present military occupation of Algeria.

4. Appeals to friends and allies of France to refrain from helping France whether directly or indirectly in her military operations in Algeria.

6. Affirms its determination to make every possible effort with a view to helping the

Algerian people towards the attainment of independence.

The Accra Conference of African States has reiterated what the people everywhere have been demanding for the past four years. The French Government does not, however, even now seem to be nearing any sensible course of action with regard to Algeria.

Maghreb

One of the direct results of French colonialism, has been a new sense of unity amongst the people of North Africa. The *New York Times* gives a vivid picture in the following report:

"Maghreb—the west' in Arabic—was the name given by the Eighth Century Arab Empire to its holdings in North Africa from Egypt to the Atlantic. Present-day Arab nationalists have revived the name to denote their ideal of a union of the 24,000,000 inhabitants of Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria. The primary obstacle to a new Maghreb is French rule in Algeria, the geographic heart of the area, where nationalist rebels are fighting for independence with the open sympathy of Morocco and Tunisia.

"Last week representatives of the three lands met in Morocco to discuss Algeria and Maghreb. The participants were leaders of the Algerian National Liberation Front, the chief rebel group, and the dominant political parties of the independent nations.

"Their major decisions were: (1) On Algeria, to recommend formation of a rebel government-in-exile 'after consultation with the governments of Tunisia and Morocco.' (2) On Maghreb, to recommend formation of a permanent organization to work out the details of union. In addition, Morocco was understood to have promised the rebels she will open her border as a rebel arms route.

"Although the decisions did not formally commit the Tunisian and Moroccan Governments, they were regarded as indications of a trend in both countries toward formal challenge to France's contention that Algeria is an integral part of France. The Arab stand also is expected to intensify the political pressures within France, which for eighteen days has been without a Government as a result of a crisis over policy on Algeria."

The Gulf of Aqaba

Places unknown to the world have a way of coming suddenly to prominence, in these days of world turmoil. Aqaba has acquired such notoriety through the Israeli troubles, as the *New York Times* reports:

"The Gulf of Aqaba is a 100-mile-long arm of the Red Sea that touches Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. At its entrance is the three-mile-wide Strait of Tiran, in territorial waters of Egypt and Saudi Arabia. At its head is the Israeli port of Elath, which gives Israel access by sea to the markets of East Africa, South Asia and the Far East.

"In 1950, Egypt, after fortifying her side of the Strait of Tiran, imposed a blockade on Israeli shipping through the gulf. The breaking of the blockade was one of the major objectives achieved by Israel in her 1956 Sinai campaign. When Israel withdrew from Sinai, after destroying the Egyptian fortifications, a United Nations force took over the position at the strait. Israel has warned that she would regard any future blockade 'as an attack entitling her to exercise her inherent right of self-defence.' Traffic through Elath is small (currently 4,000 tons of dry cargo a month, plus imports of oil in quantities which are substantial but are kept secret). But the Israelis hope for considerable expansion in the future.

"Israel, with U.S. support, rests her legal claim to the right of transit through the Gulf of Aqaba on the principle in international law of 'innocent passage.' This holds that shipping may pass through territorial waters, such as the Strait of Tiran, if it does not threaten the security of the coastal State. Egypt holds that the gulf is historically 'Arab waters' and that a technical state of war allows her to impose a blockade under belligerent rights. Since Sinai, the Arabs have not backed up this claim with action.

"Last week the Israeli view was implicitly upheld by a U. N.-sponsored international conference in Geneva which was convened to try to codify maritime law. The conference adopted, by a vote of 62—1, an article specifying that 'there shall be no suspension' of innocent passage. The article will bind only those nations that ratify the Geneva agreement. An Israeli delegate described the agreement as a 'clear-cut

decision' for free passage. The Arabs abstained, and Saudi Arabia said it would not recognize the article. The likelihood, however, is that the Arabs will think twice before challenging Israel's access to the gulf in the face of her threat to fight."

Indonesia

In Indonesia, some party is fishing in troubled waters as the adjoined report from the *New York Times* would show:

"For ten weeks the jungle-clad island of Sumatra has been the focal point of Indonesia's 'shadow war.' The rebels, who have proclaimed an anti-Communist regime in opposition to the leftward drift of President Sukarno's Central Government, have faded into the undergrowth whenever Mr. Sukarno's overwhelmingly superior forces have appeared.

"Recently the war has taken a new turn. The rebels, who did not command a single plane at the outset of the insurrection, have launched an air campaign against the Central Government, harassing shipping in the archipelago and strafing coastal ports. During the week the big Royal Dutch Shell oil refinery in East Borneo closed down after rebel planes attacked two British tankers in the area.

"Where the insurgents have got the bombers is an international mystery. The rebels claim they bought them on the Asian black-market and that they are based on the rebel-held Northern Celebes. Jakarta during the week charged that it had 'proof' that the bombers had been 'smuggled' into Indonesia from the Nationalist stronghold of Taiwan and were flown by 'United States and Taiwan adventurers.'

"President Sukarno warned the U.S., 'Don't play with fire in Indonesia.' He raised the spectre of Soviet bloc 'volunteers' aiding the Central Government and said, 'If some circles assist the rebels, others would assist us and the results would be a world war.'

"Washington which has enunciated a policy of 'strict neutrality' in the conflict and barred U.S. arms shipments to either side, was disturbed. President Eisenhower was asked by correspondents to comment on the Jakarta allegations. Mr. Eisenhower declared, 'Our policy is one of careful neutrality.' But the

President added that every rebellion 'has its soldiers of fortune' and that he did not believe there was anything more in the Indonesian allegations than that."

"Search for Security"

The weekly *Vigil* of Calcutta in a leader on April 5 under the above caption refers to the broader aspects of international security in the background of the unilateral Soviet suspension of further nuclear tests. The magazine, while welcoming the Soviet move as a step in the right direction, points to its limited character—not wholly due to Soviet reservations that the tests might be resumed if the Western States would fail to respond with reciprocal suspension of nuclear tests.

One thing which was not sufficiently clear to many, the *Vigil* points out, was the fact that a nuclear war would spell complete ruin to all. Governments could not be depended to give guarantees against the happenings of a nuclear war. "In the final analysis," the magazine says, "so long as the objects and constitutions of governments remain as they are, 'agreements,' even if made, will prove useless in a crisis." In this connection it refers to the recent decision of the French Government to manufacture nuclear weapon in complete reversal of its declared policy to the contrary.

So long as there was any chance of war, there would be the danger of the use of nuclear weapons. To dispell the nuclear threat would necessitate the abolition of war itself. "But," the *Vigil* comments, "war cannot be abolished without a fundamental change in the conception of security now prevailing among the governments of the world. Such a change, again, is impossible without a change in the conception of government itself. It has to be realized that in this so-called nuclear age the very conception of a government defending with force of arms a nation's territory or other values which in other ages might be so defended, has lost its validity, because war has been rendered suicidal by the new inventions. If there is need for defence, it has got to be conceived in other terms than force of arms. Then, if defence by violence becomes self-defeating, the basis of the present constitution of governments goes. An institution whose basic function is to wage or regulate

Wars loses its principal *raison d'être* in a context where war postulates total annihilation. It is illogical to think that war can be abolished by 'agreements' between the governments of the world. Such agreements might be useful for regulating or limiting wars for a period but in the present context limitation or regulation has no meaning because a war once started is bound to break the limits and become a nuclear war sooner or later."

However, there was obviously a feeling among the communities about the need of some sort of defence. When "agreements" and "negotiations" proved to be inadequate for abolishing war, the need arose for an alternative course of action.

"The way to such a substitute," the *Vigil* adds, "has been shown by Gandhiji. The inexorable logic of the situation is forcing men like Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall—not a pacifist but an expert on military strategy—to the conclusion that defence in the nuclear age must eschew arms and become non-violent. He has given a detailed programme for a non-violent defence of Britain under possible Soviet attack and even Soviet occupation. What is remarkable about it is not that many of Sir Stephen's proposals appear to derive directly from Gandhiji's prescription—that was inevitable—but that even those who still support the British Government's defence strategy based on the H-bomb as the ultimate deterrent have treated Sir Stephen's thesis with respect and admit that it calls for a point-by-point reply."

The *Vigil* points out three weak spots in Mr. King-Hall's thesis. It says:

"Unlike Gandhiji, he does not base his plan of action on the rock of an unshakable faith in *ahimsa* and its superior efficacy over force. It is doubtful whether without such a faith people can be trained to that degree of moral strength which will be necessary to carry out a programme of non-violent resistance of the kind envisaged.

"Secondly, the spirit in which a concomitant political war in Sir Stephen's programme is conceived does not seem to be in tune with the moral training necessary for non-violent resistance. For this, it is not enough to have a fanatical faith in one's way of life. Non-violence will be of no use for protecting anything wrong.

So the moral training for non-violent resistance must include purification of one's own position. Otherwise, the resistance will not rise above being passive resistance and will not yield the full fruits of non-violent resistance.

"Thirdly, Sir Stephen's thesis, while it postulates a declining military role for the state, assumes the possibility that the task of training the country for non-violent resistance can be taken up by the existing state apparatus, more or less unchanged. This is doubtful. For non-violent defence the community life will require to be reoriented and reorganised at many points. In fact in a society capable of non-violent defence the state as we know it at present will have worn away in many spheres, giving place to a variety of organs of power in which popular participation will be more extensive, direct and creative. In spite of these lacunae, Sir Stephen's proposals are a most significant contribution whose impact we are sure will not be limited to Britain."

The Other View

In contrast to King-Hall's plan, or rather hypothesis, the *New York Times* of April 20, gives the following summary of the controversy that has arisen in the U.S. War Department, over the measures that have to be taken in view of the present situation:

"The controversy over Pentagon reorganization was summed up in these statements last week:

"President Eisenhower: 'The waging of war by separate ground, sea and air forces is gone forever. * * * We must achieve * * * unity of our fighting forces.'

"Carl Vinson, House Armed Services Committee Chairman: 'The Department of Defense organization is essentially sound. * * * After all, the country won the last war.'

"The battle began seventeen days ago when the President sent Congress a strong plea to centralize the Pentagon. The opposition ranged from extreme partisans of one or another of the armed services, who demanded decentralization, to more moderate groups which sympathized with the President's objectives but felt he had gone too far. Eleven days ago Mr. Eisenhower warned he would wage a 'real, hard fight' for his plan.

"Last week the debate grew warmer. The Administration sent its reorganization legislation to Congress and key members opened up on it. The President, in a nationally televised speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, vigorously defended it.

"This is the set-up the President wants to change:

"The Secretary of Defense is the overall boss of the Army, Navy and Air Force. He exercises his authority indirectly, through the three service secretaries and the military chiefs who are directly responsible for administration, training, research, weapons, military operations, etc.—and who can challenge the Defense Secretary. Army, Navy and Air Force combat units, in turn, are merged loosely into 'unified commands' which operate under 'unified commanders.' The Pacific command, for example, is under Admiral Felix B. Stump who takes his orders from the Chief of Naval Operations. But since the Air Force Chief is responsible for airmen, he can give orders to the air units in Admiral Stump's command. The three military chiefs also function collectively, with a chairman and a staff, as the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a strategy planning board which advises the Defense Secretary.

"These are the President's proposals and the arguments on each side:

"The *proposal*: The Defense Secretary would receive full and unchallenged control over the services, the unified commands and their military operations. He—not the individual service chiefs—would issue orders to the unified commanders. He would control all weapon research, eliminating inter-service duplication and rivalry. Most controversial, he would be empowered to transfer functions and a small percentage of defense appropriations from one service to another.

"The *President's* argument: 'We cannot allow differing service view-points to determine the character of our defenses. * * * Chiefs of individual services should not direct unified operations * * *. Secretary of Defense authority must be clear and direct * * *. The Secretary should have greater flexibility in money matters [to provide] greater efficiency, more responsiveness to changing military requirements * * *.'

"The *opposition* argument: The Defense Secretary would become a 'czar'. He would probably build up the Air Force at the expense of the Army and Navy. The Constitution provides that Congress should run the armed forces. Senator Mike Mansfield charged that Congress was being asked 'to surrender its authority over the purse and the designation of roles and missions.'

"The *proposal*: The Chiefs would delegate individual service responsibilities to deputies and would function jointly as the Defense Secretary's planning and operations staff. The Joint Chiefs and the Chairman, aided by an enlarged and streamlined Joint Staff (which would be responsible to the Chairman), would draft unified plans and direct the unified commands, relaying the Defense Secretary's orders to the commanders.

"The *President's* argument: 'It is impossible longer to diffuse . . . strategic planning and the control of military operations . . . among three competing services. . . . Modern war demands . . . complete unity.'

"The *opposition* argument: The proposal would lead to creation of a 'Prussian-style general staff' which would take over the country. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs would dictate military policy, leaving no room for democratic discussion or service advocacy. Mr. Vinson charged that the plan was dangerous because the men who made military plans would no longer have power to execute them; he quoted Winston Churchill's statement that 'any clever person can make plans for winning a war if he has no responsibility for carrying them out.'

"The *proposal*: While the Army, Navy and Air Force would retain their separate identities, they would lose much of their autonomy. Each service would continue to recruit, supply, train and equip its members. The service secretaries and chiefs would be downgraded; they could no longer present recommendations to the Congress on their own initiative or conduct publicity campaigns to advance service interests.

"The *President's* argument: 'The over-all efficiency of the Defense Department will be increased. The tendency toward service rivalry and controversy . . . will be sharply reduced.'

"The *opposition* argument: The service secretaries would become little more than

'housekeepers.' Service morale and loyalty would be shattered."

Ganatantra Parishad Arrest

There was a demonstration by the Opposition in the Lok Sabha on April 28, on the Ganatantra Parishad arrests in Orissa. The *Statesman* gave the following report:

"New Delhi, April 28: Except for a few Independents, all the non-Congress members present in the Lok Sabha today walked out when the Speaker disallowed a sheaf of adjournment motions on the arrest of Ganatantra Parishad leaders in Orissa.

"The walk-out climaxed an hour of heated argument with Opposition spokesmen charging the Orissa Government of 'throttling democracy' and 'prostituting judicial processes for political purposes.'

"Pandit Pant replied that the arrests were entirely within the jurisdiction of the State Government and the Centre was not empowered to interfere.

"The Speaker held that while Parliament was concerned with the preservation of democratic rights and civil liberties, the arrests had been made under the Indian Penal Code and would come before the courts.

"The House could only take up the matter if it was proved that they were motivated by political considerations.

"He accordingly asked the Home Minister to use his influence to expedite the proceedings and make a statement on the subject within two or three days.

"This did not satisfy the Opposition who insisted that the adjournment motions be held over until fuller information was available. Although the Speaker indicated at the outset that he would be willing to accept this course, he finally disallowed the motion on the ground that he had given enough opportunity to both sides to state their case.

"A Ganatantra Parishad member, Mr. S. Mahanty, opened the discussion by asserting that in Orissa 'public opinion is being bludgeoned, the Constitution being raped and democracy being outraged.'

"He argued that the arrests were not a question of law and order but a violation of the democratic rights to change the Government by

peaceful means. They offended constitutional safeguards and were therefore the concern of Parliament.

"Mr. Mahanty was supported by Mr. S. N. Dwivedi, a PSP member from Orissa and Prof. Hiren Mukherjee (Communist) in constructing the arrest of the Opposition M.L.A.'s as an attempt by the Orissa Government to retain power in spite of losing majority support.

"The mildest Opposition speech came from the Communist leader, Mr. S. A. Dange, who asked the Speaker to consider whether as 'the custodian of parliamentary democracy,' the House should not be concerned with actions which reflected on its working."

Nehru on the Congress

The *Statesman* gave the following report on April 20:

"New Delhi, April 20: Before it concluded this evening, the conference of P.C.C. presidents and general secretaries heard Mr. Nehru strongly dispute the current belief that the Congress had grown weak in recent months.

"Such 'loose' talk by the Opposition parties, and occasionally by Congressmen themselves, was 'futile and useless,' the Prime Minister declared.

"While he admitted that the Congress suffered from many weaknesses, Mr. Nehru pointed out that these were no worse than the deficiencies in other political parties. After World War II there had been a general decline in normal and political standards of the people as a whole and these needed to be raised.

"But with all that, the Prime Minister asserted, the Congress had by and large rendered effective service to the country both before and after independence.

"An important point made by him in this connexion was that the present squabbles within the Congress, though deplorable, were not altogether new. They were, indeed, endemic and were by no means absent in the days when Mahatma Gandhi was alive.

"According to reliable accounts of Mr. Nehru's speech, he did not refer either to his own feeling of fatigue and staleness or to Mr. Dhebar's desire to relinquish the office of Congress President. He, however, paid a tribute to

Mr. Dhebar for his able stewardship of Congress affairs during the past two years.

"Although Mr. Nehru spoke generally about the obsolescence of old ideologies in the nuclear age, he did not refer to the latest policy changes by the Communist Party which were sharply commented upon by the Congress President yesterday.

"Pandit Pant, however, spoke on this subject and observers noted that his tone was milder than Mr. Dhebar's. The Home Minister interpreted the Communist declaration of adherence to peaceful and democratic means as a tribute to the growing strength of the Congress.

"Pandit Pant said that on paper the changes made by the Amritsar congress of the Communist Party looked good, but it remained to be seen whether the Communists' change of heart was genuine."

Labour in Calcutta

The following report speaks for itself:

"Mr. B. C. Ganguli, Director of Operation, West Bengal Government's Transport Directorate, was stabbed on the left side of the abdomen in front of his office at P-11, Mission Row Extension, Calcutta, on Wednesday morning. Mr. Ganguli, who is about 43, was taken to the Medical College Hospital in a precarious condition.

"A police constable in plain clothes, who was on duty there, caught the alleged assailant, Krishnalal Kanjilal, a discharged conductor of the State Transport.

"It is stated that Mr. Ganguli was attacked as he got down from his car to enter his office at about 10 A.M. A constable on duty at the office gate immediately secured the alleged assailant. With the dagger still in his hand, the man resisted, freed himself after a few seconds, and tried to run away. Another overpowered him within a few yards.

"The incident cast a gloom in the State Transport office. Mr. Ganguli is known to be a popular officer. The arrested man, aged about 30, is said to have been dismissed from service about a year and a half ago on charges of misappropriation and insubordination."

POWER POLITICS IN INDIA

BY DR. SASADHAR SINHA

EVERY schoolboy knows that the division of India in 1947 was an unmitigated disaster for the entire sub-continent. It was a catastrophe and for over ten years has continued to be a calamity not only for those directly affected by it—the peoples of the Punjab, Sind and Bengal—but for many others in India (and Pakistan). Indeed, all our post-independence problems—the refugee question, food shortage, foreign exchange difficulties, mounting expenditure on defence, strained relations with Pakistan, unstable internal situation and above all continuing poverty—all stem from Partition. Instead of providing for a scheme of orderly exchange of populations as part of the settlement with Britain, the matter was left to chance, with consequences for the whole world to see. For human suffering, for its tragic poignancy, the Indo-Pakistan refugee problem has no modern parallel, unless, of course, one thinks of the massacre of six million Jews under Hitler, only a slightly more horrible instance. In spite of the cheerful prophecy of many experts, the violent disruption of an essentially integrated economy immediately brought India face to face with all kinds of shortages, foodgrains in particular. When we launched on our independent career, we got off to a good start, for our financial standing was high, but we have squandered our assets, largely to finance imports of rice and wheat and to buy equipment for defence. Nor has the promise of an early easing of food situation been fulfilled. Our huge expenditure on defence continues to be a colossal drain on our national resources, for, in spite of it, we are in no position to oppose a major enemy. It has brought us no security and has merely made us increasingly more dependent on the leading Powers of the world for sheer survival, not to speak of progress. Meanwhile, the national mood of high expectancy has steadily given place to disappointment, if not disillusionment. The millenium is as far away as it ever was. It has been said that the division of India was British Imperialism's parting kick. If that was so, it must be admitted that we at least invited it and even gloried in the way freedom came to us.

Hindu and Muslim, could have been unaware of what was in store for the country. It was not as though they were chopping up a log of wood to be distributed among rival claimants. They were dealing with human beings—millions of men, women and children. But this is exactly what they did do. They were bent on a settlement. But to what end, one asks? If one looks back to the war years, it will be recalled that the talk of division was not on the side of the Muslim League alone. An important section of the Congress was also thinking along similar lines. Even in London, we heard echoes of such thoughts. In fact, I remember being asked by an important personality, who was then the Congress spokesman in England, why Bengal should be so large, why it should not be broken up. At that time, I took this to be merely a token of his characteristic cynicism but I know better now. In retrospect, I realise that the partition of India had already been decided upon and his rhetorical question was only an attempt to draw me out. There is also a hint of the shape of things to come in the book, *The Discovery of India*, which Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, wrote during the war and published in 1946.

The British, of course, were conscious that they could not hold India for long after the war but at the same time they were not prepared to give her up without safeguarding their essential interests. This was the *raison d'être* for their final decision to acquiesce in Partition, although military opinion was opposed to it, but there was complete unanimity among the political parties in Great Britain on the question and manner of ending British rule in India. Therefore, when Lord Mountbatten came to India to formalise the transfer of power, the main parties in the settlement, the British Government, the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, were all agreed on the basic issue of Partition. The choice of Lord Mountbatten, a national hero, was a genial stroke on the part of the Labour Prime Minister, Lord (then Mr.) Attlee, for a settlement the former brought about could not be repudiated by any party in the United Kingdom nor could

the Indian parties derive much comfort from trying to play upon the differences in British Party politics.

I can think of at least four reasons why the Indian National Congress decided to agree to the division of India, notwithstanding their past professions to the contrary. First, of course, was the general frustration in the country, which was relatively more pronounced among the leaders than among the people. Both the Congress and the League leaders, many of whom were getting on in life, wanted power for themselves, almost on any terms. The unseemly haste with which they plumped for Partition was one among many signs of this desire. The desire for power is all too human nor is it unworthy in a politician. But there is nothing to indicate that by holding out for unity our leaders could not have obtained more favourable terms than they actually did. Indeed, anybody familiar with wartime England will bear me out that Labour's anxiety to come to terms with India was actuated more by internal motives than by external considerations. Promises made to the British people during the war had to be made good and this, they knew, could be done largely on the basis of a settlement with India. On the other hand, there is no evidence to suggest that the Labour Party was irrevocably committed to the idea of partition.

The advent of the Labour Government in 1945 raised many hopes among the Congress leaders and their optimism was superficially justified. It would be easier, they argued, to come to terms with Labour than with the Tories, not a very convincing argument, since our settlement with Britain was a *national* settlement on her part and not one between India and the Labour Government. It is important to realise that whatever Government came to power in Britain after the war would, in any event, have sought a settlement with India and therefore we should have lost nothing by waiting.

The post-war internal situation in India and the rest of Asia must have been a source of great anxiety to both the Congress and the Labour leaders. There was a revolutionary temper abroad, as is evidenced by contemporary developments, and the Congress Party probably thought that unless they came to speedy terms with the British they would be overtaken by events. This was, however, an argument which

cut both ways. On the face of it, the Labour Government was as anxious for a settlement as the Congress but the latter was obviously in no position to bargain as it had given the game away already.

The argument which, I think, really clinched the matter in favour of division was the memory of the past. In the olden days, Bengal and the Punjab had always played a dominant role in Indian politics and the struggle for leadership within the Congress before the war, as is generally known, mainly turned on the question of eliminating Bengal's influence from the Congress. There is no need to go into details but it can be presumed with a fair degree of certainty—and the sequence of events since 1947 has confirmed this belief—that when the prospect of the division of India presented itself the dominant section within the Congress jumped at the idea, for here was an opportunity to rule India unchallenged by either Bengal or the Punjab. Mahatma Gandhi always remained a firm opponent of the dismemberment of India and his advice that the Congress should be wound up after India became independent carries its own commentary. Being a shrewd judge of men he knew what was at stake and the developments since his passing serve to underline his worst fears. It is of melancholy interest also to recall Sarat Chandra Bose's plea for an independent united Bengal, which although probably an impractical idea at that time, showed at any rate a lively awareness of the tragic consequences that were to follow Partition.

Appetite grows on what it feeds on. Unopposed enjoyment of power by the Congress since 1947 has not only led to increasing irresponsibility but also to unbounded ambitions. Outwardly, it is a democratic organisation but its method of working is through an inner coterie. The pattern of power, both within it and the Central Government, will clearly demonstrate that it has come more and more to be identified with a particular area, which indeed is the point of departure for a new sinister development in Indian politics. What is being aimed at is nothing short of a calculated application of geopolitics to the Indian setting, that is, an attempt to dominate the whole of India from a strategically advantageous position by a system of checks and

balances, by a graduated system of patronage. Bengal and the Punjab have been put out of the way. Now it is the turn of the other parts of India to be subjected to the same process of emasculation.

Let me explain. Look at the political map of India today and two things emerge. One, in drawing the State boundaries no uniform principle has been followed. Neither language nor size nor stability has been the determining factor. It is on the whole narrow political considerations which have guided the choice. The Maharashtrian claim to Greater Maharashtra with Bombay as capital, for instance, has been denied for no valid reason. But the underlying political motive is not far to seek. The massive strength of the South, which was an essential element in the political balance of India, has been broken up, while some of Bengal's legitimate territorial grievances have been ignored. Two, the position of Uttar Pradesh remains unrivalled as formerly. It is not only the most populous State in the Union but also the most important politically. At the head of the States stretching right across India, from the east to the west, it provides a fulcrum to the so-called Hindi block now in the making. Having seized control of the machinery of the Congress and the Central Government, it wants to give its power an impregnable territorial basis. The insistent demand for the introduction of Hindi as the State language, now evident to anybody, is the inevitable concomitant of this unfolding process. A political structure without a dependable administrative foundation will always remain unstable and the obvious hope is that in the course of time the pre-eminence of Hindi as the official language of India would give the people from the Hindi-speaking areas, primarily Uttar Pradesh, a predominant share in the administrative and other Government services, which is not the case at present. What has come to be known as Hindi chauvinism is thus a complex ambition, in which the linguistic is a comparatively minor element. Its political implications are overwhelming, accounting largely for the growing opposition in many parts of the country to the acceptance of Hindi as the official language.

It would be a mistake to think that this ambition for political domination was not backed by an appropriate economic theory and practice. Indeed, in the modern context, politics

and economics are inseparable, one supporting the other. Broadly speaking, it would not be untrue to say that economic planning in India today is designed to strengthen the material foundations of the politically most significant part of the country and relatively to reduce the importance of the older established areas of economic activity. This is being done in the case of Eastern India by maintaining, or at any rate by not discouraging, the Cold War that has plagued the relations between the different States of this region since British days although any reasonable man would admit that a political understanding or *detente* among them is the first condition of material progress for the people of this area who are among the poorest in India. Orissa, Bihar, Bengal and Assam are the principal sources of economic strength of the whole of India and yet they have the least to say for themselves. Meanwhile, Calcutta, the largest port of India and the main outlet for the products of the entire Gangetic plain, is gradually being reduced in importance and Bombay's status correspondingly enhanced, which incidentally explains why the latter city was denied to Greater Maharashtra. Any place which is likely to provide an ultimate rallying point for a challenge to the present repository of political power is being methodically neutralised.

Incidentally, the Zonal Council, which has been set up to co-ordinate the economic activities of Eastern India, is not concerned with its main problem which is political understanding. Otherwise, can one really satisfactorily explain why there is no solution to the refugee problem in Bengal? Can it be doubted that with adequate co-operation among the Eastern States and suitable planning the settlement of the refugees would not have taken place long ago? Or is it that our rulers are afraid of upsetting the present demographic balance in this region to the detriment of their basic policy of checks and balances?

Now we come to the heart of the problem. India is called a Union of States but it must be realised that the States, at present, are beginning to count for less and less and more and more power is being concentrated at the Centre. This tendency towards increasing centralisation is, indeed, the *font et origo* of current power politics in India. Through its central organisation the Congress controls all

its members in the States and only those who are prepared to suspend their right to private judgment, to dance to the tune of the Party bosses, have any hope of political preferment. The result is that, by and large few honest people have any chance, as members of the Congress, of playing their part in the public life of the country. Another type of influence exercised on the States is through the Central Government's financial control over development. Reflecting as it does the dominant coterie within the Congress, the inference is obvious. The result is that the legitimate interests of the States are sometimes overlooked and aid given them is looked upon as a favour and not a rightful claim. Is it any wonder that there is widespread corruption in Indian public life today and no radical attempt has been made to deal with it? Patronage is the rule and what it implies in terms of power politics from the top downwards can well be imagined.

Clearly, present trends in Indian politics and administration are a challenge alike to Indian statesmanship and Indian patriotism. If they are allowed to continue, they will mean the end of India's unity, which is meagre enough as it is, and we shall relapse once more into chaos as we have done so often in the past through the operation of regional and personal ambitions. All Indians have a vested interest in the country's unity, for disunity spells a worse fate for all concerned. But the way to unity is not through the concentration of power in a few hands but through its greater diffusion among the States, by increasing opportunities for material and cultural progress in the States, in the vindication of elementary justice for all Indians, irrespective of their place of origin.

As far as I can see the immediate need is to reverse the process of increasing administrative centralisation and to restore genuine autonomy to the States. The country will thus truly become a Union of States and cease to be a stalking-horse for an irresponsible oligarchy. It is in this manner that integrity and efficiency in administration will be furthered and the decencies brought back into public life. In the future the Central Government should be the co-ordinating agency of the common interests of the country that it was originally meant to be. It should therefore confine itself to a few things—defence, foreign affairs, finance and communi-

cations. In other matters, there should be as little interference in the affairs of the States as possible, for, as I have argued, Central interference, in all its implications, is the major source of current demoralisation in Indian administration and public life. Correspondingly, there should be more direct dealings between the States themselves, again without the intermediary of the Centre, so that they grow up as parts of a common organism and have an opportunity of finding solutions for their common problems through normal personal contacts.

Since our root problem is poverty, the machinery of economic planning also needs drastic change. At present, it is too centralised, too top-heavy and far too remote from the people to be of effective use. If there is to be a central organisation at all it should be a purely advisory and co-ordinating body; the major responsibility for planning should be thrown on the States themselves. Being closer to the people and subjected directly to both constructive and destructive popular criticism, they will be in a better position to respond to popular needs as well as to mobilise popular enthusiasm for the execution of the plan than is currently possible. This measure will at the same time eliminate very largely the element of patronage, an evil inseparable from centralisation.

Our foreign policy, too, requires a new orientation, if our resources are to be used to the best advantage. Non-alignment is too negative a concept to be of much constructive use to the country. Charity begins at home, so we must make Indo-Pakistan understanding the sheet-anchor of our external relations. It will be of ultimate benefit to both India and Pakistan, for if we succeed in bringing them closer, we shall at one stroke come nearer to a common solution of our defence and economic problems. The competitive economic and defence policies of the two countries have multiplied our problems without giving either of us economic or strategic security. We must start thinking of geopolitics, not in the sense of power politics, but of our common economic and political destiny as part of a common geographical area, clearly marked out from the rest of Asia. The clear lesson is that precious resources which are now being wasted can, given the

basic understanding, be put to constructive use for the first time, for the removal of the intolerable poverty which weighs down the peoples of both countries, for the material and cultural progress without which political freedom has no meaning. To talk of historic enmities is to talk nonsense. They belong to the realm of the imagination and not to reality. Europe at this very moment is going through a process of reintegration, bringing erstwhile enemies together in the defence of common interests, thereby proving that in international relations nothing can be taken as permanent. But, perhaps, I am anticipating.

In any case, however, you look at the problem of national unity, there is no future for the Indian people (and for the people of Pakistan for that matter) through the pursuit of power-politics either at home or abroad. It is only through a common sharing of power, national resources and opportunities for material and cultural progress that true unity will be forged. Democracy and socialism will then cease to be mere catchwords without relevance either to the present or the future.

London, April 12, 1958.

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THE U. N. AND THE KASHMIR PROBLEM

By PROF. DR. G. P. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

THE U.N. has been established with a view to maintaining international peace and security. For this purpose among other things, it is expected "to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace."¹ Since its birth in 1946 the U.N. has tried to perform this all-important duty, the main burden of which has fallen on the Security Council, the organ which is primarily responsible for it. One test-case for it has been the Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir which has defied solution so far and in which the members of the Security Council have not been able to adopt a detached and non-partisan outlook.

BACKGROUND OF THE DISPUTE

The Jammu and Kashmir State which is at present one of the fourteen States of the Indian Union was a semi-independent princely State ruled by Maharaja Sir Hari Singh when the British rulers abdicated power in India. On the eve of the transfer of power they declared that on the relinquishment of the sovereignty of the Crown in India, its paramountcy over the Indian States would lapse and the latter would become free to accede to either dominion or not to do so at all.²

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Governor-General of Pakistan had his eyes on Kashmir and he wanted to visit the State ostensibly on grounds of health, the real purpose being to persuade the Maharajah to accede to Pakistan. But the Maharajah declined permission to Mr. Jinnah to spend the summer in Kashmir and he also asked the latter's Secretary to leave the State. On August 12, 1947, the Maharajah made a proposal to both the Governments of India and Pakistan to enter into a standstill agreement with them. The Government of Pakistan promptly agreed to the proposal and such an agreement between it and the Maharajah was signed on August 16, 1947. But the Government of India wanted time. Pakistan, however, was not satisfied with this type of agreement. She cut off essential supplies to Kashmir and resorted to the economic blockade of the State in order to coerce it into accession. It also organised communal raids on the Kashmir border. Actually, Major-General Scott, Chief of Staff of Jammu and Kashmir Forces, reported a number of border raids as early as August 31, 1947. Pakistan incited the Afridis

partition and who became the Secretary of the States Ministry in independent India remarks: "I told Sardar (Vallabh Bhai) that under the Cabinet Mission Plan, the States need not join either of the Constituent Assemblies but that they could have particular arrangements with the Government of the Dominion to which they were geographically contiguous."—*The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, pp. 93-94.

1. Art. 1(1) of the U.N. Charter.

2. On this issue V. P. Menon who was the Constitutional Adviser of the Governor-General before

and tribal people to invade Kashmir.³ Moreover, a plot to kidnap the Maharajah and the Prime Minister, Shri Mehr Chand Mahajan, when they were to visit Bhimber on the border of the State on October 21, 1947, was also hatched. But instinctively the Maharajah cancelled his tour programme and visited the place one day earlier with the result that Pakistan's game was foiled.

At this critical juncture the Maharajah who was wavering all this time firmly decided to fight Pakistan's aggression and requested India for help. The Government of India replied that they could not give any help to Kashmir unless she acceded to India. On October 25, 1947, Mr. Mahajan, the then Prime Minister of the State was instructed to fly to India, if he could get a plane or to go to Pakistan for surrender. But at that crucial moment Mr. V. P. Menon, the Secretary of the States Ministry of the Government of India, reached Srinagar. Hence, Mr. Mahajan was directed by the Maharajah to accompany him to Delhi for talks on the question of accession and military aid. He met the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister and asked for immediate military help. In his own words, he said:

"Give army, take accession and give whatever power you want to the popular party, but army must fly to Srinagar this evening, otherwise I will go and negotiate terms with Mr. Jinnah as the city must be saved."⁴

At this the Prime Minister flew into a rage and asked him to get out. But at that time Sheikh Abdullah who was in the Prime Minister's house and who was over-hearing the talks sent a slip to the Prime Minister who said to Mr. Mahajan that the Sheikh also was of the same view. In a moment the Prime Minister cooled down.

Thereupon, the Maharaja signed the Instrument of Accession with the then Dominion of India on October 26, 1947. This request was also supported by Sheikh Abdullah, the then most popular leader and President of the Jammu

and Kashmir National Conference. But on the suggestion of Lord Mountbatten the Government of India accepted the Instrument of Accession signed by the Maharaja of Kashmir provisionally subject to its ratification by the people of Kashmir through a plebiscite.⁵ Lord Mountbatten "expressed the strong opinion that, in view of the composition of the population, accession should be conditional on the will of the people being ascertained by a plebiscite after the raiders had been driven out of the State and law and order had been restored. This was readily agreed to by Nehru and other ministers."⁶ The Maharaja being a Hindu hesitated to accede to Pakistan. At the same time he was unwilling to accede to India because of the composition of the population of the State. Actually "to the inordinate desire of coercing Kashmir into acceding to Pakistan, and the consequent devastation of the Happy Valley of Kashmir by the raiders is due the accession of Kashmir to India."⁷

After accession Indian troops were sent to Kashmir by air. The same day, i.e., October 27, 1947, Mr. Jinnah also ordered the Pakistan forces to March into Kashmir. There is a

5. Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan says that after Indian troops reached Srinagar negotiations started between the two Governments under the mediation of Lord Mountbatten. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan came to Delhi and Mr. Mahajan was also called. One of the terms of settlement was plebiscite to which Mr. Mahajan was opposed. He says: "I raised the question about the meaning of the word. A dictionary was sent for and it was discovered that it did not mean a decision by direct adult franchise but it could be a plebiscite, if the duly elected representatives of the people according to the election law of the State supported the Maharajah's accession and this would be sufficient. By way of compromise I said this term would not do any harm as the only politically conscious party in the State that could form a government was Sheikh Abdullah's party and it was of the same opinion as the Maharaja."—"Fact on Kashmir IV," in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, June 9, 1957.

6. *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, p. 399. According to Mr. Mahajan, Lord Mountbatten advised the Maharajah to accede to Pakistan. He writes: "When I met him for the first time from the one hour's talk I had with him, I inferred that he felt that there was no option for the Maharaja but to accede to Pakistan in view of its geographical situation, though he said that as Governor-General of India he would naturally like if His Highness acceded to India. On the second occasion he was brutally frank."—"Facts on Kashmir—I," in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Allahabad), June 5, 1957.

7. *Kashmir Story* (Publications Division, Government of India), p. 46.

3. Lord Birdwood says that the Pakistan Government had no hand in these raids but they were engineered by the Muslim League, the ruling party in Pakistan.—*Two Nations and Kashmir*, p. 54.

4. Mehr Chand Mahajan, "Facts on Kashmir—II" in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated June 7, 1957.

difference of opinion about Mr. Jinnah's order. Lord Birdwood and V. P. Menon are of the view that he issued it after he heard that the Indian army had marched into Kashmir. But Mr. Mahajan is of the view that he issued the order without having any knowledge about the presence of Indian troops in Kashmir. But his Commander-in-chief refused to carry out the order unless the Supreme Commander had been consulted. The Indian armies rescued the Srinagar Valley from the raiders. But then it was discovered that they were receiving substantial support from Pakistan. They were not only supplied with modern arms and ammunition but also had bases in Pakistan. They drew ration from the Pakistan army and were trained by Pakistan army officers. In fact, the mysterious leader of the raiders called "General Tariq" was later identified as Major General Akbar Khan of Pakistan army. To rout them it was necessary to destroy their bases which would mean invasion on a foreign country. At this stage Lord Mountbatten "pressed both Gandhiji and Nehru to adopt his original suggestion to invoke the good offices of the United Nations Organisation. Nehru ultimately accepted the suggestion, though some of his colleagues had misgivings about the wisdom of the step."⁸ Therefore, on December 31, 1947, the Government of India referred the matter to the U.N.

HANDLING OF THE PROBLEM BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Before the Security Council considered the problem its President sent an identical note to the two Governments informing them that the Council was about to consider the matter and appealing to them "without prejudice to any decision on the part of the Council, . . . to refrain from any step incompatible with the Charter and liable to result in an aggravation of the situation, thereby rendering more difficult any action by the Security Council." The two Governments assured the Council that they would not do any such thing. The Council took up this matter on January 6, 1948 and passed a resolution on January 17, 1948, calling upon both the Governments to take immediately all measures calculated to improve the situation

and to refrain from those likely to aggravate it. It adopted another resolution on January 20, 1948, establishing a Commission composed of the representatives of three members of the United Nations, one to be selected by India, another to be selected by Pakistan and the third to be designated by the two so selected.

The Commission was assigned the task of investigating the facts under Article 34 of the Charter. It was also called upon to exercise any mediatory influence to carry out the directions of the Security Council and to report how far the advice and directions of the Security Council to the two Governments had been carried out. By its resolution, dated April 21, 1948, the Security Council increased the membership of the Commission to five.⁹ This resolution also stated that the Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir was likely to endanger international peace and security and recommended to India and Pakistan appropriate measures to bring about a cessation of fighting and to create proper conditions for a free and impartial plebiscite to decide the question of accession. It passed another resolution on June 3, 1948, directing the Commission of Mediation to proceed without delay to the areas of dispute with a view to accomplishing in priority the duties assigned to it by the resolution of April 21, 1948.

In the beginning Pakistan denied having anything to do with the raiders, although as early as April 20, 1948, the British Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan had suggested that the regular units of the Pakistan army should be sent into Kashmir and this proposal was put into effect in early May, 1948.¹⁰ But after the arrival of the Commission in the sub-continent in July, 1948, Pakistan officially admitted the presence of its regular troops in Kashmir. In December, 1948, the Commission made certain proposals for holding plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir after the restoration of normal conditions. Both the Governments having accepted the proposals, the Government of India took the initiative in calling a halt to fighting. As Pakistan had by that time lost the initiative on

9. The members were Argentina, Belgium, Colombia, Czechoslovakia and the U.S.A.

10. Actually Pakistan's troops marched into Jammu and Kashmir on May 8, 1948, although they were posted behind the line of the raiders since January, 1948. See Lord Birdwood, *Two Nations and Kashmir*, pp. 67-68.

8. V. P. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, p. 410.

practically all the fronts, she readily agreed to a cease-fire which became effective from the midnight of January 1, 1949. The cease-fire line was settled six months later.

The Commission adopted two resolutions, one on August 13, 1948, which was divided into three parts, *viz.*, cease-fire, truce agreement and the plebiscite and the other on January 5, 1949. It aimed at making the two sides agree to withdraw their forces so that appropriate conditions for holding the plebiscite may be established. But it could not secure the agreement of the parties. In March, 1949, the Secretary-General after consulting India appointed Admiral Chester Nimitz as Plebiscite Administrator but he could not take over till the withdrawal of troops had taken place. In December, 1949, the Commission proposed to the Security Council that it would be better if a single U.N. representative with broad powers was appointed. The President of the Security Council of that month, General McNaughton of Canada tried to help a settlement but failed. In April, 1950, the Security Council appointed Sir Owen Dixon as the U.N. representative substituting the U.N. Commission to help the parties in demilitarization. He was particularly authorised to place before the parties or the Security Council "any suggestions which, in his opinion, were likely to contribute to the expeditious and enduring solution of the dispute which has arisen between the two Governments in regard to the State of Jammu and Kashmir."

The first U.N. representative did not succeed in getting a withdrawal of forces. Therefore, he made a proposal for the division of the whole territory between India and Pakistan and for holding a vote in a limited area. When he could not secure the agreement of parties he reported failure and said in his report that in his opinion it would be better to leave the matter to the parties themselves for settlement. He pointed out that the parties thought that the responsibility for a solution rested on the Security Council but the latter could settle the matter only after agreement between them. He said when actual fighting was going on it was natural that the Security Council should intervene but even after cease-fire the initiative was thought to lie with it. He concluded:

"The whole question has now been

thoroughly discussed by the parties with the Security Council, the Commission and myself and the possible methods of settlement have been exhaustively investigated. It is perhaps best that the initiative should now pass back to the parties. At all events I am not myself prepared to recommend any further course of action on the part of the Security Council for the purpose of assisting the parties to settle between them how the State of Jammu and Kashmir is to be disposed of."

On the request of the first U.N. representative to be relieved of his post, the Security Council appointed on April 30, 1951, Dr. Frank Graham as U.N. representative. He held talks with the two Governments during the summer of 1951. He took up the problem of demilitarization and was successful in narrowing the area of disagreement between the parties. In April, 1952, he reported to the Security Council that both India and Pakistan had considerably reduced their forces, although they could not agree on the final number to be stationed on the cease-fire line. He also arranged meetings of the representatives of the two Governments with himself acting as a mediator. But his efforts proved fruitless. On March 27, 1953, he submitted his report to the Security Council and pointed out the desirability of direct negotiations. In June, 1953, the Prime Ministers of the two countries established their direct conferences to arrive at a settlement but the problem could not be solved.

In the meantime a Constituent Assembly was convened in Jammu and Kashmir in 1951 to frame a constitution for the State. At that time Pakistan represented to the Security Council that the Assembly should not decide the question of accession of the State. Sir B. N. Rau, the Indian representative, therefore, clarified the position of the Government of India on March 12, 1951, in these words:

"Honourable members will please note that the machinery of the Constituent Assembly was not devised only for Kashmir but for other similar units of Indian federation as well . . . Accordingly, provision was made for a Constituent Assembly for settling the details of the Kashmir Constitution. Will that Assembly decide the question of

accession? My Government's view is that while the Constituent Assembly may, if it so desires, express an opinion on this question, it can take no decision on it."

He reaffirmed this view on March 29, 1951. On March 30, 1951, the Security Council passed a resolution to the effect that the decision of the Constituent Assembly with regard to accession would not be regarded as affecting the final disposal of the question of plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir.

In February, 1954, the Constituent Assembly unanimously ratified the accession of the State to India and in November, 1956, adopted a constitution which legalised the status of Jammu and Kashmir as a unit of the Indian Union. It dissolved itself on January 26, 1957, when the new constitution was formally inaugurated. But Pakistan grew nervous at this and her then Foreign Minister, Malik Feroze Khan Noon requested the Security Council in a letter dated January 2, 1957, to meet at "a very early date" to consider the Kashmir question as he feared that India was taking steps to integrate the State into the Indian Union on January 26, 1957. Two days before this date the Security Council passed a resolution calling for a *status quo* in Kashmir and declaring that the convening of the Constituent Assembly and any resulting action regarding the future of Kashmir would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the principle embodied in previous United Nations resolutions on this matter. On February 20, 1957, the U.S.S.R. vetoed a resolution sponsored in the Security Council by four powers for sending United Nations forces in Kashmir for solving her problem.

Immediately after its rejection the U.S.A. moved another resolution which proposed that the President of the Council, Gunnar Jarring of Sweden, should proceed to the sub-continent and confer with the Governments of India and Pakistan with a view to exploring the possibilities of settlement of the dispute. He was to report to the Security Council not later than April 15, 1957. This time-limit was extended by a fortnight and Mr. Jarring submitted his report on April 30, 1957. In his report he admitted his failure to make any concrete proposals for settling the dispute but pointed out:

"I could not fail to take note of the concern expressed in connection with the changing political, economic and strategic factors surrounding the whole of the Kashmir question, together with the changing pattern of power relations in West and South Asia."

Obviously, he was making a reference to the various military pacts entered into by Pakistan with a view to tilt the military balance in her favour as against India.¹¹ In the course of his report he also remarked that

"The implementation of international agreements of an *ad hoc* character, which has not been achieved fairly speedily, may become progressively more difficult because the situation with which they were to cope has tended to change."

Recently the Security Council considered this report and discussed a five-power resolution providing that Dr. Frank Graham should again be requested to inquire into the question of augmentation of forces on either side and to help the solution. But since Soviet Russia threatened to veto it, an amended resolution deleting some obnoxious features was worked out by the Swedish representative. That resolution was passed by the Council on December 2, 1957, notwithstanding the objection of India to it. The new resolution authorises the United Nations representative (Dr. Graham) to visit the sub-continent and to make recommendations to the parties to take appropriate action for the implementation of the U.N.C. I.P. resolutions and for a peaceful settlement. It also calls upon the parties to refrain from saying or doing or causing anything to be done which is likely to aggravate the situation and to appeal to their respective peoples to maintain a peaceful atmosphere for the promotion of further negotiations.

ISSUES INVOLVED

The Kashmir problem has been before the Security Council for ten years but it has failed to solve it because of its fundamentally wrong approach to it. When India complained of Pakistan's aggression in Jammu and Kashmir

11. Even Lord Birdwood admits: "It is impossible to deny that Pakistan, strengthened with modern arms of equipment, could, if she so wished, use her increased power to enable her to strike more effectively from off her soil into Kashmir."—*Two Nations and Kashmir*, p. 143.

the Security Council should have at the outset decided whether the complaint of the Indian Government was justified or not by holding an inquest into the matter but it broadened the whole issue into a general consideration of the relations between India and Pakistan. Frank McCraes, the biographer of Pandit Nehru describes it as "the wholly inexplicable attitude of the Security Council on Kashmir." He also remarks:

"It almost looked as if the Security Council was anxious not to treat aggressor and aggressed on the same basis but to put India rather than Pakistan in the dock."¹²

In fact, going through the debates of the Security Council on the Kashmir problem, one is bound to get the impression that the Security Council has proceeded on the assumption that India has forcibly occupied a portion of the Jammu and Kashmir State which should rightfully go to Pakistan.¹³ It does not seem to have accepted the Indian sovereignty over Kashmir and has actually reopened the issue of accession of the State. It has never considered the question of that area which Pakistan has been illegally occupying for the last ten years. At best it has regarded Jammu and Kashmir as a no-man's land and has debated the question as to which State should acquire it. Thus it has treated the aggressor and the aggressed again on a footing of equality. This attitude of the Security Council or to be more exact, some of its prominent members, has been strongly resented to by India. It may be pointed out here that even Lord Birdwood has indirectly admitted the legality of Kashmir's accession to India.¹⁴ Moreover, in 1949, when Kashmir elected four members to the Constituent Assembly of India, Pakistan complained to the U.N.C.I.P. that it was illegal. But the Commission said that in its view, "it is difficult to oppose India on purely legal grounds."

To many keen analysts of the international situation this attitude of the Security Council

was due to two reasons. Firstly, due to the strategic position and military importance of Jammu and Kashmir, the important members of the Security Council, particularly the U.S.A. and Great Britain, could not be expected to remain disinterested judges.

Although it cannot be maintained that the British Government in any way encouraged the raiders, it is difficult to say so in the case of some individual British Officers. In this connection V. P. Menon makes a very cautious statement. He remarks:

"It is a fact that several top-ranking British Officers serving in Pakistan did have an inkling of these preparations and plans, though I do not suggest that they took any hand in their execution."¹⁵

Brigadier Ghansara Singh, the then Governor of Gilgit, giving an account of the raid there stated that it was Major Brown, British Commandant of Gilgit Scouts who planted the Pakistan flag in Gilgit on November 3, 1947.¹⁶ After this he sent a number of wireless messages to Pakistan reporting that her Government had been established in that area. The British Governor of the then North-Western Frontier Province, Sir George Cunningham, wrote a letter to the then Indian Commander-in-Chief, Sir Rob Lockhart, that the tribal raids were to begin soon but the latter concealed it from the Government of India and the Defence Minister of India.¹⁷ The account published by Mr. G. K. Reddy, former Director of Public Relations of the Azad Kashmir Government in the *Blitz*,¹⁸ dated June 9, 1948, showed that the hands of General Gracey, the Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan, and Sir George Cunningham were not quite clean.

The Maharaja had received information regarding the contemplated raids about a month in advance. But he thought that his Dogra forces would be more than a match for any raiders. Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan says:

12. *Jawaharlal Nehru*, p. 397.

13. Even Lord Birdwood admits that "as the inquiry continued the sympathies of the Council noticeably moved towards the Pakistan case. Certainly, so far as the United States were concerned, Mr. Warren Austin left no doubt in the minds of the delegates as to where his sentiments lay."—*Two Nations and Kashmir*, p. 90.

14. *Two Nations and Kashmir*, p. 62.

15. *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, p. 414.

16. This story is confirmed by V. P. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, pp. 404-5.

17. Lord Birdwood says that the letter never mentioned Kashmir (*Two Nations and Kashmir*, p. 53).

18. A Bombay Weekly.

"But His Highness did not know that his British Commander-in-Chief had so distributed the armed forces that they could not effectively function if such an attack came from across the border. Small units of the army had been split up from Gilgit, Leh, Poonch, Mirpur Koti, Kshtwar and alongside the border. Seven strong battalions had been made ineffective by having been spread over far-flung places."¹⁹

Secondly, Pakistan being a camp-follower of the Anglo-American bloc, it is natural for the U.S.A. and Great Britain to support her in her dispute with India. To them Pakistan would be a better custodian of Jammu and Kashmir than India. Thus the problem has become an issue in the cold war between the two major power blocs in the world. The fact that Pakistan is a member of the Baghdad Pact with which the two above-mentioned powers are also associated has complicated the issue further and the members of the Pact have openly lined themselves up with Pakistan against India. Actually Turkey and Iraq, two members of the Pact, submitted an aide-memoire to the Government of India on May 4, 1956 and June 26, 1956, respectively showing their concern in the matter.

At first India had no idea of securing the accession of Kashmir to herself. But the circumstances in which the raiders started a reign of terror in Kashmir made India sympathetic to the sufferings of the people. V. P. Menon, who as Secretary of the States Ministry formulated the policy of the Government of India regarding Kashmir emphatically asserts:

"We had no territorial ambitions in Kashmir. If the invasion by the raiders had not taken place, I can say in the face of any contradiction that the Government of India would have left Kashmir alone. Indeed, Lord Mountbatten on his return to England publicly stated that he had, on the authority of the Government of India, informed the Maharaja that he was perfectly free to accede to Pakistan if he chose to do so."²⁰

19. "Fact on Kashmir II" in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Allahabad), June 7, 1957.

But Lord Birdwood says: "The dispositions of the State forces had been previously decided by the Maharaja himself, Brigadier Scott's advice being ignored."

—*Two Nations in Kashmir*, p. 56.

Actually according to Mr. Mahajan Lord Mountbatten wanted to persuade the Maharaja to accede to Pakistan. That is why the latter pleaded an excuse of illness on the last morning of Lord Mountbatten's visit to the State. The motive of the Government of India is also clear from the fact that she accepted accession provisionally.

But it would not be correct to say that India has no interest in Kashmir. Actually her interest in the state arises due to four reasons. Firstly, she is of great strategic importance and, thus, necessary for the security of India. Secondly, she is the embodiment of the principle of secularism and a refutation of the two-nation theory on which Pakistan was founded. Thirdly, India has the freedom and progress of the people of Kashmir at heart. Lastly, India has regarded herself as inheriting the suzerainty of the British Government in India. In a speech in the Indian Parliament Pandit Nehru remarked:

"Since she (Jammu and Kashmir) was not independent, it was our responsibility as the continuing entity to see that Kashmir's interests were protected. I wish to say this, because it was undeniably our duty to come to Kashmir's aid, irrespective of whether she had acceded to India or not."²¹

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the Indian Defence Minister, speaking in the Security Council on October 9, 1957, also used a similar argument and remarked:

"We are the legitimate successor to British authority in India. We are the successor State and even without accession we had an obligation to go to the rescue of the peoples whose land was being plundered and women raped."

The Indian case has been that India referred the Kashmir situation²² which was likely

20. *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, pp. 413-14.

21. *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches, 1949-53*, p. 340.

22. Goodrich and Simons point out: "The Charter contains no precise indication regarding what constitutes a 'situation'. It may be presumed that the term is used to describe a set of conditions slightly broader in implication than a 'dispute,' which may be considered as a controversy in which the parties and the issues are capable of fairly definite determination."—*The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security*, pp. 230-31.

to endanger international peace and security to the Security Council under Article 35 of the U.N. Charter for investigation and settlement. Thus the Security Council could, according to the Indian point of view, only investigate into the matter and make suggestions for the removal of the situation. As a first step, therefore, she suggested that the Security Council should declare Pakistan as an aggressor and ask the latter to vacate her aggression. But the Security Council has not treated the problem as a situation and has handled it as a dispute. Goodrich and Simons point out in this connection:

"The point may be considered established that it is for the Council itself to decide whether a question is a dispute or a situation if the determination is to be made. Many of the cases brought to the Council as 'situation,' such as, the Indo-Pakistan question and the question of the Greek frontier incidents have been, in fact, handled as disputes."²³

According to the above-quoted authors in dealing with the Kashmir problem, "The Council concentrated its efforts on achieving a peaceful settlement of the dispute."²⁴ This, however, does not seem to be convincing as the same body went out of its way to declare China as aggressor during the Korean war and Soviet Russia in Hungary last year, although no useful purpose could be served by such action in these cases.

Moreover, India cannot understand how the aggressor and the victim of aggression can be placed on the same footing. In fact, neither the Security Council Resolution of April 21, 1948, nor the U.N.C.I.P. Resolution of August 13, 1948, did so. Both these resolutions proposed that first the Pakistani nationals and forces should be withdrawn and then India should also reduce her forces to the minimum for maintaining peace and security in the State. The U.N. C.I.P. Resolution referred to above which was accepted by Pakistan stated:

23. *Ibid*, p. 231. But Lord Birdwood says that "acting as it did under Chapter VI of the Charter, the Security Council could only say what should be done. Its recommendations were therefore but pious hopes, depending on their acceptance by the two parties concerned."—*Two Nations and Kashmir*, p. 92.

24. *Ibid*, p. 61.

"As the presence of troops of Pakistan in the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir constitutes a material change in the situation since it was represented by the Government of Pakistan before the Security Council, the Government of Pakistan agrees to withdraw its troops from the State."

After two years Sir Owen Dixon, the U.N. representative said that

"When the frontier of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was crossed on, I believe, October 20, 1947, by hostile elements; it was contrary to international law, and that when, in May, 1948, as I believe, units of the regular Pakistan forces moved into the territory of the State, that too was inconsistent with international law."

In this connection it is refreshing to note that when the matter was being considered by the Security Council in February, 1957, the Colombian delegate pointed out that India accepted the U.N.C.I.P. Resolution of January 5, 1949, after a number of assurances asked for by Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, in his letter of December 20, 1948, to the Chairman of the U.N.C.I.P. were given to him. But according to the *Times of India*²⁵ Pandit Nehru wrote the letter on August 20, 1948, and the assurances asked for were given to him before India accepted the U.N.C.I.P. Resolution of August 13, 1948. They were as follows:

1. Responsibility for the security of the State rests with India.
2. The sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir Government over the entire territory of the State shall not be brought into question.
3. There shall be no recognition of the Azad Kashmir Government.
4. The territory occupied by Pakistan shall not be consolidated.
5. Pakistan shall be excluded from all affairs of Jammu and Kashmir.

As a result of further correspondence the following additional assurances were given to the Government of India:

- (a) The plebiscite proposals shall not be binding upon India if Pakistan does not implement Part I (cease-fire)

25. Delhi Edition, February 22, 1957.

and Part II (Truce) of the Resolution of August 13, 1948.

- (b) There shall be a reversion of the administration of the evacuated areas in the north to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and its defence to the Government of India.
- (c) "Azad Kashmir" forces shall be disbanded and disarmed.

That none of these conditions has been fulfilled is common knowledge. Pakistan has still not vacated her aggression over a portion of the State and is forcibly keeping it under her iron heel. This is evident from the fact that on November 1, 1957, the Pakistan Socialist Party demanded immediate elections and restoration of democracy in the so-called "Azad Kashmir territory." Moreover, recently prominent leaders of the Pakistan-occupied area of Kashmir in an open letter complained of the presence of a 'reign of terror' in Gilgit and Baltistan.

India has, therefore, emphatically asserted that the plebiscite which she promised to the people of Kashmir (and not Pakistan) could only take place after Pakistan vacates her aggression. In fact, Mr. Gunnar Jarring in his report submitted to the Security Council on April 30, 1957, pointed out that the Indian case as represented to him was that two factors stood in the way of the implementation of the two U.N.C.I.P. Resolutions. In his own words, "The first of these was that Part I of the resolution of August 13, 1948, and in particular Sections B and E, had in their (Indian Government's) view, not been implemented by the Government of Pakistan."²⁶ The second impediment which related to Part II of the above-mentioned resolution was that the Security Council had so far not expressed its views on Pakistan's aggression over Indian territory.

Pakistan has contended that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir was fraudulent. It has charged India with trying to destroy Pakistan. It has also charged India with genocide, although actually the boot is in the other leg. Pakistan has nearly eliminated the minorities in her western wing and she is now determined to put

an end to them in the eastern wing. The harrowing tales of constant and unprecedented influx of refugees from Eastern Pakistan into India which are reported in the daily press are an irrefutable evidence of this sadistic policy of Pakistan.

MISTAKES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

In handling this complicated problem, the Government of India have made a number of mistakes. It may be regarded as being wiser after the event to say that the Government of India should have unconditionally accepted the Instrument of Accession signed by the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir²⁷ and also that they should not have referred the matter to the U.N. Perhaps, in the circumstances in which these decisions were taken they were or they seemed to be proper. But one more criticism has been made that having decided to refer the matter to the Security Council the Government of India should have done so under Chapter VII which is concerned with acts of aggression and not Chapter VI which deals with "Pacific Settlement of Disputes." Frank Moraes, the biographer of Pandit Nehru who has made this criticism, says:

"By invoking Chapter VI India enabled the Council to traverse a field which included charges by Pakistan of genocide against India instead of pin-pointing the issue of Pakistan's aggression against India."²⁸

But it may be pointed out here that it would not have made much difference if Chapter VII was invoked. In fact, as pointed out earlier, the Security Council has treated this matter as a dispute and not as a situation and in February, 1957, it even discussed a proposal to send its force in the area.

26. Section B of Part I of the U.N.C.I.P. Resolution of August 13, 1948, envisaged a military *status quo* while Section E assured "an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations."

27. As the cases of a number of other States, such as, Junagadh and Hyderabad were being tackled at the same time, the Government of India wanted to follow a consistent policy in the matter of accession. Pandit Nehru in a broadcast from New Delhi on November 2, 1947, outlined the policy of the Government of India in these words: "And here let me make clear that it has been our policy all along that where there is a dispute about the accession of a State to either Dominion, the decision must be made by the people of that State. It was in accordance with this policy that we added a proviso to the Instrument of Accession of Kashmir."—*Independence and After*, p. 57.

28. Jawaharlal Nehru, p. 395.

But there is no doubt that the Government of India committed a number of mistakes in handling this problem. When the Maharaja made an offer to enter into a Standstill Agreement with India she did not take timely action. V. P. Menon says in this connection:

"Pakistan signed a standstill agreement. But we wanted time to examine its implications. We left the State alone. We did not ask the Maharaja to accede, though, at that time, as a result of the Radcliffe Award, the State had become connected by road with India."²⁹

The reasons given for this indifferent attitude of the Government of India by the same author are the peculiar problems of the State arising out of the composition of the population and the pre-occupation of the Government of India with other States. But they hardly seem to absolve the Government of India of their responsibility in the matter. This actually meant that from August 15, 1947, till October 25, 1947, the Government of India had no formal relations with Jammu and Kashmir. It is quite possible that this attitude of the Government of India may have encouraged Pakistan to pursue its nefarious design of coercing Kashmir into submission.

In Pandit Nehru's own words:

"In September, news reached us that tribesmen of the North-West Frontier Province were being collected and sent to the Kashmir border. In the beginning of October events took a grave turn. Armed bands moved into the Jammu Province from the neighbouring districts, West of the Punjab, committed serious acts of depredation on the

local inhabitants, burnt villages and towns and put a large number of people to death. Refugees from these areas poured into Jammu."³⁰

Yet the Government of India took no action except writing letters to Pakistan which were not even acknowledged. Even after the accession of the State till the reference of the matter to the U.N. on December 31, 1947, the Government of India did not take firm action in driving out the raiders from Pakistan. One more year elapsed between the reference of the matter to the U.N. and the cease-fire on January 1, 1949.³¹ During this period the raiders should have been doggedly chased out. Even the U.N.C.I.P. said in so many words that Pakistan utilised the period when the Commission was in active negotiation with the two parties to consolidate her position. But the Government of India made a half-hearted effort to drive out the raiders and proposed a cease-fire when the enemy had lost the initiative on practically all fronts and was handicapped in several ways.

India allowed the question of accession of the State to be reopened by the Security Council. In the words of Mr. Mahajan:

"The question of accession of the State was outside the Charter of the Security Council and it had no jurisdiction to entertain it at the instance either of India or Pakistan, as under the Act of Independence it was only within the competency of the ruler of the State or of the Government that was established under his authority and of which he was the constitutional head."³²

Indian diplomacy also has not been effective enough to help us in attaining success in regard to the Kashmir dispute. Even the American friends of India are of the view that the Indian case has been legally unassailable. Mr. Chester Bowles who was the American ambassador in India from 1951 to 1953, remarks:

30. *Independence and After*, pp. 60-61.

31. Even an official publication, *Kashmir Story* admitted that "while, after July 15, military activity on our side was confined to defensive and 'mopping up' action, Pakistan was steadily exploiting the situation in our endeavour to gain the offensive," p. 62.

32. "Facts on Kashmir—II" in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Allahabad), June 8, 1957.

29. *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, p. 395. Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan comparing the indifferent attitude of the Government of India with the attitude of Pakistan says: "What did India do on the other hand? When we got news of the raid, we sent our Deputy Prime Minister with a letter from His Highness to the Prime Minister of India. I also sent personal letters, asking help on humanitarian grounds to save us from this unprovoked act of aggression. We also sent with him a letter of accession. The British Prime Minister was approached by cable but no response came. 24th and 25th the two most anxious and most exciting days we passed but no reply came from anywhere." He goes on to say: "Pakistanis were giggling and were too sure to capture us and take possession of the whole State while India was neither giving help nor sending even a reply to our request."—"Facts on Kashmir—II" in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Allahabad), June 7, 1957.

"As ambassador to India it had been my responsibility to study carefully the legal and political aspects of the Kashmir question. It was my belief that on this issue the Indians have always had a justifiable legal claim."³³

But there is no doubt that at least in the beginning India spoilt her case by not playing her cards well. Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan remarks:

"In my humble opinion, the representatives of India in the Security Council except perhaps on the last occasion were not able to bring out the strong points in India's favour during the debate. Possibly they were not apprised of all the facts in support of their contentions. Mr. Krishna Menon for the first time fought the battle with vigour and bravery in a heroic manner but single-handed and approached the case from a true angle of vision, but he too was handicapped for want of material of convincing nature . . . Possibly Mr. Krishna Menon also found himself embarrassed by uncalled for and gratuitous commitments made in the past."³⁴

Moreover, the policy of non-alignment which India has adopted in the international field has not been helpful in solving this problem. In fact, it has made its solution more difficult. It has made India friendless and forlorn in the comity of nations. Speaking at Calcutta on August 25, 1957, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the Indian Defence Minister, said:

"While we have no enemies in the world we have none too friendly a country at the present time."

But it may be asked who is responsible for this? If India is trying to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for other countries why cannot she rely on them for the advocacy of her cause? Mr. Asoka Mehta, the P.S.P. leader, speaking at Nagpur on February 2, 1957, said that in spite of the personal popularity of our Prime Minister we could not gather "any support for our cause." He went on to say:

"Justice is on our side and yet when we

go before the bar of world opinion we are insulted and accused of intransigence."

Moreover, by his undiplomatic talks sometimes our Prime Minister annoys foreign powers to the detriment of our national interest. As for example, the question of the entry of Red China in the U.N. has become an obsession with India so much so that she has even stolen a march over the U.S.S.R. in this matter. She pleads the cause of China in season and out of season in every international gathering to the great annoyance of the U.S.A. And what is the attitude of China towards the Kashmir problem? In the last winter when the Kashmir problem was before the Security Council, the Chinese Prime Minister visited India and the only words which fell from his lips were that it was a matter for the two countries to decide among themselves. Similarly, India made the cause of Egypt her own during the last Suez crisis. It is not suggested here for a moment that India should not champion just causes or that she should be a hypocrite. But India could have avoided being so boisterous as she was with the result that she antagonised England to the point of exasperation. India's critical attitude towards the U.S.A. and England resulted in an anti-Indian feeling in the two important members of the Security Council culminating in February, 1957, in the four-power resolution for stationing United Nations forces in Jammu and Kashmir.

Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, described this resolution as "collective aggression or collective approval of aggression" on February 21, 1957. Moreover, speaking at Kanpur on March 4, 1957, he charged the U.S.A. and Britain with deliberately trying to humiliate India on the Kashmir issue.³⁵ But did we not humiliate Britain on her Suez debacle? Do we not humiliate the U.S.A. often by vehemently criticising her foreign policy? To the present writer it seems very necessary that the Prime Minister of so large and important a country as India should not make so many speeches and statements about the affairs of others. It comports with our self-respect and dignity that our

33. *The New Dimensions of Peace*, p. 174.

34. "Facts on Kashmir—I" in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Allahabad), June 5, 1957.

35. Addressing a Press conference at Tokyo on October 7, 1957, Pandit Nehru said that there was "active international gangsterism" in Kashmir and "some of the great powers who talk about aggression in other places," were supporting it in Kashmir.

Prime Minister should not unnecessarily meddle in others' affairs and should only state his opinion if somebody is keen to know it.

PLEBISCITE

The question of plebiscite is quite dead now. It was an offer made by the Government of India to the people of Jammu and Kashmir and not to Pakistan or even the U.N. Her stand has been that the question of plebiscite arises only when Pakistan vacates her aggression. Pakistan has not done so so far. On the other hand, she has in the meantime augmented her power by obtaining military aid from the U.S.A. and by joining the S.E.A.T.O. and the Baghdad Pact. This has changed the pattern of power relations in Asia.³⁶ In fact, addressing a meeting of the Consultative Committee of Parliament on Foreign Affairs on November 15, 1957, the Prime Minister remarked that the Security Council as constituted at present was really the "Baghdad Pact Council." Due to these reasons Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the then Minister without portfolio of the Government of India, winding up the foreign affairs debate in the Lok Sabha on March 28, 1957, stated that the offer of plebiscite had lapsed as its preconditions had not been fulfilled.

India's point of view with regard to Kashmir is being gradually better understood now by the liberal and enlightened sections of the world press. In October, 1957, the *News Chronicle* published a report from its New Delhi correspondent who wrote:

"I am convinced that the much-criticised Premier of India is right. A plebiscite in Kashmir would be a folly," because it would end in a wholesale slaughter between Hindus and Muslims and might "be a spark which ignites the holocaust of a deep space atomic war."

The correspondent, Miss Patridge, also pointed out that even if a plebiscite is held, it would not yield any clear-cut result because in Jammu, the Hindu majority would vote for India while in the valley of Kashmir where

there is a Muslim majority, the verdict would be pronounced in favour of Pakistan. Moreover, near the cease-fire line where the raiders committed excesses the people were in favour of India. Thus even a plebiscite would, according to her, end in the partition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

In fact, the recent attitude of our Government is quite realistic. A plebiscite is not necessary after ten years' wrangling specially when the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir has itself approved the accession of the State to India as final. There is a fully democratic Government in the State³⁷ which has made rapid progress under it. This was testified to by no less a person than Lord Attlee, former Prime Minister of Great Britain, when he visited Kashmir last year.

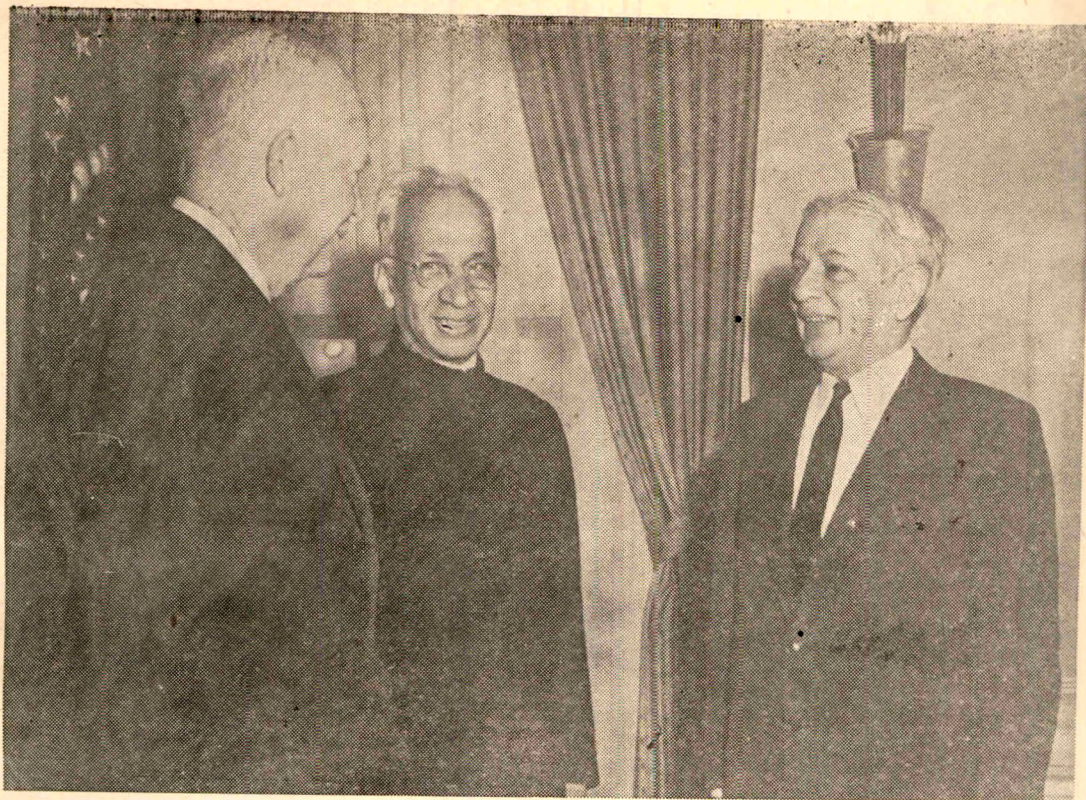
Thus the chapter of plebiscite is a closed one so far as the Government of India is concerned,³⁸ although it is interesting to note that with regard to the suggestion of Mr. Gunnar Jarring at the Security Council meeting on November 13, 1957, that the questions of accession and plebiscite should be referred to the International Court of Justice for advisory opinion, India has said that she would examine this proposal with an open mind while Pakistan has totally rejected it. In fact, India has more or less reconciled herself to the partition of Jammu and Kashmir. Even Mr. Chester Bowles is of the view that a solution could be found only if some kind of partition of the State was accepted. He remarks:

"I have always felt that with a little more flexibility on the part of the Security Council, and particularly on the part of the United States and the United Kingdom, an agreement might have been reached in the winter of 1952. At that time

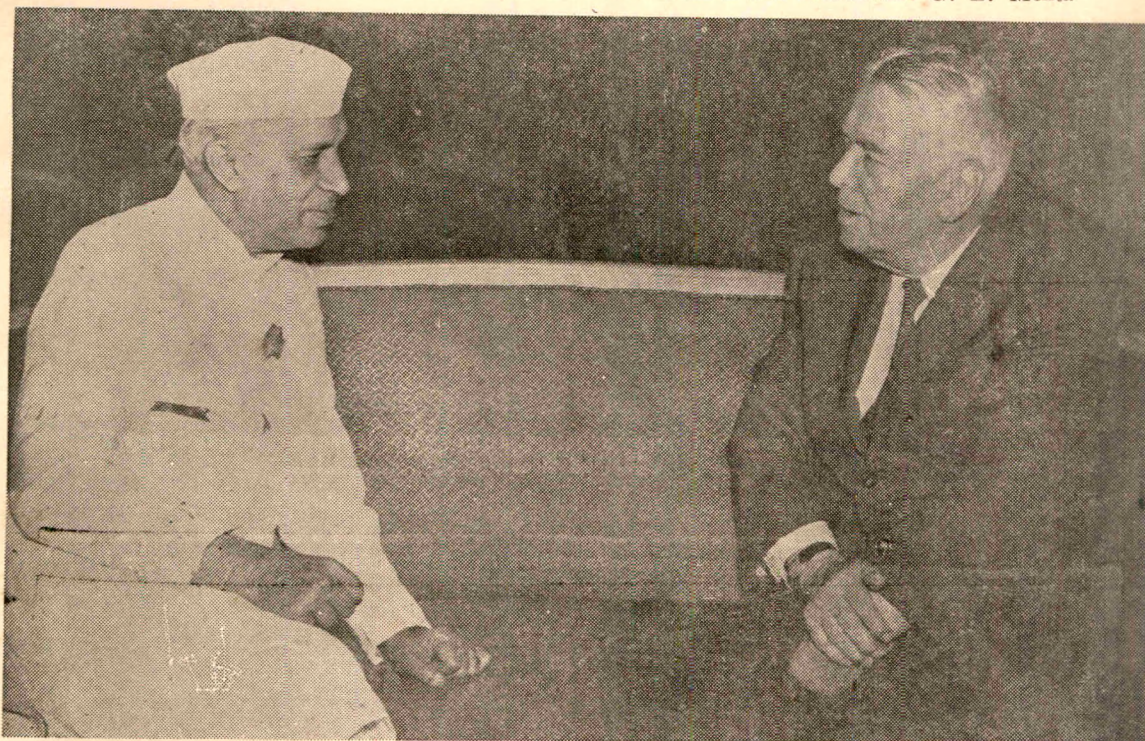
37. Taya Zinkin, the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, wrote in a despatch to that paper about the last general elections in Jammu and Kashmir that they were free and fair.

36. Even Mr. Gunnar Jarring admitted this in his report to the Council. Moreover, Dr. Herbert Evatt, the opposition leader of Australia, told a Press conference in New Delhi on July 20, 1957, that the American military aid to Pakistan had rendered the solution of the Kashmir problem more difficult than before.

38. Lord Birdwood says that "having made the initial concession to idealism, he (Nehru) gradually re-orientated his views and searched constantly for the means by which he could rationalise his own interpretation of a plebiscite and the method by which it is to be conducted. For him the plebiscite became a dilemma. Each time the subject is mooted a fresh delay is introduced, until it seems clear that the motive has become one of so postponing the evil day as to render it for practical reasons beyond our reach." —*Two Nations and Kashmir*, p. 192.



President Eisenhower, Vice-President S. Radhakrishnan and Ambassador G. L. Mehta



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in conversation with Mr. Walter Nash, Prime Minister of New Zealand



Kans-Nanda Sammelan (Udaipur style of painting) in Kotah Museum, Rajasthan



Check-out satellite and Booster of the U.S. Army's Explorer III, now circling the earth, is being checked by a rocket-technician

there was considerable indication that if the Azad Kashmir area, then occupied by Pakistan troops, were given outright to Pakistan and the Jammu and Ladakh areas, which are comprised almost wholly of Hindus and Buddhists, given outright to India, it might have been possible to agree on a plebiscite confined to the valley of Kashmir itself."³⁹

Pandit Nehru's biographer writes:

"On Kashmir, it must be confessed, Nehru's mind is now virtually a closed book."⁴⁰

At another place he says that

"His own attitude to the Kashmir problem has hardened until it now seems almost ossified into a wilful determination to congeal the position on the cease-fire line allowing only for some minor local adjustments. He appears no longer prepared to trust the holding of a plebiscite to the tender mercies of countries whose basic *bona fide* on Kashmir he distrusts."⁴¹

CONCLUSION

In conclusion it may be remarked that the U.N. has not been quite fair to India in dealing with the Kashmir problem. Speaking at Srinagar (Kashmir) Mr. Aneurin Bevan, the labour leader of Great Britain, said on April 7, 1957, that although he did not want to criticise the world organisation, it seemed to him that U.N. was unconsciously creating difficulties in the way of a settlement in Kashmir. Mr. Chester Bowles has also found fault with the U.N. and the American personnel which cannot escape its share of blame in the matter. He says:

"Despite the high calibre of these men, and all the good will in the world, the U.N. effort to achieve a Kashmir settlement inevitably took on the character of an American operation. In a situation where passions run high, we have not only failed to achieve a settlement but have inevitably come in for a sharp criticism."⁴²

But probably some responsibility for this lies on India also because, as already pointed out, by her foreign policy and the occasional undiplomatic outbursts of her Prime Minister, she has annoyed some of the major Western powers. But Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, is of the view that India may have to

face minor difficulties on account of her foreign policy but ultimately she would gain. Answering his critics in the Lok Sabha on May 16, 1957, during the debate following the President's address on the convention of the Second Parliament, he remarked:

"You have to understand a basic thing and it is that we have to bear the consequences of our not joining any military alliances or power bloc. I am, however, sure that in the ultimate analysis we will gain by remaining unaligned."

With regard to the advocacy of our cause it should be pointed out that "if India initially made some tactical mistakes both in Kashmir and at Lake Success"⁴³ her present stand is, no doubt, a realistic one.

Actually, however, the reference to the U.N. has proved to be very unfortunate and that august world organisation cannot even claim, except very indirectly, the credit for the cease-fire.⁴⁴ In fact, Goodrich and Simons go to the extent of saying that the U.N. cannot solve this matter. The two authors remark that

"It seems unlikely that the original programme endorsed by the Council for a plebiscite under United Nations supervision will ever be carried out, or that a satisfactory settlement along other lines is imminent . . . It is unlikely, however, that any settlement by resort to force will be attempted or, if attempted, will succeed, for although neither the Council nor individual member-States have been willing to bring substantial pressure to bear on the parties, either or both would be quite likely to do so if the situation were to deteriorate to the point at which a breach of the peace seemed imminent."⁴⁵

Although a portion of the territory of Jammu and Kashmir is still under the military occupation of the aggressor, in a way it may be said that the Kashmir problem has already been solved and the partition of the State may be regarded as a *fait accompli*.*

43. Frank Moraes: *Jawaharlal Nehru*, pp. 398-99.

44. Lord Birdwood says that the credit for it should go to the two British Commander-in-Chiefs of India and Pakistan and not the U.N.

45. Goodrich and Simons: *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security*, pp. 316-17.

* Paper submitted to the 20th Session of the Indian Political Science Conference at Poona from 27th to 29th December, 1957.

39. *Ambassador's Report*, p. 253.

40. Frank Moraes: *Jawaharlal Nehru*, p. 398.

41. *Ibid*, p. 397.

42. *Ambassador's Report*, p. 254.

SECOND GENERAL ELECTION IN WEST BENGAL—AN ANALYSIS

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Area—34,944 sq. miles.

Population—26,160,000

Density of population—749 per sq. mile.

Assembly Electorate—15,118,061*

Votes polled—10,461,231*

THE Second General Election of India—a gigantic experiment in applied democracy in recent history, came and passed off during the first quarter of the year 1957. It has significant lessons for all serious students of political science and it attracted observers from other lands also. I shall make an attempt here to study the main features of the election in one of the fourteen States of the Indian Union, namely, West Bengal. That will enable us to form an idea of the election in the country as a whole. The polling in West Bengal commenced on the 1st of March, 1957 and continued for the greater part of the month. Although West Bengal shares with other states some common elements having bearing on the election it has also certain features peculiar to itself which should be noted for assessing the result of the election in proper perspective.

In the first place, the state of West Bengal has undergone territorial change twice within the last decade, once in 1947 due to partition and next in 1956 due to states reorganisation. By the first change the area and population of what is now West Bengal became almost half of undivided Bengal and by the second change these have slightly increased over what they were just after partition. The result has been an inordinate increase in the density of population which is the next highest among the fourteen states of India at present and only next to Kerala. It stands at 749 per sq. mile as compared with 928 in Kerala. This increase has been mainly brought about by the ceaseless flow of refugees from East Pakistan. The capacity of the state to sustain the increased population has reached beyond saturation point and the problem of rehabilitation of the displaced persons has

strained the economy of the state almost to the breaking-point without reaching a solution.

Another notable peculiarity of the electoral situation of this state is the existence of a huge concentration of displaced persons from East Pakistan which is still in the process of steady flow. This accounts for an element of floating population with no roots in life, in a state of complete nervous and physical exhaustion and therefore emotionally upset beyond measure. The existence of this unstable element in the population has not only presented a formidable problem of social and economic rehabilitation before the Government but a stupendous problem before the election officials in effecting their registration and arranging for the exercise of franchise by them. People in such an unstable and abnormal condition naturally introduced an element of uncertainty in the way of their voting. Most of them in seeking a scapegoat for their lot found it in the ruling party and voted against it. This psychology of frustration was also taken advantage of and systematically worked up by the parties in opposition. But in some places again promises of bettering their lot by some candidates of the ruling party, particularly if such happened to be sitting candidates with some record of real work to their credit tilted the scale in favour of these candidates of the ruling party. Thus the vote of this element of population was not cast normally on the basis of a reasoned judgement of the programmes placed by the different political parties, but almost in a state of mental stupor brought on by a sense of frustration all round. This introduced an element of uncertainty and unpredictability into the results of the election.

Another peculiarity is the existence of a large industrial belt in the state scattered over the whole area with a growing urban population giving the election a distinct urban complexion.

* Vide A. B. Patrika, dated 30.3.57.

The average rate of literacy in the state is higher as compared with many other states. The political consciousness of the electorate is also correspondingly higher than in other states. In a sense the voting results of Calcutta with suburbs with a large urban population epitomise those of West Bengal as a whole.

Let us now note some general features of the elections with special reference to this state.

ENTHUSIASM OF POLLING IN ELECTIONS

It varied so much from constituency to constituency that it is difficult to generalise. Startling reports of excessive zeal for casting votes such as octogenarians coming to polling booths on stretchers or supported by grand children, or of large caravans of villagers coming from remote parts in the interior in bullock carts after one or two days' drive appeared in the press from time to time, sometimes with pictorial illustrations. Generally speaking polling was heavier in urban areas than in rural, although there were expectations. Some specific rural areas were marked by great enthusiasm for voting, resulting in a heavy poll, as also some urban areas showed conspicuous indifference to the whole affair of election. Women voters were also as a rule more keen on exercising their rights of vote in urban areas than in rural. But in some rural areas women voted in quite large numbers and evinced great interest in the elections. On an overall average, something between 40 to 50 per cent of the qualified voters polled. This shows a slight increase in the figure of polling, though not very remarkable, over the last elections. The figure should have been higher. In particular, in urban areas larger polling was to be expected in view of the concentration of population and comparative nearness of polling booths, higher literacy figure, greater political consciousness and more intensive campaigning, etc. This is explained by the cynical apathy, unconcern and indifference of a large section of voters to the affair because of prevailing economic distress, soaring unemployment, spectacle of prevailing corruption and nepotism in administration generating a fatalistic attitude, that things will go on as they are, whoever be elected. This, however, is very ominous from the standpoint of success of democracy. In rural areas non-

exercise of the franchise has been more due to the non-realisation of the value of its exercise and a lack of sense of civic responsibility. But even in rural areas cynical apathy was not altogether absent. According to the report of the staff reporter of a Calcutta newspaper villagers in some places were heard to say: "What will be the utility of voting? He, who will be elected will only draw his monthly allowance and will attend Governors' dinner party, whereas our position will not improve and probably we shall not get two meals a day." Absence of separate polling booths for women in rural areas where the influence of *purdah* is still strong was another factor explaining poor polling due to abstention of many women voters. One reason of the indifference of voters to the exercise of their franchise is perhaps that political parties have not been very active in educating the electors in the interval between the two elections and that they concentrated their campaign within a small area with a bigger concentration of voters and a large number of constituencies than in wide stretch of rural areas with voters scattered over a big area constituting a single constituency.

PARTY CAMPAIGNS

This brings us to the role played by the parties in the last elections. Parliamentary democracy is essentially party Government and a general election through which a Government is selected by popular vote and installed in office for a number of years is mainly a fight between the different political parties to persuade the majority of electors to vote for their respective candidates. Election on the basis of adult franchise in a country of the dimension of ours with big constituencies calls for mobilisation of tremendous resources both of workers and money which is hardly within the reach of individual candidates without party backing. But unfortunately we have not yet in this country well-organised political parties except only one, namely, the Congress party. The other parties are not strictly speaking political parties worth the name, but only splinter groups excepting perhaps the Communist party. The reason is, it seems to me, that in pre-independence days political power being in the hands of foreign rulers there was no scope for the functioning of political parties. In post-Independence India the necessity of politi-

cal parties for the successful running of parliamentary system of Government which the people got as a legacy from the British and which they also accepted by choice and also free thinking led to the growth of many parties. One of these, the Communist party of India has arisen more as an appanage of the international network of the same party in different States of the world heading up to the Communist Party of Russia with headquarters at Moscow feeding on Marxist ideology and the programme of the Third International than as a national party having its roots in the soil. Having a socio-economic programme and a materialistic outlook more in accord with the present scientific age it has been able to capture the imagination of working classes and the younger generation, specially the student population. As such it has no dearth of active workers. It has also an efficient organisation throughout the country. It has made a better showing in the last elections than in the previous one, because it could fully exploit the popular discontent particularly of the middle classes due to economic depression in the wake of an all-round rise in the cost of living, soaring unemployment, the spectacle of waste in public expenditure and jobbery and corruption in the ranks of the public service. In a contest between a party in office and the party in opposition the latter is always at an advantage, because having not had to shoulder the responsibility of office it can make tall promises to the people and at the same time discredit the ruling party for many acts of omission and commission. It is no wonder therefore that the opposition parties headed by the Communist Party could make some headway during the last elections in spite of the fact that its opponents carried on a strong propaganda against the party on the ground of its extra-state loyalty, its keeping aloof from the 'Quit India' movement of 1942 and assisting the war efforts of the British, its anti-religious and anti-God learnings so thoroughly opposed to the tradition of the land, its subversive role and so on. Moreover the Party made no secret of its repudiation of parliamentary system as bourgeois rule and contempt for the existing constitution of the country. As such it cannot be regarded as a political party fitting into

the framework of parliamentary democracy where all the political parties must accept the fundamentals of the Constitution.

On strategic grounds, however, the Party has for the time being compromised this aspect of its ideology and declared in favour of implementing its programme within the framework of the constitution in order to consolidate its position in the country first and then perhaps to overthrow the Constitution when it would be in a position to seize power in the country as a whole.

The other parties that have sprung up like mushrooms after independence revolved more round personalities rather than difference of principles and programmes. There were splits and mergers and at the time of the second General Elections there were the following parties in the field in West Bengal, apart from the Congress and the Communist Party of India, *viz.*, the P.S.P., Forward Block, Jana Sangha, Hindu Mahasabha, R.S.P., S.U.C., and the Lok Sevak Sangha. Of these, the Lok Sevak Sangha was only a local party formed to fight for the inclusion of Purulia in West Bengal. Having scored a political victory on the issue it became popular and contested the elections on the issue of inclusion of other Bengali-speaking areas in Bengal and won seven out of eleven seats to the State Assembly from the district.

As none of the other parties had any chance against the Congress there was a protracted effort at forming an alliance of all these parties, and eventually almost on the eve of the election five opposition parties, the C.P.I., P.S.P., R.S.P., and two sections of the Forward Block formed a United Left Election Committee which set up candidates for 224 constituencies and in many of the constituencies there was a straight fight between the Congress and the Leftist alliance. Besides the U.L.E.C. two other alliances also were formed, although not very strong and effective, *viz.*, (1) U.D.P.F. (United Democratic Peoples' Front) consisting of R.C.P.I. (Tagore group), Jana Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha and some dissident Congressmen and (2) United Left Front consisting of the Socialist Unity Centre, Bolshevik Party, Democratic Vanguard and five other leftist groups. Although there were 944 candidates in the field for 252 seats in the

Assembly there was straight fight in 24 constituencies of which 6 were in Midnapore, triangular contests in 42 and multicornered contests in the remaining constituencies. The Congress set up candidates for every constituency except Kalimpong, the U.L.E.C. for 224 constituencies, the U.D.P.F. for over 100, U.L.F. for about 45, Lohia group Socialists for 4.

The following is the list of candidates partywise and districtwise:

Districts	Seats	Cong.	C.P.I. (U. Left Election Com.)	P.S.P.	F.B.(M)	F.B.S.(M)	R.S.P.	Ind.
Darjeeling	5	1	2					2
Jalpaiguri	9	7	1	1				
Cooch Behar	7	7		..				
West Dinajpur	10	8	1				1	
Malda	9	6						3
Birbhum	10	5	3	1				1
Hankura	13	13						
Nadia	11	10		1				
Burdwan	21	10	3	4	1			3
Midnapore	32	22	5	5				1
Murshidabad	16	15						1
Hooghly	15	11	3					
Howrah	15	5	4	1	5			7*
Purulia	11	4						
Calcutta	26	8	10	4	1		1	
24-Parganas	42	20	14	4	1		1	2**

* Lok Sevak Sangha. ** Socialist Unity Centre.

is only under fair and free elections that the true voice of the people can find expression in the elections, and we may pride ourselves on the fact that both the elections in Free India (1952, 1957) have been on the whole quite fair, free and clean. Electoral laws provided adequate deterrent against adoption of unfair and corrupt practices in elections. The conduct of elections through a machinery headed by an Election Commissioner whom the provisions of the Constitution have assured a position as independent of political influences as that of a High Court or Supreme Court Judge or the Auditor, and Controller-General, placed the whole transaction beyond any suspicions of undue political influence interfering with free and fair elections and it has been admitted by all parties and even outside observers that the Election Commissioner and the army of officials working under him in conducting the elections did an excellent job of it which has drawn universal admiration.

There was no noticeable complaint about actual official interference. Opposition parties, however, made persistent complaint about the possibility of tampering the ballot-boxes without breaking the seals on the top and also about the long interval between the dates of polling and counting of votes as originally fixed and announced. Election officials denied the truth of the first complaint by actual demonstration and the Government issued a Press Note explaining the reasons of the long interval being mainly due to shortage of personnel and assuring that counting dates would be shifted as far near the polling day as practicable. In many cases the dates of counting were actually brought earlier. By and large the elections were free and apart from reports of exercise of personal influence here and there no large-scale exercise of official pressure was heard of. The police force of both of the Calcutta city and mofussil were mobilised for the purpose and moved from place to place according to polling dates. This necessitated the prolonging of the period of polling in the State as a whole and put a strain on the state police force which however it bore well on the whole. There had been stray incidents not only on the polling date but also in election meetings and even on the date of declaration of results, but considering the size of the country and the electorate and the

FAIR AND FREE ELECTIONS

In the interest of democracy fair, free and clean elections are an imperative necessity. It

unenlightened nature of the electorate these may be regarded as being negligible and the election officials and the state police deserve full credit for conducting the elections in an admirably peaceful atmosphere free from any kind of pressure whatsoever.

PARTY PROGRAMME

Except for the Congress party which had a detailed programme set forth in the party manifesto adopted by the A.I.C.C. on which the candidates stood, candidates of other parties stood mainly on the strength of their own personality and exposure of defects of Congress administration. Their approach to the electors was more negative than positive. Their campaign mainly consisted of vilification, sometimes personal of the congress candidates and denunciation of congress administration and policies. Some of the opposition parties made Bihar-Bengal merger an issue and conducted campaign against Congress candidates for having supported the issue and laid stress on the need for bringing Bengali-speaking areas into Bengal. Lok Sevak Sangha, a local party in Purulia, fought on their record of struggle in behalf of the anti-merger movement. Apart from this the parties mainly fought on national issues—such as type of socialism, nationalisation without compensation, Kashmir issue, purification of administration, criticism of the ruling party and so on. The Congress party however mainly concentrated on its achievements in the field of economic reconstruction, such as, the River Valley Projects, Community Development Projects and National Extension Blocks, targets set in various spheres in the Five-Year Plans—such as building up of such industries as Locomotives, Fertilisers, Telephone requisites, Railway coaches, etc., primary education, irrigation, health centres, refugee rehabilitation, road construction, etc. The Congress party further made the claim to the support of the electorate on the ground of winning independence for them as a result of which they claimed, the electors today got the vote. Another point made by the party was that none of the other parties could form a stable ministry without which fruits of freedom could not be consolidated. Making use of the Kashmir issue on the plea that the return of any other party

to power would damage the cause was very much resented by the opposition parties on the ground that Kashmir was a national issue on which all parties were in agreement and that it was unfair on the part of the Congress to make it an election issue.

POSTER CAMPAIGN

A particular feature of the last election campaign particularly in Calcutta was the poster war which involved such a tremendous use of paper as to cause a temporary shortage of the article in the market. Posters were both printed and handwritten, devoted mainly to mutual recrimination and vilification of parties and sometimes of persons also. One usual form employed was the parody of songs and poems of popular poets like Rabindranath, Sadhak Ramprasad and others. In the absence of more improved media for reaching large number of voters like Radio and Television which are in use in Western Countries, political parties fell back on the only simple and easy medium available to them, namely, the Poster and Cartoon. As the Radio is owned and operated by the Central Government there was a controversy as to the propriety of using it for electioneering purposes by the rival candidates. At first it was decided to make it available to all irrespective of party affiliation, but subsequently the decision was changed as it was likely to upset the normal programme and create misunderstandings. It was therefore decided to keep the Radio free from electioneering altogether. The candidates of both the parties therefore concentrated on posters and cartoons as the only means of publicising their candidature and running down their rivals. This was particularly so in Calcutta and its industrial belt. The city was literally deluged with posters of rival parties expounding the respective platforms of the parties and replying to the rival party's accusations and allegations against the party candidates. In Calcutta this battle of posters was mainly confined to the two rival parties in the field, namely, the Congress and the Five-Party Left Alliance. Though some of the cartoons made personal attacks against some of the candidates, others displayed on the whole a sense of humour. Posters were used also to publicise the election gains of the respective parties. Different party papers were

also pasted at different points in street corners, lanes and by-lanes. Many popular Ramprasadi or film songs were used to satirise the rival parties' claims and were prominently displayed on posters or street pavements. Apart from these another medium that was utilised for the same purposes was the open-air theatres depicting the conditions in the country, ridiculing the rival party and urging the voters to support their own party. Magic lantern shows were also used at some places for carrying on the campaign. Here are some samples of poster-literature issued by the left Alliance of Anti-Congress nature:

- (1) Remember before giving your votes that in undivided Bengal the amount of tax was Rs. 8.5 crores and in 1956-57 people will have to pay Rs. 28.65 crores to the State Government and Rs. 175 crores to the Central Government.
- (2) Under Socialist Congress Government Padmabibhushan is conferred on Birlas for evading taxes while Adhir Dey is sacked for detecting theft.
- (3) Kashmir is a national problem, but the Congress is using it for election purposes.
- (4) In Congress administration it is topping time for the big capitalists in West Bengal. 21 big Indian and foreign capitalists in West Bengal had earned during the five years (1951-55) Rs. 43.44 crores, but the total amount of their capital was only Rs. 32.27 crores.
- (5) It is not possible to hide the truth by filth. During the last 9 years of Congress regime the poor has become poorer and the rich richer. In the next five years the Congress wants the people to pay double the amount of taxation. To stop it vote the Left Alliance to power.

As against these may be cited some specimens of Pro-Congress poster-literature as follows :

- (1) The Congress has removed the English, brought an end of the princely states, abolished zemindary system, taken a lead for world peace, made the First Five-Year Plan successful.

(2) 'Hindi Rushi Bhai Bhai,' so there is no need of the Communist Party.

(3) Vote Congress for the establishment of prosperous Bengal—beneath this the following facts were stated about the achievements of Congress :

Primary Schools—21,291,

Village hospitals—288

Irrigation of lands—over 75 lakh bighas

New roads—7,442 miles.

(4) Do not forget Hungary—all for the crime of demanding freedom! Communists had killed 25,000 Hungarians. Imagine how cruel they can be, once the communists are in power.

An analysis for the election results of election in West Bengal reveals certain significant facts. One such fact is that the two communal parties—Hindu Mahasabha and Jana-Sangha—did not receive any seats. That means a clear repudiation of communalism by the state of West Bengal. Secondly the Congress emerged as the victorious party with an absolute majority of seats, winning 152 out of 252 seats in the Assembly, with the Communist Party as the second strongest party as after the 1952 election, winning 46 seats. In the previous election the Congress won 149 out of 238 seats. That means it has been able to win only 3 out of the 14 additional seats. Another striking point is that the Congress has not been able to gain seats corresponding to the proportionate increase in votes secured by it compared with the last election figures. Whereas in the 1952 election the Congress captured 63.4 per cent of the seats, scoring only 39 per cent of the votes, in the 1957 elections it has secured 60 per cent of the seats scoring 46.2 of the votes. The strength of the opposition in the new Assembly has increased considerably. The strength of the Communist Party has increased by 18. The Congress will have therefore to face a more powerful and determined opposition than last time. Another significant fact is that generally speaking the opposition has scored comparatively greater success in the urban areas than in rural. This is pointedly brought into relief by the results in Calcutta constituencies. Out of the 26 seats in Calcutta, the Congress has gained only 8 seats, conceding 18 to the opposition of which again as many as 10 have gone to the Communist Party. In 1952 elections Congress captured as many as 16 seats and the opposition secured

only 11. The table has therefore turned against the Congress. Similarly in the industrial areas outside Calcutta such as tea areas of Dooars and Assam, industrial areas of Asansol and Raniganj, Railway area of Kharagpur and the industrial belt of Calcutta out of 65 seats the Congress has had to concede as many as 41 to the opposition. This means a clear repudiation of the Congress policy by the urban working class and intellectual class in West Bengal. Dr. Roy the Chief Minister has sought to explain this reverse of the Congress in these areas by saying that in the First Five-Year Plan emphasis was placed on development of rural areas and urban areas were comparatively neglected. But it is difficult to accept this as a satisfactory explanation of the fact. In particular Calcutta is the very nerve-centre of the whole State, nay of India and the City electorate is the most intellectually and politically advanced. So due importance ought to be attached to this verdict of the Calcutta electorate. It is doubtful if the Congress reverse in the city of Calcutta as well as the industrial areas is quite made good by the overall victory of the Congress in the state as a whole which should not lull the leaders of

the Congress party into a sense of complacency. The Chief Minister of West Bengal has stated that in the coming years under the Second Five-Year Plan more attention will be paid to the development of urban areas and he seems to think that the position of the Congress would be redeemed thereby. It is, however, doubtful if this would prove to be an effective remedy of the malady which seems to lie deeper. Even the Prime Minister has often pointed out that the Congress workers have lost touch with the masses and advised them to go to the masses and try to understand their difficulties and remove them. That seems to be the correct approach for retrieving the lost position of the Congress among the urban electorate who are much more politically conscious and sensitive than the rural electorate. It should in any case give the Congress leaders in West Bengal food for thought and heart searching, otherwise there is every chance of the tale of Kerala being repeated in West Bengal at the next election.*

* A paper read at the twentieth session of the Indian political Science Conference held at Poona in December, 1957.

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RABINDRANATH ON SRI AUROBINDO

By SUDHANSU MOHON BANERJEE, M.A.

"O ! AUROBINDO

Accept this homage of Rabindra."

Thus sang Rabindranath Tagore in an inspired moment about fifty years ago. A mighty saga of faith, beauty and strength was born on that day. The poet's sensitive search had discerned—

The articulate embodiment of the
Nation's soul

Its voice incarnate and its goal.

Reading it almost half a century later we find what a prophetic vision it was, what an intense human document pulsating with life, what a true assessment of absorbing interest.

Yet Rabindranath and Sri Aurobindo were not alike though they belonged to the same epoch. They were not only the products of an era of cultural impact, revaluation of values, of a new toxic wine being poured into old bottles but

something more. They were almost the lingering last of the mighty Titans of a resurgent nationalism and a humanist movement whom it was the privilege of Bengal to give to India and India to the world. Yet in their own way they survived as true representatives of India. Both belonged in their different ways to that band of creative idealists who had unleashed spiritual and moral forces. Both had the vision to see and realise that in a world full of misery, chaos and confusion, hate and spite neither a maimed life of monastic seclusion nor a mad orgy of insensate activity were enough to salvage the lost human heritage or to express the growing sense of the Divine. Sri Aurobindo laid stress on the need for an integral process, for a progressive self enlargement, for a synthetic realisation that all life is 'yoga.' Rabindranath never claimed to be a 'Sadhak' in that sense. His passionate

claim was that he had seen and sung, lived and loved. His earth-consciousness and his receptivity to various moods of nature brought him his poetic realisation of the different aspects of the Infinite and its interplay with the Finite. He repeatedly said 'I am a poet, I live too near the earth. I am not a Shadhak.' He considered himself to be the messenger of the one who was varied and his mission was to express that diversity without forgetting the inner unity. In one of his later poems on his birthday relayed from Kalimpong, he said :

"The few candles that are still lit
neath memory's writ
In the quiet of my life's even
with the vanishing sun
I offer them to Thee,
Let my lyre lie low,
silent, inspired
at your feet. When I go
I leave behind me
The flowers that have not bloomed
Love that awaits,
Baffled in its reach
Love that remains. That dies not.

If Rabindranath's canvas was wider and more colourful, Sri Aurobindo's exploration was deeper and more fundamental. If one was in search of the eternal bridegroom his "Dolce Amoree" with all the passion of a pagan, the fire of a Prometheus and surrender of a Radha, the other's was the quiet poise of a Yogi who strove for a conscious and radical change of nature and the best means for its transformation all round. It was not merely urge but its upsurge, its ascent. Creative evolution was according to him a movement to assimilate or better express the higher and the finer movements of life and this higher is laid in it and is not the one coming into it by the pressure of onward movement. That is why he dipped into the silence beyond the surface mind because when out of it, it brought all that a being could want

joy unimaginable, ecstasy illimitable
knowledge omnipotent, might omniscient
light without darkness truth that is
dateless.

Coming to the poem with which we began what did Sri Aurobindo represent according to the poet ?

That full and free life
For which the God in Man sits enthroned
in meditation and in strife
Night and Morn,
For which poets sing in deathless voice
of thunder
And rends the sky asunder,
For which heroes march
Through death and travail search,
For which ease hangs down its head in
shame
Death forgets its pang and its name
That God-gifted priceless treasure
That inner determination in full measure.

It was not merely political freedom. It was that and something more. And the poet knew

The victory is assured. Yours is the say
You have the word and we obey
Who cants to shed tear
Who shall flee in fear
Who shall repress the truth
Who is the coward who shelters under
untruth

It is the weak who weeps
It is the lowly that is lost.

Again, the poet's prophetic faith knows no bounds. He speaks in clearer accents—

Has any monarch however high his
throne
Has ever been able to punish the
messenger of the Morn
Whom He the terrible sends with
Olympic torch

To illumine the world's darkest porch.
To that man who carries it like a cross
even
Iron bars bow to him and chain him
not, Prisons welcome.

It was more the vision of a perfection which the poet symbolized in Sri Aurobindo.

In this hour of trial and tribulation,
Of grief, sorrow and annihilation
Amid bondage and despair
I look at thee and hear
The unfettered soul's rapture clear
The eternal pilgrim's muse, Oh seer
The song of a ceaseless quest.

The poet moves on. He visualises neither poverty nor fear, neither sorrow, nor shame, nor wrong. He characterised Aurobindo's message as a message sublime, of deathless death in *ekymē* and he was the poet who sat in people's heart.

Oh! who thou prophet wast.

The poet hears "the mighty roar of rumbling waves of the sea, that is ever free that craves in thunder, lightning and in rain, and in this medley of song he brought his humble one:

"Aurobindo, Rabindra's homage you
have won."

At the same time the poet instinctively realizes that Sri Aurobindo is but the willing instrument through which the Divine is working and to Whom he has surrendered. The poet too bows to Him who in his playful mood not only creates and destroys but leads again from darkness to light, from death to life. It is He

Who talks in diverse languages
In different climes to diverse races
He whose voice we hear in all great
endeavour
In all great achievements and splendour.

This sense of the Divine encompassing everything had also dawned on the poet and it was a reminder that he saw this Divine however imperfectly in a kindred soul. That was the greatest tribute he could pay to Sri Aurobindo to a man, to whom

Sorrow does not matter
Bruises do not hurt
Losses count not
Fear has no grip

and who does neither believe in a false king
nor in his punishment and who can defy death
and to such a man comes the eternal answer of
duality

I exist, you exist
And in between us Truth doth stay.

This picture of Sri Aurobindo was to quote Sri Aurobindo himself:

"A preface only of the epic climb
Of human soul to an eternal state."

Twenty years later, the poet paid a greater tribute to the Saint of Pondicherry when he said—"I have seen you in your first Tapasya and had bowed to you in deep reverence. Today I have the good fortune of seeing you again in your serene calmness, in your second Tapasya and I bow again and say, 'O Aurobindo, take my homage; you have realised in your own life the saying of our Rishis that we are one with the Universe'."

Years ago Sri Aurobindo in his book on the Ideal of the Karmoyogin had outlined the real meaning and purpose of India's awakening—the deep and underlying forces that were shaping her destiny and the best way of serving her. His Uttarpara speech delivered just after his acquittal was remarkable for the revelation of the new faith and light that had dawned on him in jail. A new urge of withdrawing himself from day to day politics came up on him and he retired to Pondicherry and lived there in silent communion for 40 years. People have called him an escapist who should have been in the thick of the fight. But his dynamism was not asleep. It burst forth in new vigour, in a new rhythm—embracing all aspects of existence striving for a richer, fuller and nobler life. With his usual profundity of thought, sublimity of conception and loftiness of language he had long ago discussed the problem of Human Unity in a series of 35 articles in the pages of *Arya* during the first World War. He was a Yogi but he never failed to emphasise the national value of mundane things such as art, its aesthetic, intellectual and spiritual aspects. He took up his pen in defence of Indian culture. As a poet his vision soared high above the cosmic oneness in supramental region and his collective poems and dramas and his latest *Sabitri* closed a chapter of poetic excellence and beauty coupled with deep penetrating thought that is hardly surpassed. *Sabitri* was conceived as "a priestess of immaculate ecstasies" with a body like a parable of dawn "a niche for veiled divinity." He had

visualised in her the perfection to which Human spirit could aspire. We find this gradually revealed in the Books of Birth and Quest, Book of Life, Book of Love and Book of Fate. It is not without significance that the country got independence on the 15th of August, the day of Sri Aurobindo's birth. His prophetic words still ring true:

"It was the supreme misfortune of India that before she was able to complete the round of her experience and gather up the fruit of her long millenium of search and travail that her national life broke into fragments. There is still an unexhausted vitality in her. She yet nourishes the seeds of rebirth and renewal. Will

she yet arise, combine her past and continue the great dream where she left it off, shaking off on the one hand the soils and filth that have grown and recast on the other her own In doing so lies her one chance of salvation."

"Night is darkest before dawn and the coming of dawn is inevitable. But the new world whose coming we envisage is not to be made of the same texture as the old and different only in pattern. It must come by other means from within and not from without."

[English renderings of the poet's original used in the article are the writer's own.]

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THE SPIRIT OF REFORMATION

BY PROF. CHUNILAL CHAKRABORTY, M.A.

It is an accomplished fact that the Church of Rome, up to the earlier part of the middle age, discharged its social functions well by acting as a unifying force in Europe which had still been living in the backwater of civilization. The whole of Europe constituted a single Christendom; the individual and the social institution owed their allegiance to the Church. The Church acted as the guardian of moral principles and demanded unquestionable faith and obedience to the Holy Scriptures. Any inquiry of causalities, any independent thinking was tabooed as blasphemy. Thus all windows of the mind were shut and man had to live in a shell.

So long as the Church of Rome stuck to the spirit of the Holy Writ and itself emulated all the principles it preached, doubtlessly it could demand obedience from the people of the Christendom. But very soon it outlived its function. Gradually the Catholic Church fell into the low depth of vices. While it preached the virtues of poverty and showed the wisdom of pursuing a pious life for the salvation of the life hereafter, it itself pursued a course which certainly had no relation with its lofty preachings. The Popes accumulated vast properties. The intriguing Italian politics did not leave them untouched; the religious heads of the Christendom became depraved and active participants in the nefarious factious politics.

They built a Papal State, indulged in secular activities and enriched their coffers by copiously drawing the revenues from the entire religious institutions of Europe, which were subordinate to the Church of Rome. In short, in a feudal Europe the whole Christendom constituted one big feudal estate of the Roman Church, while the churches of various countries, themselves assuming feudal character, acted as the agents of papal extortion.

Thus Rome thrived happily on the faith and ignorance of the people. This state of affairs continued long, but could not have been everlasting. The socio-economic and intellectual forces that had been working, invisibly, but inexorably, started creating a breach, which gradually went on widening and finally engulfing the whole of Europe in a mortal combat. Initially the religious questions were more pronounced, but afterwards the economic questions assumed a proportion, which in effect, galvanised a new Europe. It is not very profitable to argue which of these was primary and which secondary in shaping the historical process. But it may be said that both the questions contributed their relative importance and interacted upon each other. In course of our enquiry it will be observed that so far as the Reformation movement of Europe was concerned, although apparently it represented religious questions directed

at freeing the Catholic Churches of all their vices, nevertheless the socio-economic forces which had been gathering momentum, starting from even before the advent of Renaissance, ultimately transformed the whole character of the religious movement.

"Heralded by an economic revolution no less profound than that of three centuries later, a new world of the sixteenth century took its character from the outburst of economic energy in which it had been born. Like the nineteenth century, it saw a swift increase in wealth and impressive expansion of trade, a concentration of financial power on a scale unknown before, the rise, amid fierce social convulsions, of new classes and depression of the old, the triumph of a new culture and system of ideas amid struggles not less bitter."¹

It is understandable, therefore, why the very modest claims of Martin Luther, who was no revolutionary by any standard of judgement or facts, set in motion such unprecedented forces of social convulsions as to confuse and tear asunder the whole social values which were hitherto being accepted as immutable laws of a higher being. The whole of Europe hurled itself in the throes of a revolution which had swept the land even up to the 19th century.

"Protestant revolution was but one wave of the advancing tide of modern civilization. It was a great revolutionary wave, the onward swell of which, beginning with the refusal of reforms at the Diet of Worms produced the peasants' war and the sack of Rome, swept on through the revolt of the Netherlands, the Thirty Years war, the Puritan Revolution in England under Oliver Cromwell, the formation of the great American republic, until it came to a head and broke in all the terrors of the French Revolution."²

It is necessary, therefore, to examine the condition of Europe prior to the Reformation. It was a time of rapid economic and consequent social changes. The trouble first started in England as a consequence of Hundred years' war with France causing incalculable harm to peasants. In the wake of it the land was visited by the Black Death sweeping away one-third

of the population. The English lords suffered because they had to pay more wages to the labour whose numbers had shrunk up. The Government immediately came to their rescue with the statute of labour putting down the rate of wages. In such an England the preachings of John Wycliffe and his followers against the worldliness, pursuit of wealth and papal exactions, acted as fuse which set England into a big conflagration of Peasant's Revolt in 1381. It was a protest against the existing state of things and a precursor to final break with Rome that was achieved during the Tudor rule. As for the shift of economic interests the Peasant's Revolt set the process in motion, which after the War of Roses, led England to start its journey towards new economic and social goal. The age of feudalism was becoming a thing of the past and the age of mercantilism began. And the combined effect of all these precipitated a break with the existing religious dogmas.

Meantime somewhat similar forces of change pushed Europe further and further away to tear itself off the mediaeval social fabric. In the middle ages the Italian cities, especially Venice and Florence, reaped the chief benefit of commerce with the East. Germany too was enjoying commercial prosperity. Consequently other nations of Europe grew envious of the opulence of these states; every nation felt a craze for new economic ventures with the East.

"First attempted as a counterpoise to the Italian monopolists, then pressed home with ever greater eagerness to turn the flank of the Turk, as his strangle-hold on the eastern commerce tightened, the discoveries were neither happy accidents nor the disinterested curiosity of science. They were the climax of almost a century of patient economic effort."³

In such a Europe the Renaissance provided the spiritual food and added further to intensify the onward march of the nations who had already been pulsating with a gust of unprecedented energy and spirit of adventure. Men came out of the narrow shell of mediaeval superstition. They learned to worship reason and cast away blind faith indoctrinated by the Church. Everything now, before the acceptance of intrinsic validity, must be examined by the touchstone of reason; and reason more often

1. R. H. Tawny: *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, p. 79.

2. Seeborn: *The Era of Protestant Revolution*, p. 231.

3. R. H. Tawny: *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, p. 79.

than not, coalesced with the newly emergent interest, principally that of the mercantile class.

Under such a background then we should now, for scientific understanding, attempt to appreciate the tortuous movements of the Reformation wherein it may be possible to understand why, contrary to the teachings and intentions of Luther and radical Calvin, history destined it to traverse a different course. The religious movement very often had to compromise and reorient itself with the economic aspirations of the mercantile class from whom the main bulk of the supporters, at a relatively later date, came to swell the rank.

In Luther we do not find anything revolutionary. He was not for any major or radical changes; ideologically he was still essentially mediaeval. He had full reverence for the Catholic religion. What he wanted was simply reforms of the church that was enmeshed in temporal pursuit. The ninety-five theses which he had hung on the Castle Church of Wittenburg were all directed against the sale of indulgence and other corrupt practices of the Roman church. As to social grievances of the peasantry and the middle class he had no great sympathy; he disliked the activities of the mercantile class and asked the suffering peasantry to accept their fate with Christian fortitude. He crossed sword with Eck who held brief for the legality of charging interest in business transaction. To Luther usury was impious and violative to the Gospel. Consequently Lutheranism had to depend with servile reliance on the secular authorities.

"Luther was always in favour of authority and the tumult in Germany increased that feeling. . . . The secular Government must take in hand the organisation of religion. The conception that one supreme authority on earth was that of the secular Government; the suspicion of the common man and the resolve to prevent the people from exercising any control over the arrangement of the Church."⁴

Nevertheless, such was the paradox that his protest against religious malpractices released great social forces which he had least foreseen or had any sympathy with. The prediction of Erasmus that all Europe will be turned upside

down in universal revolution was coming to be true. The suffering peasantry were agitated by Luther's teachings in defence of liberty and equality of all men before God. The attack upon the clergy had further intensified the ill-feeling of the peasantry who had also had their grievances against these feudal priests. Added to this was the discontent of the middle class of the town who had their own grievances against local territorial magnates. Even some of them fraternised with the peasants. Perhaps, their guiding motto was to fish in the troubled water thereby strengthening their own position. Munzar, one time compatriot of Luther, supported the causes of the peasants. He preached a sort of anarchical individualism and established a communistic regime at Mulhausen.

Throughout a large part of the Eastern Germany the peasants rose in revolt in 1524. The Communistic elements of the movement estranged the middle class, and the disunited princes of Germany now closed up their ranks and suppressed the rising with uncommon savagery. "Where the peasants had slain their hundreds in the heat of the struggle, the princes slew their tens of thousands in the spirit of revenge."⁵ Perhaps their savagery was more due to fear than revenge. The ascendancy of the lower class, they thought, would jeopardise the very existence of their own hegemony. In this they had obtained support from the rising bourgeoisie too. Therefore since then, "the Reforms had to wage war on two fronts. . . . Anabaptism and the peasants' revolts were feared and hated by the rising bourgeoisie of the 10th Century more fiercely and more nervously than similar proletarian disturbances of later day. They were suppressed with savage cruelty, which received the blessings of both Luther and Calvin."⁶

Many blamed Luther for the disturbance although he himself had condemned the actions of the peasants in no uncertain terms. "Luther had lost to some extent the support of the lower class, and was forced to lean still more upon the princes."⁷

Luther writes:

"The princes of this world are gods, the common people are satan, through whom God

4. T. M. Lindsay: *History of the Reformation in Germany*, p. 412.

5. A. T. Grant: *History of Europe*.

6. Sabine: *A History of Political Theories*.

7. Johnson: *Europe in the 16th Century*, p. 179.

sometimes does what at other times he does directly through Satan, that is, makes rebellion as a punishment for the people's sins.

"I would rather suffer a prince doing wrong than a people doing right."⁸

Further:

"It is in no wise proper for anyone who would be Christian to set himself up against his Government, whether it acts justly or unjustly.

"There are no better works than to obey and serve all those who are set over us as superiors. For this reason, also, disobedience is a great sin than murder, unchastity, theft and dishonesty, all that these may include."⁹

Therefore, Lutheranism, in effect, neither sided with the rising mercantile class nor the lower class, but depended on the support of the princes and consequently came in conflict with the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, the defender of faith. "Charles himself became more convinced that heresy and rebellion were synonymous." Moreover, he must preserve the unity of the Christendom and as such had to wage war against the princes of Germany who sided with Lutheranism. As a result Germany had been pushed into the maelstrom of a civil war. As to the princes there was nothing noble in their motives but to maintain their petty tyranny and get enriched by the riches of the Catholic Church. The German bourgeoisie were also on the decline as a social force; for the centre of commerce had by this time shifted from Levant to Antwerp as a result of Turkish advance. Consequently the process of disintegration set in motion which during the Thirty Years War reached the final stage. Therefore, in the land of its birth, because of its peculiar historical and social conditions traced above, Protestantism failed to infuse any new spirit and vitalize the nation. The country relapsed into mediaeval obsolescence and the unfinished economic revolution of the land had to wait "till the creation of railway system in the 19th century made Germany again the entrepot between Western Europe and Russia, Austria, Italy and the Near East."¹⁰

But the cause was not totally lost. In other countries of Europe, such as, in Holland and England, where bourgeoisie capitalism developed considerably, the religious movement assumed a decisive turn. The middle class grew restless and lost all respects for either Luther or Zwingli and their doctrines. Whether it may conform to the prevailing religious dogmas or not the onward march of the nascent capitalism must proceed inexorably to its destined goal and religion must adjust itself to the need of the time. Any existing social practices that may act as brake must be removed.

"The development of bourgeoisie capitalism was handicapped by the ecclesiastical prohibition of interest and many practices and institutions of the Catholic Church. It is, therefore, comprehensible why the battle for the replacement of the feudal economy by modern capitalistic one and incidentally for the liberation of scientific research, should have been fought and won first on the religious field in the reformation."¹¹

"The religious changes incidental to the Reformation were not the object sought but means of attaining that object. The existing ecclesiastical system was the practical evolution of the dogma, and the overthrow of the dogma was the only way to obtain permanent relief from the intolerable abuses of that system."¹²

The new apostle of the bourgeoisie was Calvin who had no vacillation or trepidation of Luther. In unequivocal terms he supported the cause of the bourgeoisie who were predestined to act as the spearhead of revolution. Where Lutheranism failed, Calvinism provided the theoretical weapon in the hands of the middle class. "Calvin with all his rigour, accepted the main institutions of a commercial civilization, and supplied a creed to the classes which were to dominate the future."¹³

Meanwhile, the Catholic powers had organised themselves under the banner of the Counter-Reformation. Their guiding motto was to preserve the hegemony of the Catholic church and the feudal order of the society. Strong Catholic powers, such as, Spain, Austria and France, supported the organisation and mar-

8. Quoted by Preserved Smith: *The Age of Reformation*, p. 594.

9. *On Good Works*, Vol. VI, p. 250.

10. Tawny: *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, p. 95.

11. V. Gordon Childe: *History*, p. 76.

12. H. C. Lea: *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, p. 653.

13. Tawny: *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, p. 103.

shall all their forces behind the movement to wipe out heresy once and for all. Compared to their resources and strength the Protestants seemed materially insignificant. Notwithstanding the fact, the spirit of the Calvinists, who were imbued with a new mission, could not be crushed, neither the historical destiny of the civilization could be postponed. Europe flung itself into a mortal struggle. It was a combat between the diehard old forces and the emergent new forces. Apparently although it had assumed the guise of religious struggle, yet the burning

question was whether feudalism or capitalism should survive. Ultimately capitalism won the day. "The first triumph of the bourgeoisie—the merchants, bankers, and the master craftsmen of the town in their subconscious struggle to replace the ruling classes of feudalism—the landed nobility—was won in the religious sphere in the Reformation, and assumed the theological guise of Protestantism."¹⁴

(To be continued)

14. V. Gordon Childe: *History*, p. 30.

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BASIC EDUCATION FOR WORLD PEACE

BY PROF. DR. M. KHUSHDIL, M.A., B.T., PH.D.

THE necessity to establish lasting peace among the nations of the world was never before felt more urgently than it is today. The last two world wars have brought home to the common man the stark reality of death and destruction, grief and anguish, suffering and sorrows that can be inflicted on human life. One can well imagine the catastrophe that can befall on man through the use of atomic, hydrogen and various kinds of bombs and deadly weapons, chemical warfare and other innumerable means of human annihilation still unknown to the layman. If the intelligent people of the world do not devise means to stop war-mania among peoples and inculcate in its place an attitude of peaceful living, the consequence will be far deadlier than those ever known in the history of mankind.

Ordinarily, war-mania has been attributed to the instinct of pugnacity by psychologists. Some say that it is an outcome of the tendency of self-preservation. Others are of the opinion that it is more due to ambition, greed, propaganda and a totalitarian type of education than any other single factor. The presence of war-activities and the spirit of violence indicate that man has not learnt the democratic principles of fraternity, equality and mutual respect. It goes to show that the brute in man is still there and the signs of the barbarous stage in the development of human race are still present.

THE LAND OF GLORIOUS TRADITIONS

India has been, from time immemorial, a country of peace-traditions. There are many

instances in her history where kings have abandoned their thrones to spread among the people the ideals of self-sacrifice, peace and good-will. Raja Harish Chandra, for example, gave away his whole kingdom to a *Rishi* and accepted poverty and misery to uphold the principles of truth and duty. Similarly, Ram Chandrajī forsook his throne of Ajodhya in favour of his step-brother Bharat and lived fourteen years in exile in the forest in accordance with the wishes of his parents. Gautam Buddha left his kingdom and became a Sannyasi and Bhikshu to preach the message of love and peace to the people of the world. The great Asoka, after the battle of Kalinga, took a vow not to wage war against any people. He devoted his whole life to the propagation of peace and piety, toleration and truth, among the people of Asia.

THE BASIC SCHEME OF EDUCATION

Mahatma Gandhi in our own times gave the message of love, truth and non-violence to the world. He gave new values to humanity and heightened the moral stature of man. He was not only a great saint and politician but was also a great educationist of his time. He gave to the country a scheme of education which he based on his ideals of truth and non-violence. In his presidential speech at the Wardha Education Conference, held on 22nd and 23rd October, 1937, he declared:

"If we want to eliminate communal strife and international strife, we must start with foundations pure and strong, rearing our younger generation on the education, I have

adumbrated. That plan springs out of non-violence."

Education in many countries has been utilised to inculcate a spirit to rule others, to conquer other countries and to become a strong war-like nation. Mahatma Gandhi realised that education can and should be used as an instrument for building a non-violent world society. He believed that if war-mania can be propagated through education, it can also be banned and banished through education. He emphasised on the education of the child and the community both. He started with adult education and proposed to carry on the programme of 'New Education' stage by stage from the pre-basic to college and University level. He preached that the young and the old alike should instead of national vanity and aggrandisement be taught a lesson of love, sympathy and co-operation to insure peace and well-being among nations.

THE AIMS OF BASIC EDUCATION

The aims of basic education are 'the all-round development of man' and 'the creation of a balanced and harmonious society'—"a juster social order in which there will be no unnatural division between the 'haves' and 'have nots' and everybody would be assured of a living wage and the right of freedom."

History tells us that many wars have been fought among the countries and nations of the world for superiority, domination and conquest. Although, for ensuring individual and collective welfare and settling disputes, war might have been necessary in the past, it has miserably failed to preserve peace among groups and nations today. Peace, it has been amply demonstrated, cannot be preserved by physical force. The obnoxious slogan of war to end war, has, many a time, been used by the military leaders of the world to excite the ignorant people for bloodshed and destruction. But war cannot end war. Mahatma Gandhi realised that war can only be ended by creating a new social order through basic education.

The establishment of a new co-operative regime in place of 'the present competitive and inhuman regime based on exploitation and violent force,' is possible if competition is eliminated from the world society. Competition is the chief cause of conflict. It creates a pro-

found feeling of frustration among individuals and nations and leads to a subtle programme of propaganda against each other. It gives birth to morbid leadership with perverse ideals. It encourages war and engenders emotional unhappiness. The aim of basic education is to root out competition and exploitation and implant co-operation and goodwill in their place by educating the people and thus building a new peaceful world society where every individual will find equal opportunity for his development and where 'the rights of many will not be trampled down for the pleasures of a few.'

According to Mahatma Gandhi, the following are the broad features of his new social order:

(i) In the new society there is to be no class or caste superiority and education would bring equality of status between the sons of a weaver, an agriculturist, a school master, a collector, a minister or a merchant prince.

(ii) In the new society there are to be no drags and parasites whether rich or poor. "Everyone should be a worker who will look upon all kinds of useful work, including manual labour, even scavenging, as honourable, and who will be both able and willing to stand on his own legs."

(iii) In the new society, every individual is to realise that as a member of society, he has not only rights but also duties and obligations. He must be both willing and able to repay in the form of some useful service what he owes to it as a member of an organised civilised society. The motive of social service must dominate all the activities of every citizen of the new State.

In such a social order of Mahatma Gandhi's dream, everybody will live in peace and harmony. The leaders of this society would be sane and intelligent enough to drive away war from the world.

THE CURRICULUM AND METHODS

The basic curriculum has been so devised as to afford many occasions and opportunities to awaken in children the importance of world peace. The syllabus of basic craft, social studies, general science, language, etc., and many extra curricular activities and programmes of the school, helps to achieve this purpose.

The basic craft, for example, provides many opportunities to emphasise the importance of world peace. While teaching spinning

and weaving the teacher can refer to the problems of unemployment and exploitation of poor labourers by big factory owners. He can refer to the national movement in India and achievement of freedom with peaceful and non-violent means. He can point out that the spinning wheel stands for peace. It stands for individual rights. It is a symbol of love for the poor and exploited. It points out that peace in the world can only be maintained by eradicating the use of big machines and substituting in their place small cottage industries.

Courses in social studies afford many chances to stress the need of co-operation among nations. All the countries of the world are economically interdependent. One depends on another's help. This fact of interdependence should be carefully impressed by the teacher on the minds of young children. They should be helped to make an intelligent study of the world they live in. They should be taught to appreciate the efforts of the leaders of mankind for peace and good-will.

The science syllabus should teach that the scientific inventions are for the comfort and convenience of man and not for his destruction. With their help the scientists should try to make the world a peaceful, secure and congenial place to live in. New inventions should be utilised for the service of humanity. Energy should be harnessed to light the cities and not to reduce them to ashes.

Similarly, other subjects, language, art, music, etc., of the curriculum and the several programmes and activities such as celebrations of festivals, leaders' birthdays, parents' days, assemblies, *sabhas*, forums, debates, clubs, excursions—all should be utilised to create international understanding and goodwill.

The maintenance of world peace is a topic which cannot be confined to any particular school programme. The teacher should correlate the problems of international importance with the theme in hand. The local and national problems may be introduced to children from the international point of view. In a way, the whole school curricula programmes and activities can be utilised to weave the international theme.

For world peace, it is essential that children should be taught at least one foreign language to promote harmonious relations and better

understanding with the people living in far-off countries. It is a serious drawback in the basic scheme that no place has been provided in it for any foreign language. There are many important languages of the world which can be taught to children in India and abroad. English, French, German, Russian, Chinese, etc., are some of the important languages of the world. In the writer's opinion, at least, teaching of English should be made compulsory in the basic schools to facilitate international understanding. In the present conditions in India, the teaching of English in schools is not only essential for communicating with foreigners and developing intimate cultural relations with other countries, but also for establishing a bond of unity among the various Indian states which speak a language of their own.

THE TASK OF THE TEACHER

In order to educate the children for their role as preservers of world peace, the teacher in the basic schools, should try to inculcate in them certain important qualities and attitudes. He should develop in them a broad and balanced understanding of the world situation and ability to consider problems objectively, as honestly as possible from the international point of view. He should create a desire in them to participate in world reconstruction programmes. He should encourage them to take part in activities designed to outlaw war and to promote and maintain peace. He should impart the knowledge of all such organisations which are working for peace. He should explain to them clearly the meaning and nature of Gandhiji's principle of non-violence and its efficacy to maintain world peace. He should teach them the ethics of human conduct and establish in them the attitudes of tolerance, goodwill and understanding. He should impress upon them the advantages of democratic living. He should tell them that religion is a force which gives meaning and value to human life and not that which creates hatred and intolerance among the people.

In the realisation of the ideal of world peace, the responsibility of the teacher is very great. He occupies the key position. He is the prime mover of the whole educational machinery. He controls the conditions of education. Hence he alone can bear the burden

of preparing younger generation for world citizenship, and infuse in them the spirit to maintain peace in world society. He can inculcate among them the importance of harmony, common understanding and co-operative planning. He can inspire them for ideals of peace and goodwill.

Gandhiji's method of basic education is an example for the world to emulate. His efforts to establish world peace through it should be

appreciated by the nations of the world. Education is a powerful force and it can prepare and inspire the younger people to live up to the ideals of peace, harmony and mutual understanding. But this can only be possible if all the countries co-operatively plan a system of education, similar to that of basic education, based on truth and non-violence. Any other system would fail to educate the world for lasting peace.

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A PEEP AT HONGKONG

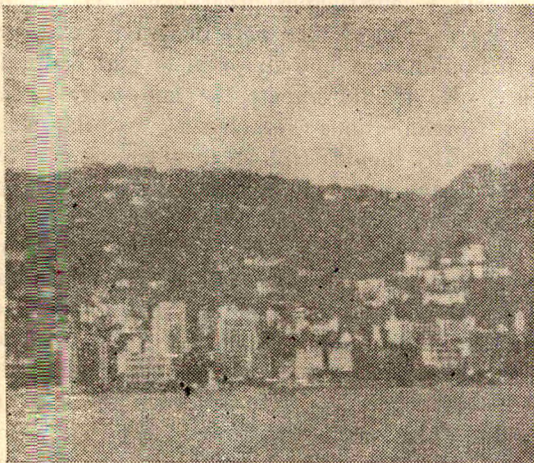
By DR. MATILAL DAS, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

In my tour-programme I did not chalk out a stay at Hongkong but the B.O.A.C. plane by which I travelled from Bangkok to Tokyo takes a night's rest at Kowloon, so I was able to have a peep at Hongkong.

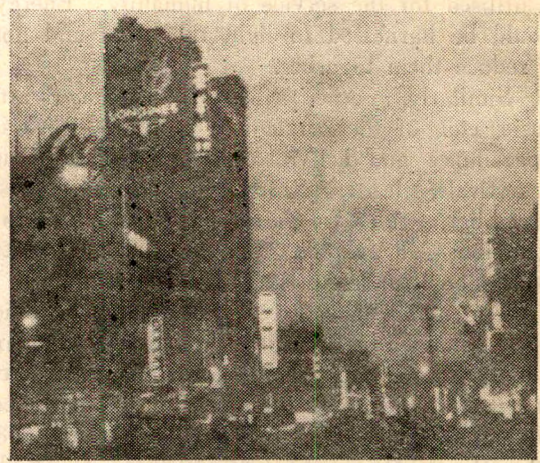
Hongkong is in a sense an International town and is claimed to be an enchanting city of romance which can boast of the gayest of cosmopolitan night-life. Unfortunately night-life has no attraction for me so I cannot vouch for all the wild tales that are told all over the world about the glamour of Hongkong.

rian in the English sense but this fact that I did not take meat was not made known to the staff in the plane, but still they tried to give me a very good lunch. I can say in this connection that of the many air-lines in all of which I travelled in the tourist class B.O.A.C. seems to me to be the best for its punctual flight, comfortable arrangements and pleasing service. The difference between Bangkok time and Hongkong time is two hours and we got down at Kaitak Airport at about dusk.

The first impression of the island was very



The Hongkong skyline



Hongkong by night

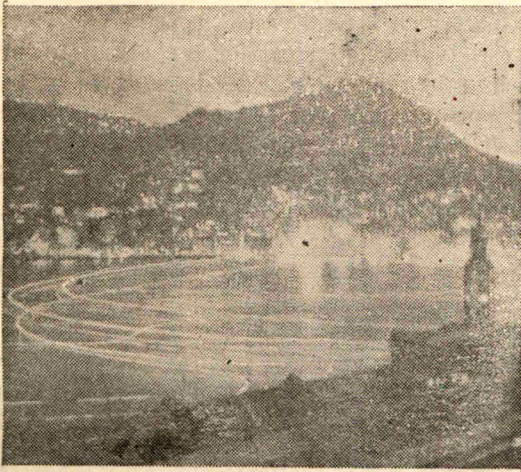
I boarded the air-ship of the B.O.A.C. at Bangkok at 10.25 a.m. on Wednesday, the 25th August, 1954. The hostess was a charming young lady and she tried her very best to give us entire satisfaction. I am a vegeta-

pleasing with its blue harbour, the imposing sky-line of Hongkong with the world famous Peak, the sky-scrapers and the grass-plane near the Aerodrome.

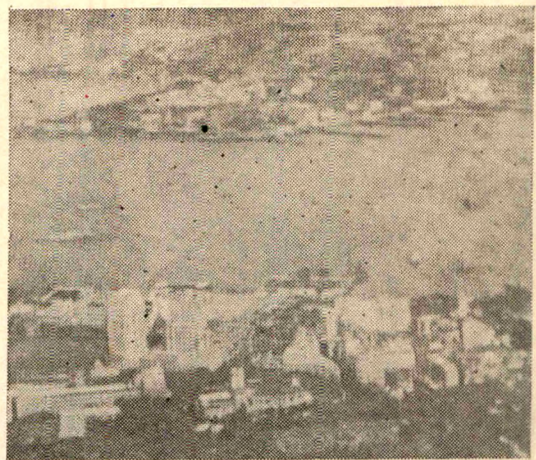
We were soon taken by a luxurious bus

to the best hotel of the place. The Peninsula is the largest and the best of the many comfortable hotels. The rooms are nicely furnished, each has a private bath and telephone

dinner. An excellent dinner was served. I relished the food. I then strolled alone into the streets and managed to go to the star-ferry on paying 20 cents. I went over to the main



Hongkong by night

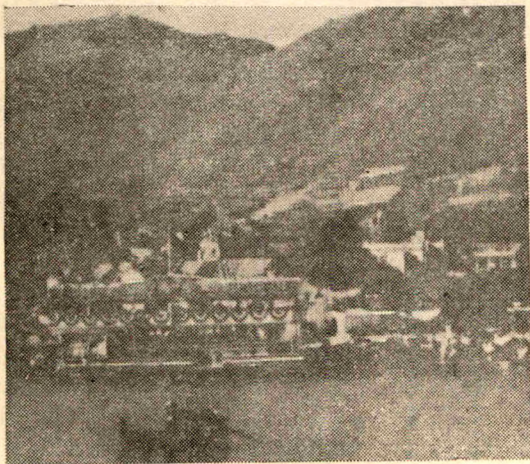


The harbour, Hongkong

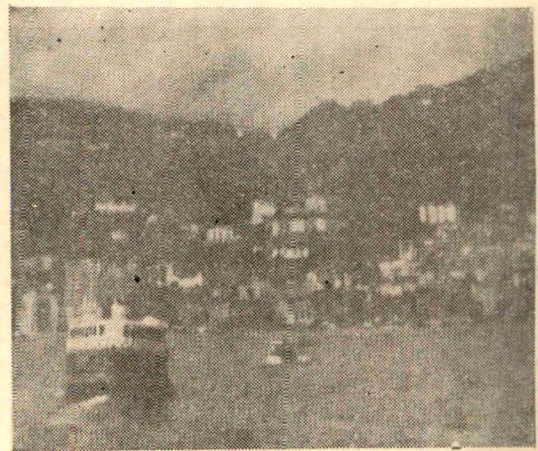
and is also linked with the local wired broadcasting system called Rediffusion which provides a 7 A.M. to midnight programme of entertainment and news. The charge for a single room in this hotel is 40 Hongkong dollars as against ten or twelve in the other first class hotels.

island and after walking about a mile I found the interesting peak tram and went up on the peak.

I got a splendid view from the peak. The sparkling water dazzling by many lights was a grand sight to see. The sea here was crescent-



Hongkong



The "Star" Ferries

On arrival I got a dollar changed into the local currency. Then after putting my things into my room, I went into the Library where there were several newspapers. After reading for a while, I went to the dining room for

shaped and thus presented a very beautiful land-scape.

Behind me I heard people talking in Hindi and turned round to see. There was a party of Indians who were out on night-seeing; they,

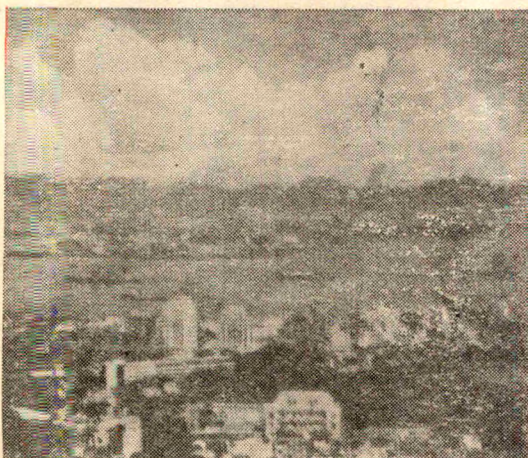
however, did not notice me and I did not think it right to question strangers in that place.

I was previously told that Hongkong contains a small settlement of Indian traders who carry on business here. I got down by the train again and walked here and there. Then I took a tram to come to the Star-ferry. I crossed and came back to Kowloon.



The K.C.R. clock-tower

Once I thought of going to a cinema but on second thought I gave up the idea. I went to my room and wrote a couple of letters and then began to sleep.

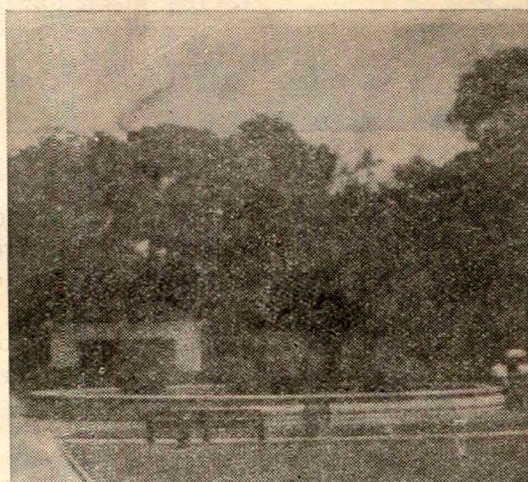


The view from the peak

I woke up very early next morning and went out. In order to see as much of Hongkong as was possible I took Bus No. 1 at Kowloon Ferry. It took me through Nathan Road, which is full of the magnificent shops

into a suburban area where houses with charming little gardens abound. The change from the hustle and bustle is very refreshing.

The buses were all of the London model with two deckers. From there I went to Lai-chikok which has a nice beach. The water here is placid and ideal for a sport of rowing. I was told that some years back there was an attempt to establish a pleasure centre here but it failed but derelict joyrides are still there. From here by bus No. 6 I returned to the Ferry. I then walked back to the hotel and had a nice breakfast. The bus of the B.O.A.C. came and took us to the Airport at about 8. A M.



The Botanical Gardens

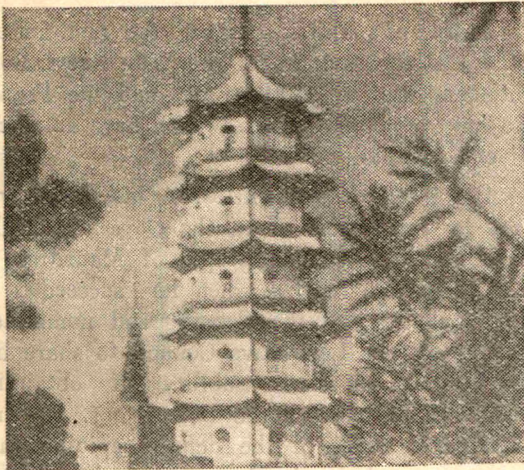
It is said that one can buy virtually anything under the Sun and at the lowest prices in the world. But as I was going away from home, I could not verify this claim, but some of the other passengers took advantage of this unsurpassed shopping bargains.

With its many hotels, accommodation is no problem and tourists from all over the world flock together here in large numbers. There are Chinese, European, Russian, Scandinavian, French and American cuisine to satisfy the gourmet and there are women and wine to satisfy others.

My stay in Hongkong was too short but I saw a little. That was an interesting sight. One can view the whole panorama of Hongkong from a rattan seat in the first class of the tram.

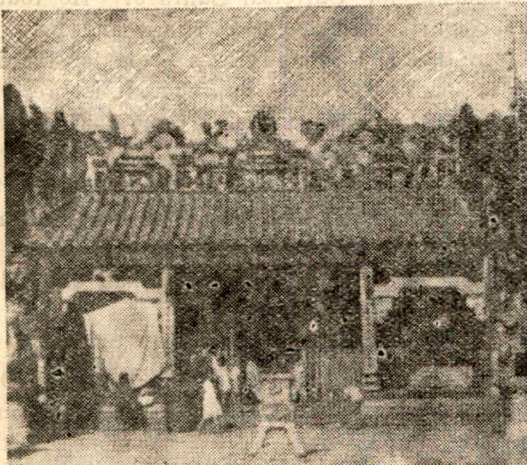
As our plane glided over the airport, I

could have a view of the New territories. Hongkong is not confined to the Island and Kowloon. A stretch of the China mainland extending from the border at Shumchun to Boundary Street has been leased from China for 100 years from 1898, though Hongkong became a British possession in 1941.



The "Tiger Balm" Pagoda

The new territories are inhabited mostly by farmers who cultivate lands in the most primitive way it has always been undertaken

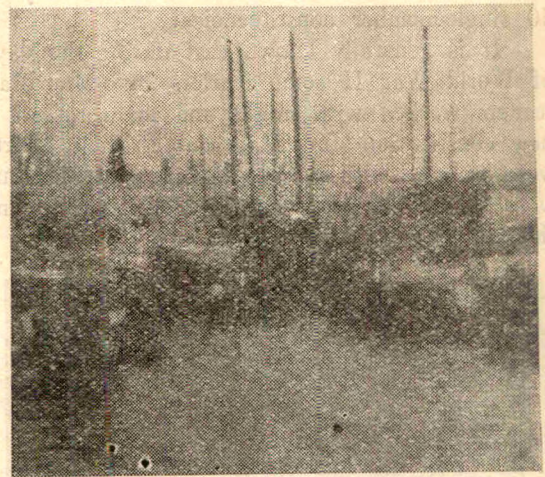


The Chinese temple

in China. The British technical influences have not made much headway. In this place also

live the lanka people who prefer to live on their fishing junks and seldom bother to be on dry-land except for bringing their supplies.

When I visited Hongkong, it was the time of the festival of the Chinese seventh moon which started on July 30th and would end on August 27th. It was a festive celebration in honour of the Chinese Philosopher Lao-tze, father of the Taoists. There are no temples in Hongkong in honour of him but in some temples one can find his image along with others. He is pictured as an old man riding on a water-buffalo.



The junks

I, however, had no opportunity of witnessing this gala festival. While musing on and looking at the bright island from the window of the speed-bird, I thought of the future of Hongkong.

The days of colonialism are fading fast and it is time that the Chinese people will demand this island and the British shall have to leave this sunny spot in the Chinese sea with their bag and baggage.

Up and down, the plane made a particularly bad jolt. I woke up from my reverie. Soon the speed-bird made herself steady and flew into the open space of the blue sun-lit sky.



UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE FOR MAURITIUS

BY E. BABAJEE,
Editor, "Zamana", Mauritius

CONSTITUTIONAL changes were long overdue. It was, therefore, with a sigh of relief that, in February last, the people of Mauritius learned that the Right Hon. Allan Lennox-Boyd, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, has consented to divide Mauritius into as many as 40 single-member constituencies.

It is generally known that during the days of World War II some fearless Indo-Mauritian leaders worked with might and main to get a new constitution for Mauritius. Their efforts were crowned with success and General Elections were held in 1948. The Indo-Mauritian element then came into its own.



Hon'ble S. Bissoondoyal

So far the Legislative Council had only 19 elected members. The number has thus been raised from 19 to 40.

From 1948 onwards British authors who enjoyed our hospitality have chosen to vilify Indo-Mauritians. More than four books have appeared in London in which Indo-Mauritians have been taken to task for no fault of theirs.

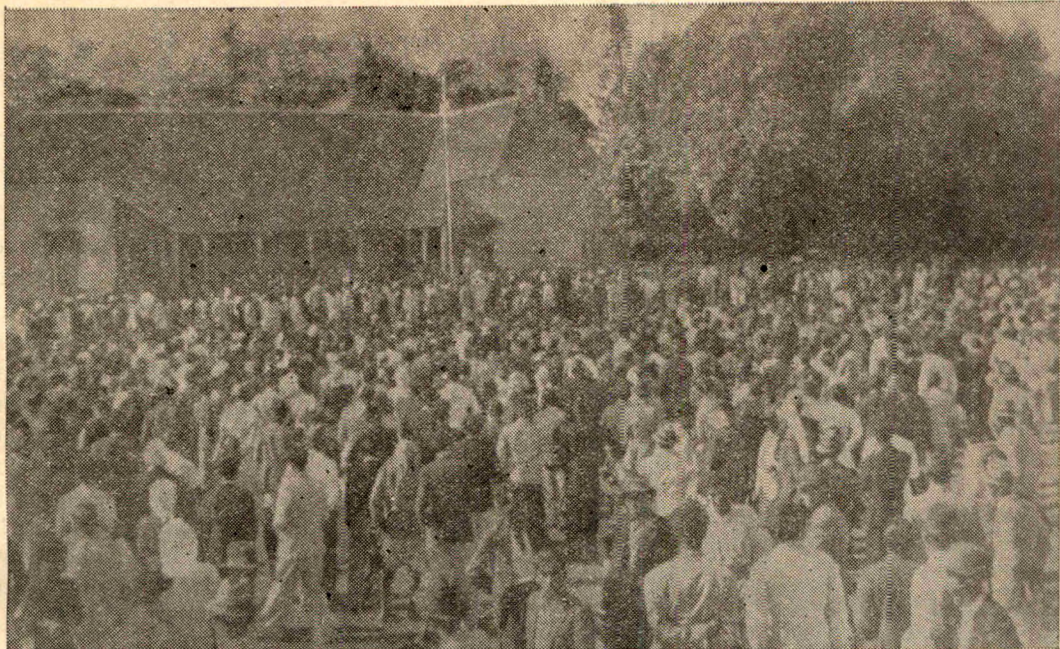
A handful of whites hailed the fault-finding authors as the saviours of the Wite Race! Both Britishers who are 300 strong, and the French who have a population of 10,000, have antagonized the patriots.

But it all came to little. A last effort was made by Sir Robert Scott, the Governor of the island, to deprive the people of Mauritius of their legitimate rights when he succeeded in getting almost all the elected and nominated members of the Legislative Council to share his view about the inadvisability of obtaining Universal Suffrage for the time being. He and his admirers were of the definite opinion that there was no harm in the country obtaining it in 1963! That was indeed a gross fraud on the Mauritian masses.

That was precisely where the shoe pinched. Ever since 1946, Mr. S. Bissoondoyal has been clamouring for Universal Suffrage. He toured the country, held huge meetings and made it known that the country was ripe for the introduction of Universal Suffrage. It is precisely when he had held such a meeting that he was waylaid and assaulted.

Dr. Cure, the founder of the Labour Party, had stressed the point that Universal Suffrage was desirable. No heed was, however, paid to his suggestion as the authorities had succeeded in having his voice hushed.

It is the campaign led by the victim of the assault that has had the desired effect. Dr. Cure's mantle had, so to say, fallen upon him. He has been twice elected member of the Legislative Council topping the list of the elected candidates on both the occasions. His popularity is envied by all the admirers of governors. Referring to this man of action and inspiring orator, *The Sunday Times* wrote once that he has been "for many years a thorn in the side of successive Governors." It is no wonder if he has had to serve several terms of imprisonment.



A meeting addressed by the Hon'ble S. Bissoondoyal

Brushing aside the Governor's suggestion that could only damp the Mauritian patriot's spirit, the Secretary of State for the Colonies wrote to His Excellency :

"Since Mauritius enjoys as high a level of cultural and material attainment as other territories in which universal adult suffrage has been achieved, I would be unwilling further to delay the introduction of universal adult suffrage."

Thus Hon. S. Bissoondoyal carried the day.

This active member once moved that it was time the country received the visit of a Royal Commission of Enquiry. He had the support of half of the House. Fenner Brockway, the great friend of India, was here in those days. He approved of Hon. Bissoondoyal's gesture outright. It is, thanks to him, that public opinion is being educated and the people at large are interested in the work of the Legislative Council.

With the advent of Universal Suffrage the number of electors which does not go, now,

beyond 90,000, will increase threefold. Some 3,00,000 Mauritians are expected to go to the polls in a year or two. The new Council will be composed of 40 elected members, 12 nominees and 3 ex-officio members.

It is hoped that then the Ministerial System that has been inaugurated in July 1957, will be able to give the people some satisfaction.

Curiously enough, the new constitution will be no improvement on the one that had been granted more than a century and a half ago when the island was a French possession. We read in H. C. M. Austen's *Sea Fights and Corsairs of the Indian Ocean* : "The first Legislative Colonial Assembly of sixty-one members, freely elected by the people, was installed on 27th April, 1790." That even occurred exactly two decades before the capture of Mauritius by the British who had the collaboration of 8,740 Sepoys. It is only by turning the telescope of history backwards that one can know what Mauritius has gained and what that South Indian Ocean island has lost during the last two centuries.

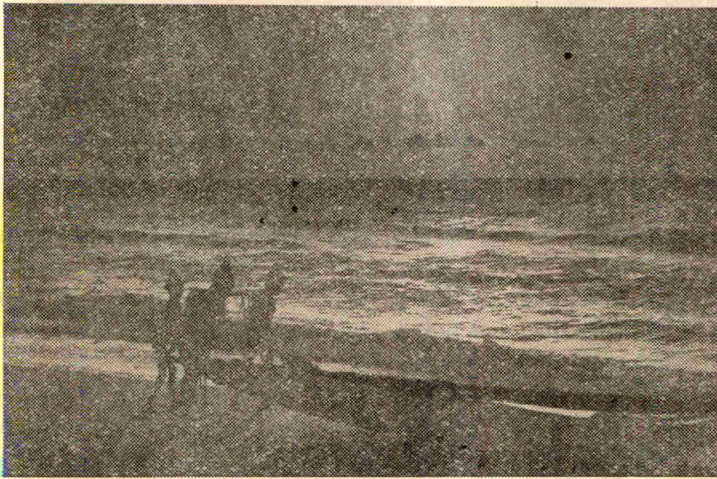
THE WORLD'S CITIES

Madras

By Prof. K. R. R. SASTRY,

Principal, University Law College, Jaipur

QUAINT bindings of exported log from Ceylon, nestling of fishermen's huts, dark men and women with brown eyes,—such was the sight of Chennapattinam, named after the Nayak of Chandragiri, when the merchants of the East India Company got a factory for trade in Madras. Less important than Madura with its history going to Pandyan kings and story of trade with Rome, certainly less salubrious than Bangalore, Madras at the sea-level is a city least affected by Muslim onslaught.



Sun-rise at Madras

If ever there be a town in the East where the English language is understood by the rickshaw-puller and the *jutkawala*, it is Madras with a Marina, the second longest beach in the world.

II

Sprawling eight miles along the east coast of India, Madras has neither the emotionalism of Calcutta nor the cosmopolitanism of Bombay, the two other Presidency towns. Time was prior to 1955 when the Madras State contained the mercurial Andhras and the adventurous Malayalee; it has now shrunk into the capital of the residuary Madras State having permitted the good Kanarese also to walk out to Mysore.

The City extends to over 50 square miles and has a population of about a million and a half. The parts of the city have distinct linguistic

ethnic characteristics. If one starts from the north, the portion in George Town (the old Black Town) is the hub of commerce. Two streets are named after Chetties who earned a lot as *dubashes* (agents) to the Company's *nabobs*. This is an area where the merchant-princes are maintaining temples, *dharamsalas* (rest-houses) and educational institutions. One of such old institutions is the Pachaiyappa College. This is also the nest of jewellery shops.

As one travels west one can locate Pursawalkam, with a fine Shiva temple with Pallava and Chola architecture in the heavenward towers. This is a place with a flair for Shaivite culture.

Trudging further south there is the middlemen's hub, Triplicane, with a famous Vaishnava shrine, Parthasarathy temple. The results of Macaulay's Minute are clearly to be found in the Presidency College and Senate House in the Marina, the charter of the University going to 1857, a memorable year whose significance is being either overdrawn or suppressed.

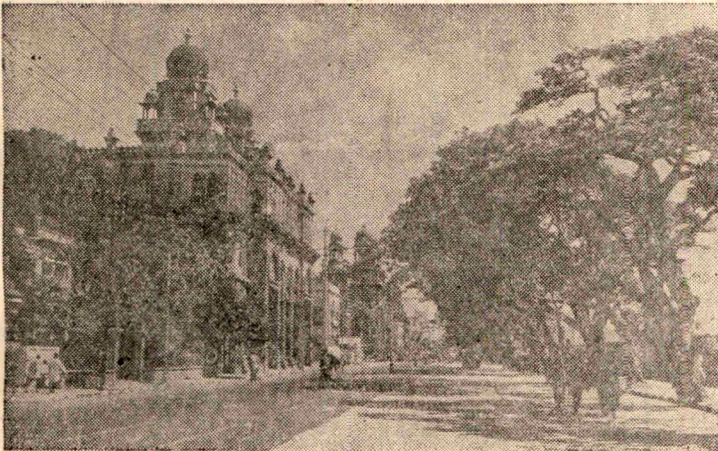
Further south is Mylapore, once the brain-centre of legal lore and forensic skill. The Mylapore temple with the red- and white-striped walls and the intricately carved *gopuram* (entrance to the temple) and the tank surfaced with white lilies is a memorable cultural symbol.

III

South India has an uninterrupted history of religious toleration. The cathedral of St. Thome with the tomb of St. Thomas, St. Mary's Church within Fort St. George, the first Protestant Church built in the East, the Christian College in the heart of the city now shifted to a suburb, Thambram, with such distinguished names as those of Dr. Miller and Dr. Skinner, the Loyola College at Nungambakam, a newly-developed part, a daughter of the famous St.

Joseph's College (Trichinopoly) whose teachers as Father Sewell and Father Bertram were deservedly popular, these stand testimony to the impact of Christianity on South Indians.

The Arcot Nawabs who for a time ruled over Madras were patrons of Sanskrit learning too.



First line beach, Madras

Paradoxical as it may seem, though activist Indian Christian leaders have hailed from South India, Madras has *withstood* the pressures of Muslim culture and modern civilization.

It still retains an old-world charm shining through the great monastic institutions of Shankaracharya, Ramanuja and the latter Saivite Mutts in the heart of its only perennial big river, the Cauvery.

Though Bengali and Malayalam have a greater admixture of Sanskrit, it is a tribute to the remarkable memory of Pandits that not merely the Vedas but the old method of the teacher and the pupil living together and learning still thrives amidst the groves and shades of trees near life-giving rivers.

IV

Tamil is an ancient language with richness, depth and melody. There are specimens of old poetry, terse prose (as in *Kural* of Thiruvalluvar, a sage of 1st century A.D. now tersely

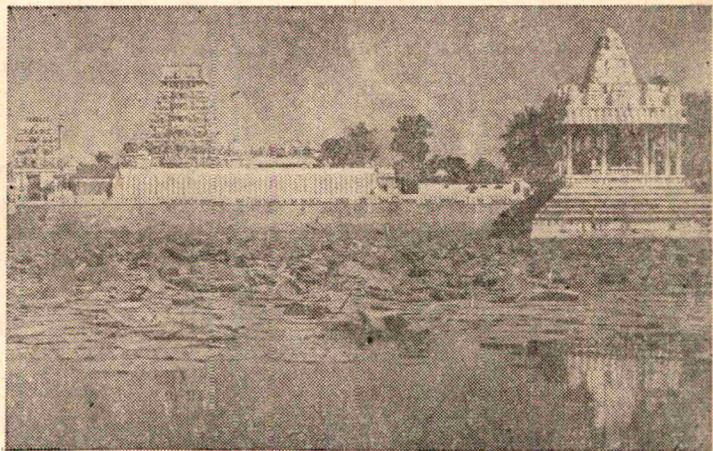
rendered by C. Rajagopalacharia, an elder shrewd Indian statesman) and lyrics galore.

The festivals in the South as elsewhere synchronise with the agricultural seasons. One such is *Pongal* (coming in mid-January) where old and young as also multicoloured bulls enjoy the mirth and rhythm of the season. It is not so erotic as the Northern *holi*.

Madras State has a famous temple at Chidambaram dedicated to the Lord of Cosmic Dance (Nataraja). Madras is well-known for its bronze Natarajas.

Carnatic music of Madras is based on an intricate system of melody and rhythm. Still more enchanting are the evenings spent in watching dance-recitals of Bharata Natyam, the purest of the classical styles.

There is a singular joy among the whole rural folk when they go miles walking to a shrine dedicated to Muruga, the second



Mylapore Temple, Madras

son of Shiva in Hindu mythology, to the beat of small drums, and *nagaswarem* (a melodious kind of flute). Life so much otherwise dull becomes a tilting melodious march in quest of bliss.

V

Factories, companies, and exporting units as those of Parry's, Buckingham and Carnatic Mills are still adjusting to the times after 1947.

Madras has a good artificial harbour well-maintained and has expanded to fifty square

miles from a nest of fishermen's huts, with their *catamarans* and fishing nets spread out in the sandy expanse.

The State has now got a Central Lignite Factory at Neiveli; more than Madura, the second town in the State, Coimbatore near Ootacamund has become the Manchester of South India with her mills and small-tools factories.

Napoleon in his diary praises the handkerchiefs of Madras. The quality of spun-yearn of Harvey's of Madura and the products of Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras, have more than an Indian reputation.

VI

Called the Scotch of India, the Tamilian is reported to speak English with an Oxford accent. It is no wonder that in the minute of dissent to the Official Language Commission, Dr. P. Subbaryam from Madras and Dr. Chatterji from Calcutta, hold that "the retention of English will not be against the interest of a free Indian people."

The language which enabled Indian Congress leaders and Vijayaraghavachary (these South Indian names contain the names of the place, of the father, and of the subject), Sanjivan Nair, Subramaniya Aiyar and others to quote Burke, Mill and Milton, was English. The language through which South and North met, was English.

It is no wonder that the stoutest resistance to Hindi comes from the far South.

H. M. George V asked the Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastry, P.C.C.H., "When he learnt his English at Oxford?" His reply was humble to relate his learning English under an Indian teacher.

VII

The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in his hospitable home at 19, Albert Road, Allahabad (the home-town of our Prime Minister Nehru) posed this question to this writer. It was a few years prior to the martyrdom of our Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi.

Sapru: "Who will kill Gandhi?"

This author: "Bapuji (we called him thus), Tamilians are matter-of-fact, so no danger from them, Andhras, the Frenchmen of India, though mercurial, love him. The Bengalis capable of it are not inimical to him. People of Uttar Pradesh

and Bihar venerate Gandhi. The Gujeratis are fond of only piling up their bank balances. The Parsis are gentlemen.

Sapru: Sastry, you have left out the Maharashtras.

Sastry: Bapuji, I have a shrewd suspicion of the wiry Maharashtra Brahmin.

Thank my stars, I am publishing this resume of the talk for the first time in 1957, the Centenary of our first great rebellion.

VIII

Shrunk in size and economic resources, and unemployment and under-employment facing Madras, if our Second Five-Year Plan breaks at the bottleneck of foreign exchange, the next State to turn red will be Madras; the South-West monsoon flows to Madras through the gaps in the Kerala Ghats.

Madras has an acquired reputation for legal skill and medical alertness. The role of the lawyer as a leader of people is unhappily on the wane. Poonamalee High Road can be called the Harley Street of Madras.

There is agnosticism too and communal bitterness is on the increase. On the constructive side this has led to the rise of a galaxy of Tamil writers who command a lucid and convincing style.

Mere regionalism is the rock on which our boat of freedom will founder. The Centre is watchful and vigilant.

Riches have now gone to the cinema stars and the press magnates. Madras has the reputation of running an English daily, *the Hindu*, which can be called the "*London Times* of India." A number of Tamil dailies and weeklies reach the latest news and views from Madras to Kanya Kumari where our virgin goddess is doing penance, guarding India from the far South with a shining jewel on her aquiline nose.

IX

Paul Brunton bent on the quest of Overself and Somerset Maugham on a urge to meet a genuine master in the realm of Spirit met Maharishi Ramana, a boy, turned saint at Thiruvannamalai in South India. This master whose presence has brought peace to many pilgrims of the world had "a flashing eye, intense and fixed without hardness, an Olympian softness of gesture and was slender and delicate in an immobile body."—(Mon-Lacombe). Inspir-

ing episode in the lives of great Hindu incarnations took place in Northern India, institutionalization of philosophy took place in South India through Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhavacharya.

Nature seems to have made India such that Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and now Delhi have

each a distinct role, the emotionalism of Calcutta is to be tested by the wisdom of Madras; the cosmopolitanism of Bombay is to support Delhi, the fateful capital of India. India's path is the *good old track of peace through justice and understanding.*

—:O:—

PSYCHOLOGY IN PRISONS FOR THE TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS

By H. P. CHAKRABORTY, M.A.

"CRIMINALS *should* be treated as patients in hospitals, and jails should be hospitals admitting such patients for treatment and cure," said Mahatma Gandhi. What Gandhiji said is the quintessence of the modern principles of correctional and reformatory treatment for the criminals. But how can this be done, if we do not know the psychic life of a criminal. In a hospital the patient is treated by a doctor after the study and diagnosis of his symptoms of the disease. This is purely pathological. But as regards the criminal, the cause and cure of his crime involves the study and diagnosis of his behaviour disorders, so that a treatment programme can be chalked out for the readjustment of his personality. Crime or delinquency is the overt expression of something deep-rooted in the mind. It is a behaviour disorder or personality problem due to maladjustment of the person with the situation, which might be physical, social, environmental or mental. So, in order to have a treatment programme for a criminal, it is necessary to study the person as a whole, not the particular case of infraction of law, for which he has come to the prison and diagnose the problem with him for the said purpose. This is therapy or procedure of treatment, which helps the maladjusted person to get readjusted in the normal society. The jail-reforms have been mainly based on this idea and the ultimate aim of this is the rehabilitation of the criminals as useful citizens after their release from the prisons.

The prisons in our country, until recently, were mere custodial institutions for the convicts

as well as for the under-trials and the prison authorities had very little concern with the mind of the prisoners. Human value was totally absent in the prison and society, too, bothered very little about the criminals, after they were punished for their offences in the court of law and detained in the prisons. But what is the object of punishment? Is it to exclude the offender from society for the protection of the same? Criminologists all over the world now agree that the object of punishment is the protection of society no doubt, but that can be achieved not by sending the convict to the prisons only; they should be given scope to readjust or reform themselves so that they might be rehabilitated in society as useful citizens. Prisons cannot detain a criminal for indefinite period. Today or tomorrow he will come out of the prison and if his habit-disorders and hostility due to his imprisonment by the law-enforcing authority is not channelised through some well-planned activities or vocational training according to his ability and aptitude, under the care of a sympathetic and well-trained officer inside the prison, who can understand the essential defects in his inner psychic life as well as the sociological factors involved, he may come out of the prison with a bitter grudge to the society. In that case he will be a problem and source of potential danger to the society. Moreover, due to contamination with various types of offenders inside the prison, there is every possibility that he may become a habitual criminal or a member of a gang. Therefore, society cannot dissociate itself from

the criminals, once they are punished and imprisoned, but should think of measures, which can control and prevent the relapse of the criminal tendencies of them. That is why national planning is required for social defence and for this reason our government have re-oriented their policy since the attainment of Independence, towards the treatment of offenders.

It has been said that crime is considered as the result of interaction of various factors and mainly socio-psychological factor. The understanding of a criminal thus involves the study and diagnosis of these factors by a trained man, who cannot be other than a psychologist or a social psychiatrist, who is thoroughly equipped with the knowledge of sociology too. Now the study and diagnosis of a criminal cannot be discussed here in details and I like to emphasize on the treatment process of the offenders, after they are classified in suitable groups according to their respective needs. This classification of offenders coming into a prison and diversified prisons according to their classification is indispensable in the psychological treatment process. The modern criminologists think that the criminal is a problem person and that his problem is individual and as such no standard form of treatment is possible for the cure and re-adjustment of this problem. In view of this changing concept, the penologists have begun to think of individual understanding and treatment of offenders in a more rational way.

Now the individual understanding and correctional treatment may be (i) institutional or intramural and (ii) non-institutional or extramural. In the latter case, it is an alternative to the prison sentence, such as, release on probation, conditional release or parole, etc. Institutional treatment may be done inside the prisons, detention homes, certified homes, and so on. In both these forms of treatment psychology has a very great part to play as it includes case-work services, guidance and counselling, which can be done with difficulty, if the officer is not a trained psychologist. Of course, in this form of institutional treatment something more is required, as there are some limitations of social case-work or social group work in the prisons or other authoritarian set-up. The in-

mates there do not come forward for any help out of their own accord, as in hospital, which is the most important factor in a treatment programme. Moreover, the methods of individual understanding and treatment cannot be applied here in its entirety, as it is almost impossible in a big institution; where a large number of persons are detained. So the area of work must be taken into account, then the process of treatment comes.

In the prison or any other authoritarian institution, the psychologist gradually studies and gets himself acquainted with the inner psychic life of the criminal, in addition to the sociological or environmental factors involved in his maladjustment. Of course, there is no demarcating line between the study period and treatment period, as the two things are correlated. So while the study of the symptoms of his maladjustment will be going on, the treatment programme may be chalked out and implemented, if necessary. The first step in the psychological study for treatment of the offenders is to be carried on in a Reception centre, which is also a centre for classification of the prisoners according to types of personality problem. The preliminary study and classification of the offenders in terms of their individual needs and ability is the basis of all future programme for the treatment of offenders. The next step in the process of treatment is the diversified prison system, i.e., the offenders should be segregated in separate prisons according to this classification in the Reception centre. This sort of segregation is essential for psychological study and understanding, as the object of the same is the re-adjustment of the habit disorders or personality problem of the offenders, who cannot be equally responsive to the same form of treatment. Here through case-work services, vocational training or occupational therapy is to be provided for them, so that they can gradually re-orient their habits. Guidance through informed group discussions or counselling, in case, they feel the necessity of the same, to solve their individual problem should also be a regular programme in these institutions. The officer should create an atmosphere so that the consciousness of the offenders is aroused to help themselves. This is the urge for reformation form within the

offender, without which nothing can be done. The idea of correction of one's ownself cannot be super-imposed. If necessary, re-classification may be made after a certain period of observation of their reactions and behaviours in these institutions. Next comes the pre-release programme, which should be designed to prepare the offender to face the stark realities outside the prison, the difficulties of his social rehabilitation, the attitude of society and his possible reactions, etc. The institutional treatment will be of no use for the prisoner, if he cannot hope of any assistance outside, for which the prison officer may help him through After-care Associations and the activities of which may be explained to him. The other stage of the treatment process inside the institutions is the gradual release programme of a prisoner on parole, *i.e.*, conditional release, which may be deemed as a method of evaluating the influence of the treatment process itself and the relative merits of alternatives. Eligibility of granting parole may be determined on the basis of a socio-psychological study of the prisoners concerned, including the individual's life history, activities in prisons, personality and possibilities upon release. The granting of parole may offer an opportunity for the practical application of rehabilitation programmes before the expiration of sentence.

Lastly, in the process of treatment inside the institution, the prisoners should be given required assistance whenever necessary, in order to avoid the breakdown and destitution of his family and children, and for which the services of a trained Welfare Officer is required, who will work in close co-ordination with the Probation and After-Care Officers. The Welfare Officer should have the ability to tap the community resources in order to fit in with the requirements of the prisoner in or outside the prisons. This will help to maintain the relation between the criminal and the outside world and thus will enable him psychologically to prepare himself for re-adjustment of his habit disorders in co-operation with the sympathetic prison officer.

But here we should not forget that the psychological study and treatment requires proper atmosphere to be of any help to the persons, whose backgrounds are diverse in the extreme. The Prison population is a heterogeneous one

consisting of casual and habitual offenders, charged for offences against property or persons as such. Cheats, burglars, snatchers, thieves, dacoits, murderers and persons charged with heinous crimes like rape, etc., are all inmates of the same prison. So, it can never be expected that all of them will be equally responsive to the same form of treatment. Psychology, however, successful may be as a science, has got its limitations and psychologically the last word has not yet been said or will never be said on the cause or cure of crime, as it involves the human mind, which is very much complex and ever-changing.

The prison-psychologist needs to have broad and varied experience with thorough professional knowledge, knowledge of the penal systems, capacity to integrate himself into all phases of the institution's programme, flexibility and competence as a community leader. Above all, he should have the patience and temperament required to deal with the complex traits of character of all types of criminals many of whom are not less intelligent than him or in other words are well equipped with all the qualities to outwit an ordinary person. Cheats, embezzlers or leaders of a gang generally fall into this category. It has been noticed that prolonged efforts are usually necessary to arrive at a full understanding of the essential defects in their psychic life. Most of these people are usually by nature restrained, taciturn, aloof and shy with strangers. Their egocentric personality being thwarted in society, has exploded in the form of a defiance or violence to society. There is another class of convicts, who had committed crime due to escapism from difficult circumstances. They are usually of weaker personalities and have one thing in common, *i.e.*, a sense of guilt for having succumbed to their weaker nature. They tend to repentance and want to explain their problem and thus try to defend themselves. The psychologist needs to satisfy them that he wants to listen to their reflections about the crime and their past life in general for some benefit to them, otherwise they won't open their mind. Besides these two broad types, there is another class of convicts, who forms the majority of the prison population and who are mainly the products of poverty. Their term of imprisonment is short and they are mentally as

good as any other average person in the society. Poverty creates psychological dispositions and moral justification for their crime and after coming into a prison, they become more immoral and corrupt. They could not get sufficient training in any vocational trade due to their short-stay in prison while they find ample time to learn the vices of the prison. For them the alternative to prison sentences like release on probation or admonition in case of first offenders is useful. While for others it is a problem. Next to these three general and more important types of criminals there comes the abnormal types, who require psychopathic treatment through psycho-analysis. Long observation, careful and sympathetic handling and conversation with them may reveal their background factors according to which the psychiatrist may treat them.

Thus it appears that the role of a psychologist in the authoritarian set-up like prisons or detention homes, etc., is not insignificant, if properly administered. But he is a relative newcomer to the staff of these institutions and as such his methods and behaviours are not accepted without hostility by older functionaries, who believe more in the mere deterrent principle of imprisonment. Moreover, the general pub-

lic are led to believe that the psychologist in prisons is an ornament often expedient to have on display. Of course, this is a relatively minor obstacle in comparison with other fundamental difficulties, which psychologists have to face towards the implementation of their desired objectives. The classification of prisoners in terms of their respective needs and abilities and the diversified prison system are essential factors in the process of psychological treatment of offenders, which are lacking in our country. Yet, despite all these difficulties, psychology has proved its usefulness in prisons and now has wide support. It is expected that gradually the percentage of recidivists would fall, particularly in our country, through careful and sympathetic handling of criminals by the social-psychiatrists, who would go deep into the problem in order to have a best return in the bad bargain.

In West Bengal, the State Government have made a beginning in this respect, and experiments in the directions given by the United Nations Congress on the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders, are under way, under the able and careful guidance of Dr. P. K. Biswas, Inspector-General of Prisons, West Bengal.

—:O:—

DR. G. A. GRIERSON

By P. C. ROY CHOUDHURY

DR. G. A. Grierson is known as an authority on the languages and dialects in India. His volumes of linguistic survey of India are instances of his monumental labour and keen spirit of research. They were a life's work and, when one recollects that Grierson was an administrator holding important charges of subdivisions, districts and other assignments one is left to bewilder how he could have combined all this work. A giant among the intellectuals, Grierson had, what many do not know, a heart of kindness mellowed all the more by administrative exigencies.

He spent a number of years in Bihar. He was the Subdivisional Officer of Madhubani in Darbhanga district. Later, he was transferred to Gaya where he was the District Magistrate for a few years from 1888. In the compound of

the Criminal Court of Gaya there is still a big well which is known as the Grierson well.

Dr. Grierson was a tower of strength to the peasants of Bihar. He was not a mere student of sociology gathering materials for his excellent treatise *Bihar Peasant Life*. In this book which is still the only book of its kind he has showed that he knew much more of the peasant life than many of us in Bihar.

He had early completed an economic survey of the district of Gaya and published a brochure on the condition of the raiyats. He selected four typical villages in the four subdivisions of Gaya district and went into detailed statistics regarding the people's earnings, expenditures, loans and commitments, etc., Grierson mentioned in the preface he would vouch for the accuracy of each and every figure in his book as he had personally tested them.

This book *Report of the Condition of the Poorer Classes of Gaya District* was published in 1888. He remarks:

"Dividing the poorer classes into four orders,—cultivators, agricultural labourers, artisans and those who subsist on charity, I find, from an actual census of over 10,000 persons living in seventeen villages that one-half of the population of the district consists of the first class, one-fourth consists of each of the second and third, and a very small fraction consists of the fourth. The exact figures are 51.6 per cent, 23.7 per cent, 24.5 per cent., and 0.2 per cent. respectively,"

Grierson's analysis showed that 75.3 per cent of the total population of the district directly or indirectly was dependent on agriculture whereas artisans and charity-receivers were 24.5 per cent and 0.2 per cent, respectively. When one thinks that the methods of statistics and computations were in their infancy at that time one wonders at the sharp acumen shown in this brochure and admires the administrator's intuition in Grierson.

Grierson admired the extensive irrigation system of Gaya district. This district had a remarkable and ingenious system of artificial irrigation, which was admirably supplemented by the manner in which the water was distributed from field and retained in them by a network of low banks. In the cold weather, again, when the *ahars* (water reservoirs) had dried up and the *pains* (channels) no longer contained water, the people could fall back on their wells; and thus the crops were protected from failure throughout the year. Dr. Grierson thought that if this irrigation system was kept up there could be no famine or scarcity in this district.

A remarkable document of Grierson's solicitude for the tenantry is shown in his letter No. 61 G.E., dated the 5th April, 1889. In this letter the original of which is preserved in Gaya Record Room, Grierson mentioned:

"The facts that I am Collector here, that I am responsible not only for the rent of my Estates, but also for the welfare of my *raiyyats*, that it is the work of Government that I should pose as a model landlord before the other Zamindars of the district compel me to lay all that I have to say in the

matter before you for favour of Board's orders."

The occasion of the letter was a discussion regarding the *Bhaoli* system which was sought to be abolished. According to the *Bhaoli* system rent is paid in kind and a particular share of the crop raised is taken by the landlord. The normal rent-system in Gaya district in Grierson's time was *Bhaoli*. Grierson revolted against the Revenue Board's remark that the *Bhaoli* system was "a barbarous and exploded system, which is equally fatal to habits of thrift and to methods of improvements." Grierson wrote:

"Because a thing is a survival of barbarism, it is not necessarily bad. Half the things we meet in the world of civilisation are survivals of barbarism and are not abandoned on that account. The real test is whether it is good or bad."

The contention of the Board that the system was exploded was rebutted by Grierson on the ground that it was in full swing in Gaya and Patna district which had a population of 4 to 5 millions, at that time.

Grierson could speak with authority regarding the peasants of Gaya. He mentioned:

"I do not know a more hard-working peasantry than that of Gaya. I have travelled miles and miles on my own feet over the fields of my Government Estate, and find the *raiyyats* to be industrious and thrifty, in a way which I could never have expected considering the heavy rents they, as a body, are expected to pay. I have sat for hours amongst groups of villagers not as a *hakim*, but as a friend, chatting with them about their household affairs, their little quarrels, their marriages, their food, and the thousand and one things which make up Bihar rural life, and I believe I may, without immodesty, claim to possess some knowledge of their inner feelings and of their habits. It is this knowledge which emboldens me to write this letter."

Dr. Grierson thought that the Board was mistaken in holding the *Bhaoli* system to be at par with the *Metayer* system in France which had elements of evil. He outlined the features of *Bhaoli* system and showed that it would be incorrect to make any comparison between the two very strongly.

Merayer system and the *Bhaoli* system. Dr. Grierson held strongly that the wonderful irrigation system of the district of Gaya if properly maintained would be a guarantee against any scarcity and as such he thought the landlords would be the only agency that could maintain it if they would be assured of a certain percentage of the produce in lieu of rent. This line took Dr. Grierson to express very strongly on the failure of the administration in not maintaining the *gilandazi* or earth-work so far as the *Khasmahal* lands were concerned. He almost suggested that it was immoral on the part of the Government to be realising full quota of the rent when *gilandazi* charges were not being met. According to him every landlord in Gaya, except Government, looked after *gilandazi*. He mentioned:

"There is no such paying outlet for capital. *Gilandazi* is the life of the cultivators and the most profitable speculation possible for the landlords."

At another place he mentioned that in the preceding 11 months he had sent up not less than 11 representations in which he had stated in so many words that "we were starving the *gilandazi* of our *nakadi* villages." In the letter he mentioned the reply of the Board has always been "The Board is helpless. It has no money. It cannot afford to give more to Gaya out of the amount allowed by the Government of India." Dr. Grierson bitterly moved against this reply. He argued that each year the rent realised by the Government was Rs. 70,000, out of which the Board spent only Rs. 5,000 annually instead of Rs. 9,000, which was the due share as being one anna in every eight annas according to custom towards the maintenance of *gilandazi*, and "pocketed a sum of Rs. 4,000 every year. This had arisen because of cash rent system. We are alienating our *raiya*s, charging too high rents, and not carrying out those works of maintenance which common prudence suggests to every other landlords in Gaya."

Dr. Grierson's argument was that if in the Government Estates the *gilandazi* had been allowed to go into disrepair and Government had no objection to *Nakadi* rent system it was not proper to raise any objection against the *Bhaoli* system.

Dr. Grierson was also far-sighted and pointed out that there was a vast tract of land lying

waste in the district which could yield good profit if those areas were provided with irrigation facilities. He argued that an investment of Rs. 7,000 for improvement would have resulted in two other years a profit of Rs. 25,000 after deducting a sum of Rs. 5,000 from it for maintenance there would have been a net increase of 33 per cent per annum. He wanted a loan under the Land Improvement Act.

In summing up these points Dr. Grierson mentioned that the *Bhaoli* system in Gaya district did not possess the evils attributed to it by the Board and remarked:

"The *Nakadi* system possesses no advantages in Gaya except a deceptive saving of trouble to the landlord and a deceptive air of certainty to his collectors. That on the contrary the *Nakadi* system, as at present in force under Government orders, has very great evils intimately connected with it, which are so patent to every private landlord and every *raiya*, that neither will have thought of it. That when introduced it offers temptations to which even Government, posing as a model landlord puts the Collector as representing Government, in an unfair position."

According to him the system of *Nakadi* rent had been tried for several years and every one, the Collector, the *raiya* and the Commissioner condemned it. He concluded this despatch by stressing the point that he had come to the district favourably disposed towards *Nakadi* system but had to change his ideas after practical experience which was summed up as follows:

"The conclusion forced upon me has been, that it is the Government *Nakadi* system in this district with its perpetual arrears, that is, to use the language of the Board equally fatal to habits of thrift, and to methods of improvements."

One may not agree with the general argument and the conclusion of Dr. Grierson. As a matter of fact, the *Bhaoli* system has recently been abolished by Law and much of the arguments mentioned by the Board in 1888-89 were repeated before the *Bhaoli* system was abolished. But, nevertheless, the letter shows that this great linguist and savant had studied his district deeply, felt for *raiya*s and could express himself

A CASE FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE PROGRAM FOR INDIA

By SYSTILA B. RAO,

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UNEMPLOYMENT, as a national and social problem, is a by-product of industrial revolution and it is most distressingly prevalent in private and semi-private economics. The industrialisation of economy brings more and more people into industries and consequently any slight maladjustment in the economy causes more unemployment.

Unemployment may be classified into three categories: (1) technological unemployment caused due to changes in the public's taste for a product or a change in the processing of a product. Any of these changes shifts the demand for labor force. For example, the change from the hand-pulled rickshaws to auto-rickshaws is throwing out the carpenters from hand-pulled rickshaw manufacturing industry. The carpenters would be unemployed for some time depending on their mobility, turnover of labor in the industry and general economic conditions, (2) seasonal unemployment. Some of the industries in the economy would be working only for a certain period of the year and in the rest of the year the labor force in those industries will be laid off involuntarily. Agricultural labor and the labor workmen in the factories like sugar come under this type, (3) mass or general unemployment, attributable to the economy in general and not to any particular firm or industry. This may be said to exist when 5 per cent or more of the workers willing to work are without work.

Unemployment, whatever may be the cause, has become much of a social evil. It is generally said that "Demagogue thrives on unemployment." For individual workers and families the unemployment is catastrophic. For the great mass of wage-earners the savings are very low or nil to protect themselves for any length of time against the contingency of unemployment. During the layoffs morale and health of the labor force and their families is down, and consequent harm (through suicides and crimes) to the community is unaccountable. It is also an established fact that one loses his skill if he does not use it for a long time. The loss of purchasing power of the workers would reflect on the demand for foods which again leads to more

unemployment. This is a vicious circle. It would also be a waste of productive human resources for the community if its labor force is laid off or asked to do a job for which he is not trained. Hence over a period of time it is not only the unemployed worker himself and his family who suffer by reason of unemployment; the harmful effects may also extend to the community or society of which they are members. So, many of the countries irrespective of their political beliefs undertook some program to circumvent the evils of unemployment. Most of the existing insurance schemes are intended to counteract unemployment of first two categories. The schemes are based on the assumption that these two categories of unemployment is an insurable risk and developed their programs accordingly.

The risk of unemployment of the categories one and two is insurable risk in the sense it is predictable with a certain degree of accuracy as to amount and timing of unemployment. However, the mass unemployment, so far could not be predicted with any degree of accuracy. It is also difficult to distinguish clearly these various types of unemployment. It is outside the scope of this paper to analyse the various reasons for unemployment. Whatever may be the reason for unemployment, it has so greatly influenced our contemporary life that economists and politicians have been forced to reconsider their social philosophies in their entirety. And the need for taking effective steps cannot be overemphasised.

As contrast to non-insurance schemes, in an insurance scheme the covered employees have to register in advance; the scope of coverage as to eligibility to draw benefits and the amount of benefits to be paid when unemployed are to be determined in advance; the covered employees or someone for them should make contributions before insurance coverage becomes effective.

We would now discuss the various problems that should be answered when a country is deciding to introduce an unemployment insurance program. The first question is who should be covered under this program. The

program may not cover all workers; certain categories of workers like agricultural labor and government employees may be excluded from the program. The chief criteria in deciding what persons should be protected against unemployment is the needs of various groups of workers for such a protection; considerations regarding cost of financing the program and its administration becoming secondary. The another question is who should be paid unemployment benefits. Many of the programs stipulate certain period of employment or earnings during a certain period or both before one is eligible for benefits.

Another question is should the benefits be paid on the basis of need. Some people may have more than one source of income and the loss of wages may not hit them hard. Some people may have fixed commitments like insurance premiums and mortgage payments. Some labor force may have more dependents. Most of the existing programs do not consider "need" as a requirement for receiving benefits. The argument for this is if we do not pay wages according to "need" why pay unemployment benefits according to need? The principles of insurance do not concern to need. If you insure your life, your dependents would get the benefits whether they need the money or not. In insurance it would be a matter of right than need or sympathy.

Also most of the existing programs pay benefits only if the former employees is still in labor force and is willing to work in a similar position. If he gets sick or is out of labor force for some other reasons he would not be paid benefits under this program. (They may get benefits from some other program.) Most of these programs do not cover self-employed, nor benefits be paid to those who voluntarily quit their job.

One other major problem connected with this is how to finance this program. In many of the countries both employers and employees contribute to the fund—the only exception is the United States, where only employers would contribute. In addition the general taxpayer also contribute to the program in the sense the unemployed will get

benefits from the general treasury if the fund is exhausted.

The arguments advanced in favor of collecting taxes (we may also call contributions or premiums) from employers only, are: (1) it would be easier to collect taxes from a few than from a large group—the employers group being the small in size; (2) the employers are, in a way, responsible for unemployment and taxing them (especially basing on their unemployment experience) helps stabilizing employment and also economy; (3) any way employers shift the tax either to consumers (in the form of higher prices) or to employees (in the form of lower wages) and in this case he has to shift a greater amount than otherwise.

One of the general assumptions of this program is that during prosperity the fund accumulates so much that we could pay the benefits during the rainy days. This works like this: employer would be asked to pay the tax basing on the amount of wages he pays to his workers. More the wages he pays more the tax he should pay. In depression he would have less payroll so the unemployment tax burden will be lighter. Really, this amounts to penalizing the employer for providing employment. Commonsense tells us that we should reward the employer for providing employment, than penalize. The alternative would be to tax less when the employer has more than normal total payroll or tax more when his payroll is less than normal. The trouble with such a system is to determine what is the normal payroll. This again amounts to taxing the employer more during depression, when actually he should be relieved of the tax burden. In effect such a system deepens the economic fluctuations instead of stabilizing the economy. The other alternative would be to tax less those employers who maintain stable employment than others. This means less total tax collections during prosperity because most of the employers could anyway maintain high and stable employment—the only exception would be seasonal industries. Contrastingly during prosperity these seasonal industries would have to pay higher taxes than others because they would have high unemployment during off-season because of high employment during on-season. If we adopt some form of unemployment experience of the employers as a

basis for taxation (as the United States is doing now) we should be basing our system on the 'past' than on the 'future' which is contrary to any insurance principles. How far we shall be able to adjust the past experience for future, as in case of other insurance programs, is doubtful. Our recorded experience of the unemployment is short and incomplete to make any accurate predictions. New developments in the theories of measurements, and employment may improve our ability to predict with accuracy.

The other related question is what should be the basis for employee contribution, if he has to contribute. Naturally, he should contribute according to the wages he is earning—the tax being higher when his wages are higher. But certain categories of workers would not ordinarily be laid off. Should the program require such employees also to contribute at the same rate as other employees? If answer is 'yes,' then is it equitable? If the answer is 'no,' would it not be contrary to insurance principles? In life insurance, for example, we collect the same premium whether he would live 5 days or 50 years after taking policy. There are some people who would be unemployed off and on and these are the people who drain the fund. We can argue that we should have some kind of unemployment experience of employees to base our taxes on employees. In this case what happens is we tax more those who will be laid off more often. This again violates the very basic welfare principles involved in an unemployment insurance program. The people who are laid off frequently would be the people in deep financial distress and to tax them at higher rates would be inequitable. A program should provide for special treatment (like counselling) of these people instead of burdening them with higher taxes.

One other important question is who should organize and control this program. These programs were originally started by trade unions to cover their members on a voluntary basis with no public or employer participation. It was not until 1905 (first time in France) that a governmental body participated in any form of unemployment insurance program. Today one-fourth of the countries have some kind of unemployment insurance program on a compulsory and nation-wide basis, with government

having direct or almost direct participation in the program. However, it can be said that a centrally administered program is far more superior especially in relation to employees who move from State to State.

One may ask after reading this, does a program like this alleviate the present unemployment in the country? The answer to this question is clearly 'no'. Because this is essentially an insurance program covering the presently employed from unemployment contingency or presently unemployed when they get employed. This kind of program does not in anyway create new employment and only gives some kind of security from future uncertainties. The next question would be, can a program like this automatically stabilize economic fluctuations and consequently employment? The answer for this is also controversial. However, it can be said that a program like this itself cannot stabilize any possible wide fluctuations in the economy and employment and it may be able to take care of small fluctuations. The reason for this is the purchasing power created through this kind of program would never be equal to the wages one was receiving when employed, to achieve stabilization. We may set the program so as to make the benefits from this program equal to the wages one was receiving when employed. But the tragedy with such arrangement is there will not be any inducement for taking up employment because he would not be better off except he has to work hard to earn that income.

Some people argue that lower taxes during depression and higher taxes during prosperity could act as an inducement and as a check to the business activity; coupled with the unemployment benefits we could stabilize the economy. But the experience of nineteen thirties and the post-World War II economic fluctuations proved that this does not work quite like that and direct government participation is inevitable. So far we could not invent anything like automatic (or switch board) stabilizers who work and control by themselves. Apart from all this, the unemployment insurance program is a social welfare program and in a welfare nation we cannot overlook this welfare program.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

HISTORY OF THE RAMAKRISHNA MATH AND MISSION: *By Swami Gambhirananda. Advaita Ashram, 1957. Pp. 452. Price Rs. 10.*

Written in commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee celebration of the Ramakrishna Mission by a distinguished member of the Order with the help of a Board of four Editors, this is a very valuable and authentic account, based mainly on the evidence of contemporary records, of the history of the two sister institutions, the Ramakrishna Math and Mission, down to quite recent times (April, 1957). The dim beginnings of the movement may be traced to the informally cenobitic gathering of a number of devoted disciples of Ramakrishna Paramahansa, with Narendra (afterwards Swami Vivekananda) at their head, at an obscure house at Baranagar, a northern suburb of Calcutta, immediately after the demise of the Master in August, 1886. It was after the return of Swami Vivekananda from his historic visit to the Parliament of Religions at Chicago that a firm foundation was laid for both the institutions, the Ramakrishna Mission having been started as an Association in 1897 and the Belur Math with its Board of Trustees having been brought into being in the years 1898-1901. The subsequent history of the two institutions like the history of their origin is traced by the author in chronological sequence in successive chapters of his work. The story is one of strenuous spiritual endeavour and service in the cause of suffering humanity often in the face of such great trials as those of the stormy years of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal in 1906 and the following years, and still more, of the two World-Wars of our times. The resulting record of steady progress is a tribute not only to the enduring value of the teachings of the Saint of

Dakshineswar and his illustrious disciple Swami Vivekananda, but also to the supreme devotion and organising capacity of those members of the Order, on whom has fallen the mantle of those great Masters. Well may the author conclude his work with the remark that 'the movement is well on its way to become a world-force'. If we may offer a criticism, it is that the chronological narrative of events, and still more, the digressions have the effect of making the reader not unoften miss the wood for the trees. It may also be suggested that the book would have gained in effect by the compression of the well-known details of the career of the Master and of the life of his great disciple down to the latter's visit to Chicago Parliament of Religions in 1893.

The value of this book is enhanced by three valuable Appendices and a good Index as well as a number of illustrations. The reputed American author, Christopher Isherwood, contributes an appreciative Foreword. The paper, print and general get-up are satisfactory, and the price is not too high for the worth of this book.

U. N. GHOSHAL

DISCOVERY OF ASIA: *By Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt (Paris). Published by the Institute of Asian-African Relations, Calcutta, 1957. Double crown quarto. Pp. ii + 789. Price Rs. 30.*

It has been the sad fate of Asia, the mother of civilizations, to be temporarily eclipsed by Europe during the three centuries that preceded our time. Not only was Asia's culture and valuable contribution to the making of modern civilization came to be forgotten in this period, but her very name came, strangely enough, to be associated with reaction and backwardness.

But with the beginning of the twentieth century there occurred a revolution in this re-

gard. Different Asian nations began to be conscious of their great heritages and the roles that they were destined to play in the making of the modern world. Many leaders spoke and many publicists wrote on different aspects of Asia's past greatness; but no one seems to have attempted to *discover* Asia in the manner Dr. Kalidas Nag, the author of the volume under review, has done. But this reported scholar has done something more. He has not only brought together a mass of materials relating to archaeology, anthropology, art and religion—very methodically arranged and lucidly presented, to give the entire picture of Asia's greatness, but, also, has he given interesting and important information regarding the very valuable work which Western scholars have done in various parts of Asia and Europe in bringing to light the true work of Asia, through their devoted and painstaking researches. Thus this work has been a very valuable contribution not only for knowing Asia as a whole, but also for creating a bond of fellowship between the East and the West. Dr. Nag can be heartily congratulated on this important work. As will be evident to the readers of the volume, this has not been a mere compilation from different books, for, the author has very widely travelled and has a first-hand acquaintance with the countries on which he has written. All this imparts to his work a great value. It is hoped that this will not only prove to be a volume of useful and interesting reading to general readers but will also be considered indispensable to scholars, journalists and statesmen who are concerned with the different countries of the Asiatic continent, such as, China, Japan, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Burma, Thailand; Malay, Indonesia, the Philippines in the east, and Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and the Arab States in the west. This work includes thirty-five illustrations (one tri-colour) which supplement the articles written on Art and Archaeology and these have definitely added to the value of the work. Printing and get-up of the work is excellent and the price is also not very high.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

THE SOCIAL RENAISSANCE IN INDIA:

By K. C. Vyas. Vora and Co., Publishers, Private Ltd., 3, Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay-2. Price Rs. 8.

The book under review is a welcome addition to literature relating to the national ethos of India. The author has brought to bear upon

his work a deep study and catholicity of outlook. He fixes Raja Rammohun Roy as the pivot and the all-round growth of a new India, in the living contact of the West, as but the development of what he initiated.

Every religious teacher has influenced society to an extent that he is in every sense a social reformer. It has an added significance with Hinduism, which is no religion in the sense Christianity or Islam is, but a way of life evolving with new, emergent tendencies since the days of the Aryan settlers. It is more elastic, but unhappily as the survival of a hoary age, which cared not a fig for individual freedom, it is more rigid in some essential usages than what Hellenism or Christianity moulded the West for. Mr. Vyas has given us thumbnail-sketches of some giants of men who have attacked the aforesaid rigidity to make Hinduism a composite culture reacting on our infant national consciousness. They are Pandit Isvar-chandra Vidyasagar, Keshub Chunder Sen, Dayananda Saraswati, Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Swami Vivekananda, each of them giving us new light and vision. Amongst those who have energetically followed them up are mentioned Madhav Govinda Ranade and Dr. Karvey. Dr. Karvey, by the way, completes his centenary this April.

I fail to understand why the author has pitchforked Mrs. Annie Besant into the galaxy of the above-named, when he himself concludes that her theosophy, so far as India is concerned, is a 'thing with only a past and without a future.'

In discussing the difference in broad outline between the Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj, the author has done well to stress the patriotic side of the Arya Samaj. In the fitness of things it needs being emphasized that Raja Rammohun Roy saved India a cultural conquest.

Social Renaissance in India is worth study for the profit and pleasure it yields. The present generation should be encouraged to read such publications to help grow sound views on our national evolution. Public memory is short; but to bypass the uphill work of our author's subjects of memoir is suicidal.

JOGES C. BOSE

SANSKRIT

1. PRATIRAJASUYAM: By Y. Mahalinga Sastri, M.A., B.L. Price Rs. 6.

2. SRINGARANARADIYAM: By Y. Mahalinga Sastri, M.A., B.L. Price Rs. 2.

Sahityachandrasala, Thiruvallangadu, B.O., (via) Narasingampet, S. Ry., (Tanjore Dist.).

3. GANDHISUKTIMUKTAVALI: *By Chirtaman Dwarkanath Deshmukh. Published by Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Rajghat, New Delhi-1. Price Rs. 1.*

We have here three Sanskrit works from the pens of two modern writers who are not Sanskritists by profession. The first two are dramas, the second being a farce, based on mythological themes. Their author has a facile pen having to his credit a large number of works in Sanskrit some of which have been printed and a few noticed in these pages (August, 1956). The *Prairajasuyam* won a prize awarded by the Madras Sanskrit Academy on the results of a competition for composing a good Sanskrit drama. Like their many old predecessors these dramas abound in long speeches and descriptions and have very little of action in them. They are mainly poetic works.

The third work in the group contains metrical translation in Sanskrit of selected sayings—one hundred in number—of Mahatma Gandhi culled from a compilation of Sri M. K. Krishnan of Coimbatore entitled, *Thus Spake the Mahatma* (III Series). This is a nice handy volume which may be easily carried in one's pocket. It is not known how far the Sanskrit-reading Pandit will appreciate these translations which are not in general easily intelligible without a reference to the English original. A number of printing mistakes are noticed. Coming as it does from the pen of a man of the position and standing of Sri C. D. Deshmukh, the book will be a great source of inspiration and encouragement to all Sanskritists, among whom the idea has gained ground that Sanskrit has little prestige with top-ranking people.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BENOY-SMIRITI TARPAN: *Published by Benoy Sarkar Memorial Committee, 45, Girish Chandra Bose Road, Calcutta-14. Pp. 119. Price Rs. 2.*

This publication contains contributions from the admiring friends and respectful students of the late Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar (1887-1949) patriot, philosopher, economist and a great friend of students, who repudiated the theory that there is a fundamental difference between the East and the West. As a cultural ambassador of India he travelled in seats of learning

of Europe, America and China before his country attained her independence in 1947. In spite of growing years Prof. Sarkar was ever young in his enthusiasm and his contributions in Economics, Sociology, Statistics, Philosophy, etc., in several languages—Bengali, English, French, German, Italian are considerable. He founded Bangiya Dhanabigyan Parisad, Bangiya Samajbigyan Parisad, Bangiya German Sanskriti Parisad, Antarjatik Banga Parisad, Bangiya Asia Parisad, Bangiya Dante Parisad and Bangiya Markin Sanskriti Parisad for researches in different lines and also for co-operation among nations. Patriot-internationalist Benoy Sarkar considered himself a child of 1905 Bengal nationalism and counted his age from that year. He has left a permanent mark in literature and in the minds of his students and his memory will be ever fresh in his countrymen as a symbol of progress and free thinking. His philosophy of life will be an inspiration for generations.

Among the contributions, those from Dr. N. N. Zana, Prof. Haridas Mukherji, Sri Kalidas Mukherji, Prof. Trilochan Das, Dr. Moni Moulik, Prof. (Mrs.) Uma Mukherji, Dr. Miss Indira Sarkar and Mrs. Ida Sarkar, Prof. Baneswar Das require special mention. We have no doubt the publication shall have a wide distribution among the admiring friends, students and countrymen of Prof. Benoy Sarkar.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY: *By Chaturbhuj Mamoria, Maharana Bhupal College, Udaipur (Raj). Published by Gaya Prasad and Sons, Agra. First Edition, 1957. Pp. 1203. Price Rs. 15.*

Never was a time more propitious than this for the publication of a book on Economic and Commercial Geography in Hindi. When the Second Five-Year Plan is in its infancy and Hindi is facing a transitional crisis, such a publication has an added significance. Sri Mamoria's book, although mainly intended for students appearing in the examinations, can also serve an useful purpose for those interested in this branch of knowledge. The author has spared no pains to make his references up-to-date and has freely drawn from treatises of competent authors in English. The subject has been extensively dealt with and has been divided into 40 chapters. The first chapter deals with the scope

of the subject. Roughly speaking, the next ten chapters are mainly concerned with man and his environment along with a description of natural vegetation and soils and manures. In dealing with man and his environment it would have been appreciated if the writer had stressed equally on the correlative aspect—man as a master of the circumstances. In chapters 12 to 20 the author is occupied with 'occupations.' Then a few chapters have been devoted to mineral resources. Next come the sources of power and then a description of major industries particularly with a particular emphasis on those which are Indian. Further, a few chapters are devoted to Means and Transport, and lastly comes the chapter on Population, its movements and the development of towns. At the end is a lengthy bibliography which is indicative of the pains the author has taken to incorporate the views of competent authorities and the desire to give a comprehensive

background of the recent economic developments in India. Along with the sources of power, a bird's-eye view of the major power projects has also been given. The whole tenor of the book is descriptive and nowhere has the author meddled with controversial issues. Although Shri Mamoria is to be congratulated for such a nice contribution to Hindi, it is regrettable that the language of the book not only conveys an impression upon the reader that it lacks coherence and compactness of style but also that many of the sentences have been thought in English and written in Hindi. At places the syntax is defective and use of certain words faulty. But the great solace is that the style is simple and on the whole easily understandable: It is to be hoped that this aspect will receive greater consideration in the next edition.

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Indian Periodicals

The Trend of Contemporary Psychology

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Professor P. S. Naidu traces suggestively the line of development of Western psychology:

"Psychology first lost its soul, then its mind and then its consciousness; it has now behaviour of a kind." That is how a gifted critic of the modern trends in contemporary psychology sums up the position at the moment in this youngest of the Western sciences. Though his statement may seem an undeserved gibe, there is a great deal of truth in it.

Time was when the psychologist, even in Europe, was seriously concerned with the soul. The ancient Greek thinkers, the founders of great philosophic systems and acute dialecticians, were engaged in the serious study of the soul. Much later, after it developed an ultra-rationalistic and scientific temper, the Western mind came to associate such a study with theology, and it went out of fashion among intellectuals. So the first climb down was made from soul to mind and the study of its faculties.

But, even here, the scientific-minded investigator found far too many phenomena that could not be handled with the objective tools of science. Hence, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, it was felt that "consciousness" alone could be the fit subject of study by the earnest seeker after truth in the field of human nature. But even "consciousness" cannot be explored, investigated, tested and weighed in the laboratory. The method employed for unravelling the mysteries of consciousness was introspection. But what can introspection reveal except what goes on in the mind of the introspector himself? I cannot look into your mind, and you cannot look into mine. Objectivity, precision and clarity—the prime requisites of scientific investigation—are lacking in introspection. Hence scientific psychologists decided to rule out even consciousness from their field of investigation.

When these successive eliminations had been made, what was left as the subject of investigation by the psychologist was "behaviour." Here at last was something which could be handled by the experimental methods of the

scientist. Behaviour can be controlled and studied in the laboratory in much the same way as the physical scientist or the biologist studies his chosen field of nature. And, based on this experimental approach, a systematic theory of human nature, called Behaviourism, was built up. Like his counterparts in the physical and biological fields, the Behaviourist decided to ignore all intangibles. "*The imperceptible is non-existent*" is the motto of this group of objective scientists. All that is imperceptible in human nature was to be ignored. Soul, mind and consciousness; thinking, reasoning and imagination; and such other terms as psychologists are fond of using to connote so-called mental experiences, were henceforth to be completely ruled out. In other words psychology should concern itself with the study of behaviour and in particular with bodily behaviour. From this methodological requirement there soon emerged a theory of human nature which identified man with his body, and spoke of him as a highly complicated machine with the nervous system as its mainspring. At present we know little about this mainspring. When our knowledge of the brain and other parts of the nervous system is complete, we can explain every act of human beings, from the lowest act of scratching an itch to the highest act of self-sacrifice, in terms of the working of the nervous system. Thus there arose the ultra-rationalistic system of psychology known as Behaviourism.

Despite its attractive neatness and concreteness, Behaviourism was soon found to be inadequate as a science of human nature. The humblest of living creatures, namely, an insect, displays powers which the most perfect machine lacks. Living creatures are purposive, goal-seeking and forward-looking in their behaviour, while a machine is deterministic, backward-looking and completely controlled by the chain of causal sequence. Western psychologists soon realized the utter inadequacy of Behaviourism, which is superficial even in its treatment of the bodily aspect of behaviour.

There came into existence a whole group of depth psychologies which tried to probe into the deeper aspects of human nature. McDougall,

Indian Atomic Energy Programme

Dr. H. J. Bhabha writes in *Careers and Courses*:

The five countries, which are at present advanced in atomic energy, namely, Canada, France, U.S.S.R., U.K., and U.S.A., are all industrially advanced countries with a developed technical background. All of them, except the U.S.S.R., co-operated closely with each other in developing atomic energy during the war.

While India is behind all these in atomic development, and, indeed, has long way to go to catch up the most advanced among them, its programme is nevertheless more developed than that of most countries in the world including some of the highly industrialized countries of Europe. India is, therefore, in unique position of being the only industrially under-developed country with an important atomic energy programme.

This development has been made possible by the fact that India is a very large country with a population of nearly 400 million, so that although its per capita production may be small, its total production is quite considerable. India is one of the largest producers of textiles in the world, and in addition produces many industrial commodities like steel, locomotives, machine tools, heavy chemicals and fertilizers, which are produced in very few under-developed countries. This gives it a technical ability to develop on its own, which is quite different from that of other under-developed countries. Nevertheless, whatever India may have achieved in atomic energy has been achieved by a concentration of effort and resources, by a selection of some of the best young scientists and engineers from all parts of the country and their concentration in one big research and development centre at Trombay, where they can assist and stimulate each other, and finally by a provision of the best available equipment. The Government of India has given atomic energy development a high priority and its full support. Our atomic development has depended above all on the strong and continuous backing of the Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, to whose faith in the importance of science and its practical application, indeed, all scientific development in the country owes so much.

COMPETITIVE COST

Since the peaceful and the military applications of atomic energy are so closely linked, assistance in many of the crucial steps leading

to the use of atomic energy for generating electricity and to the production of some of the important materials required for an atomic power programme will only be given by other countries or by an international agency under conditions which would bring the Indian programme under international inspection and control. Although the Indian atomic energy programme has no military component, and it has been stated categorically by the Prime Minister on several occasions that we do not propose to go in for any such military programme, an independent foreign policy and non-alignment with any Power bloc makes the acceptance of inspection and control unacceptable to us, as long as they are not applied universally to all countries alike in the interest of peace and international security. It is, therefore, necessary for India to plan its entire atomic energy programme, so that it can move forward, if necessary, without any external aid. This does not mean that aid from friendly countries will not be accepted, when it is given without any strings being attached, and, indeed, we have received considerable help from several friendly countries some of which are mentioned later.

A study of the economics of atomic power in India has shown that electricity from atomic energy would be competitive with electricity from thermal power stations in regions of the country remote from the coalfields, which indeed, include the major part of the country and many of its industrial centres. The competitiveness of atomic energy in most parts of India is due to the operation of three factors, namely, the location of its coalfields, the limitations of the transport system, and the general shortage of power in the industrial areas. Eighty per cent of the coal used in India today is produced in the eastern corner, in the States of Bengal and Bihar, and coal has to be transported some 1,500 miles to important areas in the north, west and south, such as Delhi, Ahmedabad, Bombay and Madras. The true price of coal at these areas is therefore such as to make electricity from thermal stations more expensive than electricity from atomic power stations even today. Secondly, the railway system is already heavily loaded and has little spare capacity. A considerable increase in railway transport capacity will, in any case, be necessitated by the industrial development of the country, thus involving an expenditure of large sums of money. One-third of all the goods traffic carried by the railway at present is coal, which is incidentally carried at a subsidized rate, and,

therefore, represents a burden on the economy. The future development of electric power in a manner which does not involve a formidable increase in coal transport will, therefore, save the country large sums of money, and a further capital expenditure on the railways. Finally, power in industrial areas is so short that the grid systems as a whole have a very high load factor, a situation which is necessary and favourable for the economic operation of atomic power stations. The Government of India, therefore, have under consideration the setting up of one or more atomic power stations in the period immediately ahead. If a decision to set up one were taken in the current year, the power station would not be in operation till 1962, and atomic power would therefore only make a contribution during the Third Five-Year Plan. It is, however, necessary that we should embark on such a programme now in order to be able to take advantage of the developments in atomic power generation, which are bound to take place in the next few years and thereafter.

To instal a million kilowatts of net electrical capacity from atomic power stations during the Third Five-Year Plan, that is by 1965, is today entirely feasible technically, and desir-

able economically. Whether and to what extent such a programme will be embarked upon will depend principally on financial rather than economic consideration.

FIFTEEN YEARS GOAL

For all these reasons, it has been decided to go ahead with a research, development and production programme which will make possible the construction and operation of atomic power stations in India within the next ten to fifteen years.

On the industrial side it is intended to produce within the country all the materials required for a full atomic power programme. For this reason, a start was made by setting up a plant at Alwaye in South India to treat the well-known monazite sands on the west coast. In addition to producing rare earths and trisodium phosphate, a cleaning material sold in the market, this plant produces a cake containing thorium and uranium. This cake is brought to the plant at Trombay near Bombay, which produces a very pure thorium salt and also a uranium salt. This plant was built by our own scientists and engineers and has been in operation since 1954. Its capacity increased sixfold last year.

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There has been designed a small uranium plant which will turn this uranium salt into reactor grade uranium metal, and it is expected to have this plant in operation by the middle of 1958. This plant will give us enough uranium metal for experimental purposes and for use in the reactors that are under construction at present. It will also give our scientific and technical staff the necessary experience for the design and construction of the large uranium plants, which will be required by a full atomic power programme.

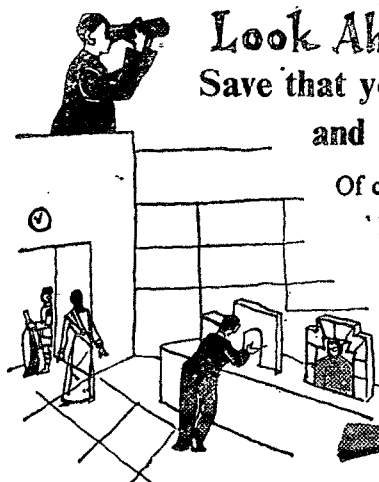
A small plant for the fabrication of fuel elements has also been designed, and its construction is being undertaken forthwith. Besides producing the fuel elements for our currently scheduled natural uranium reactors it will also enable research and development work to be carried out on new types of fuel elements and their canning.

India is one of the largest producers in the world of the rare mineral beryl from which the metal beryllium can be obtained, the present annual production being several thousand tons of high grade beryl. Beryllium oxide may have interesting possibilities as a moderator, and the metal or one of its alloys holds out great promise as a canning material. A large pilot plant

for producing atomically pure beryllium oxide of nuclear purity and sintering it into bricks is also being designed. Its capacity will be about 15 tons of beryllium oxide per annum, but it will be capable of expansion to several times this size. Preliminary studies indicate that the cost of beryllium oxide produced in this plant will be lower than the cost at which it is being produced in Europe at present.

It is also intended to produce heavy water in quantity and the decision was taken two years ago to produce heavy water and fertilizer together in a large plant which is being built at Nangal in the north. This plant will produce over 340,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilizer annually, and between 10 and 20 tons of heavy water. Hydrogen for the ammonia plant will be made electrolytically. The heavy hydrogen will be concentrated in the last stage in the electrolysis cells, which will be arranged in cascade. The heavy hydrogen from these cells, which will comprise between 20 and 40 per cent of the total stream, will be liquefied and the deuterium extracted by the hydrogen distillation process. The plant has been placed at Nangal, so that it can draw cheap power from the dam at Bhakra. It will consume 160,000 kilowatts of electric power and cheapness of power is essen-

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tial for the economics of the process. It is estimated that by charging to heavy water only the direct costs involved in its production, the cost of heavy water will be about \$20 per pound, which is substantially lower than the present world price. Production will commence in 1960. Several other large fertilizer plants are expected to be constructed during the Second Five-Year Plan, and it is the intention of the Government to produce heavy water in all of them.

Studies are also being made for the erection of a plant to make atomically pure graphite from the coke produced in a refinery in Assam. Experiments which are under way at the Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay have already shown that graphite of a high density can be produced by a method which is being tried.

Zirconium is another metal which has promise as a canning material. In order that it should be so used hafnium has at first to be separated from it and quite a good deal of research work has been done on the separation of hafnium from zirconium. A process is now being tried out which is even more promising than the one reported by us at the Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. This method promises to yield metallic zirconium free from hafnium in one step. Zircon, the mineral from which zirconium can be obtained, is found as a constituent of the famous beach sands on the South-West coast of India and is available in plentiful supply.

Any country, which does not wish to depend wholly upon outside aid, must have its own research and development organization, not only for investigating the many possibilities which remain unexplored, but also because, even in fields where general knowledge is available, practical experience and detailed know-how are to be obtained. The Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay near Bombay, which was formally inaugurated by the Prime Minister in January last year, is India's centre for research and development in the field of atomic energy.

RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

A layout of the entire Establishment has been prepared, and some buildings completed, while the construction of others will start very soon. Some of the new laboratories will be ready early this year, although all the buildings planned at present will not be ready till 1959. The Establishment is located at Trombay some 15 miles from the centre of Bombay. The site of the Establishment which covers an area over 2,000 acres is completely separated from the rest of the industrial area of Trombay by Trom-

bay Hill on its west. Its eastern side lies on the upper reaches of Bombay Harbour.

The research activities of the Establishment were, however, started without waiting for the new buildings to come up. The Physics and Engineering Divisions were located in the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research at the Old Yacht Club building, and in war-time hutments on its new site at Colaba. A warehouse in another part of Bombay was converted for housing the Chemistry Division, while the Biological and Medical Divisions were set up at the Indian Cancer Research Centre. The total scientific and technical staff of the Establishment is now about 400, and it will increase to over 800 by 1959. By this time the total number of workers on the site, including administrative, maintenance and workshop staff, will be over two thousand.

To ensure a steady supply of trained scientific and technical personnel, there has been started a training programme under which 250 young graduates and engineers will be recruited annually from the universities and given supplementary training for a year to fit them for work in our atomic energy programme. The first course commenced in August last year with 170 trainees. It is hoped to increase the intake of this school to 350 a year in due course.

APSARA

Apsara, India's first atomic reactor, or the swimming pool type, reached criticality for the first time on August 4, 1956. It is the first reactor to go into operation in Asia, outside the U.S.S.R. It was designed, engineered and built entirely by our own people and by Indian industry, except for the fuel elements. The fuel elements, which contain enriched uranium, have been provided by the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority.

The decision to build this reactor was taken in April, 1955. A firm decision on the basic design was made in August, 1955, and it took about one year to complete its construction.

As soon as the decision to build the Swimming Pool Reactor was taken in early 1955, our attention was given to the next step of building a powerful high flux reactor for engineering research. Several different types were being considered, when there was received a generous offer from the Canadian Government to set up a reactor of the NRX type in India. The decision to proceed with the joint project was taken in August, 1955, and the ground for it was broken in February, 1956. This reactor is expected to be completed early in 1959. This

Freud, Adler and Jung were the pioneers in the field. McDougall drew attention to the *motives* behind bodily behaviour and established beyond doubt the powerful influence of instincts and emotions on the activities of human beings. He it was who made us see that underneath the thin crust of reason there lay the powerful dynamic springs of human action, the *instincts and emotions*, which really controlled our personality. But he confined himself to the study of *conscious* springs of action. Freud and his colleagues, who were investigating the complicated factors in abnormal human behaviour, plunged into the deep hidden recesses of the mind, and uncovered the *Unconscious*, and demonstrated its irresistible power in shaping human destinies.

Such then was the line of development in Western psychology—from the body to the mind, and from the Conscious to the Sub-conscious and Unconscious. And in this we can see the struggle of the West to understand man and the mysteries of his mind and to grasp the significance of his total personality. To supplement the endeavours of those psychologists, there soon arose a vigorous school in Germany, the Gestalt School, which scorned the method of analysis, blamed all the other schools for their atomistic, pulverizing attitude towards human nature, and insisted on treating man as a whole, as a total personality, comprising even the environment in which this personality developed. This, indeed, was a welcome revolution in psychology. Apart from these major schools of psychology there are others all of which seem to be engaged in the laudable task of understanding human nature in all its intricacies. Taking a bird's-eye view of the evolution of Western psychology, we find that the schools, some of which claim to be the sole possessors of truth and hence are intolerant of the attitudes of other schools, are really complementary. Behaviourism deals with the body of man; Purposivism with the mind but only with the conscious part of it; Psychoanalysis and Analytical Psychology with the Sub-conscious and the Unconscious; and finally Gestalt psychology with man and his environment as integrated *gestalts*. It might seem as though these schools, taken severally and collectively, could deliver the goods, and that there was nothing in man that could be hidden from their searching scrutiny. The day of deliverance might seem to have dawned at last. Here is a science—rather, a group of sciences—which by unravelling all the hidden secrets of man, will reveal to him what

he really is, and enable him to reach the goal of life! But what do we find in the contemporary scene? A gory scene of insensate greeds, lusts and panic fears, of ferocious passions and brutalities of the uncultured masses ready to be fanned into a mighty conflagration by a chance spark. Man seems to be deaf to the agonized voice of history crying to him across the pages of its gory record! The advance of science has but tended to hasten the pace of the intellect's progress. It has swelled man's head; it has made his hands more cunning; but it has not touched his heart. The cry of everyone (the scientist included) today is that the moral nature of man has lagged behind his intellect. The sciences have confessed their helplessness in the matter of bridging the gap between the values of Truth and of Goodness. And psychology, as it is studied and cultivated today, is equally helpless. Is there then no hope?

Hope springs eternal in the human breast, and this time hope comes from the regions lying on the fringes of contemporary psychology, a region which the ultra-scientific psychologist will not touch with a barge-pole. It is the region of para-psychology. Since 1882 the Society for Psychic Research has been studying, with purely objective methods of experimentation, such unusual mental phenomena as hypnotism, thought transference, telepathy, teleaesthesia, etc. Leading men of science and of the humanities of the calibre of Sir Oliver Lodge, and Professors Lehman, Henry Sidgwick, William James and McDougall have taken a leading part in the experiments, and they have come to the conclusion that there are dimensions of the human mind other than those which the acade-

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mic psychologists dare believe in. In other words, these unorthodox experiments in psychology are steadily leading us to the conclusion that just as there are sub-conscious and unconscious levels of the mind, there exist also *super-conscious levels* of which modern psychology is ignorant. And be it noted that the startling phenomena which have shocked the conservative psychologist into a recognition of the *para-psychic* levels of the mind constitute the lowest levels of *yogic* experience. They are but child's play to the *yogi*.

This then is the line of development in Western psychology, a line which is very significant in that it points to the ancient Indian concept of Man as its crown and culmination. Psychology started with the study of the whole man, but soon, in the interests of scientific specialization and analysis, it pulverized man, and began casting out of its field those ingredients which were not amenable to study by strictly objective methods. Soul, mind and consciousness were thus cast out, till nothing was left but the empty skeleton. Finding such a strictly scientific psychology strictly useless and utterly incompetent to impart a knowledge of the essence of human nature, psychology started on the quest for a deeper understanding

of man. In this quest, not only were mind and consciousness brought back, but a study of the hidden secrets of the Unconscious was also taken up. Alongside this there grew up another trend outside academic psychology towards the exploration of *para-psychic* psychology. Taken together, these lines of development indicate a deep urge on the part of psychologists to understand the total personality of man, the "whole" of human nature, in fact, the true nature of the Self. There is a dim awareness that there is a super-conscious dimension of the Self, and that it holds the real secret of man's nature. But this dim awareness should develop into a clear and fully focused consciousness of the fact that psychology must restore the soul to the rightful sovereign position from which it was dethroned. Only then will psychology be competent to deal with man and his problems. And when that is done modern scientific psychology will be almost identical with psychology as we find it in the *Upanishads*, the *Gita* and the *Samkhya* and *Yoga* systems. It will not be an altogether incorrect reading of the signs of the times to say that Western psychologists are slowly finding their way towards the aims, purposes, methods and attitudes of psychological study as understood by our ancients.



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reactor requires some 20 tons of heavy water, which was sold to us by the United States' Atomic Energy Commission.

A short while ago, it was decided to build a third zero energy reactor, which will enable us to study the effect of different lattices, shapes and sizes of fuel elements, mixed lattices containing uranium or plutonium and thorium, and so on. This reactor is expected to be in operation in 1958 also, and indeed, it may be the second reactor actually to go into operation in India.

The immediate need in many parts of India is for small-power stations of about 20 megawatts, and it is our intention to study for this

purpose reactors moderated with beryllium oxide, gas-cooled, and working on natural or slightly enriched uranium. Since the critical size of beryllium moderated reactors is smaller than graphite moderated ones, preliminary calculations show that they may well be more economical in the power range below about 20 megawatts. For this purpose, there has been for some years a joint project with the Commissariat à l'Energie Atomique of France for studying the properties of beryllium oxide as a moderator. A small group at our Trombay Establishment is now actively engaged in feasibility studies on beryllium oxide moderated reactors of a power output below 30 megawatts.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India and Armenia

Melik-Simonyan, Armenian journalist,
writes in the *Armenian Bulletin*:

1. THE TRAGEDY OF A SMALL NATION

Forty years ago the revolution changed Armenia's destiny. But prior to that Armenia had existed twenty-five centuries. And each century, each decade of years had been one of suffering. Armenia's geographic position had cast a spell on her fate, it became a curse. She was situated between the East and the West, who could not live in peace. For Armenia the passing of ages was marked by the trampling of the innumerable armies of Alexander of Macedonia, Lucullus, Pompeius, Genghis Khan, Tamerlane. The land was devastated by Byzantines, Arabs, Persians and Turks. The ruins of Armenian towns and temples are more eloquent than any chronicle.

It must be said for the Armenian people, that they opposed armed resistance to all invaders and that they revolted against their oppressors. But that was an exhausting and unequal combat that was bound to end in the total annihilation of the people. It ended in the mass flight of Armenians from their native land.

2. THE FLIGHT

The exodus of Armenians began on a big scale in the middle of the 11th century. We may recall, for example, the migration of Armenians to Poland and Moldavia in 1069. Shortly thereafter the first refugees found a haven in distant India. But five centuries were yet to pass before the migration of Armenians to that land assumed mass proportions.

In those remote days there was in the South of Armenia a city named Djulfa, situated on the caravan route which linked Persia with Armenia and further on with Asia Minor and the Black Sea ports. That town gave birth to enterprising merchants who were quick in widening their field of activities. Soon Djulfa became an important centre linking the markets of India and Persia with those of Venice and Genoa. The flow of trade was a source of wealth for Djulfa's merchants, and the city became prosperous. But this very prosperity carried the seed of future calamities. They visited the city suddenly and ruthlessly.

The Persian Shah Abbas I had the idea, quite patriotic, and at first glance, one may say, quite harmless, to develop his country's trade and thereby restore Persia's treasury which had been bled white by wars. But the idea was carried into effect by means barbarous in the extreme: thousands of people inhabiting the Ararat Valley and Djulfa, who were to restore Persia's economy, were forcibly moved to Abbas' kingdom. In the process thousands of Armenians perished and the city of Djulfa was razed to the ground.

The population of that city were settled not far from the Persian capital—Ispahan. A New Djulfa was built there, and its population were conferred rights and privileges which not only enabled them to restore their fortunes, but even to acquire still more wealth. Nevertheless in the Middle Ages the rulers of Persia in their dealings with the Armenian merchants restored essentially to extortion, plunder and murder.

Therefore the Persian Armenians were compelled to take the thorny path of migration. That path led them to India.

3. HOSPITABLE INDIA

The Armenian merchants acclimatized themselves in India within a relatively short period of time. The share of the Armenian communities in India's trade during the Middle Ages was steadily growing. This was due in part to the fact that the Armenian merchants had restored and strengthened their former commercial ties. Whole districts and streets peopled by Armenians came into being in many Indian towns. The churches, chapels, shops and dwelling houses that have been preserved can today supply a fairly accurate idea of the geographical distribution of those communities. The important position Armenian merchants occupied in international trade at the time, explains why from the very beginning of its operations in India the East India Company sought to attract Armenian capital.

The world is too wide for happiness to be found in it the easy way. The world is too small when one seeks to hide from misfortune. The Armenians' flight from smoking ruins, destruction and death brought them to a place that was to become one more scene of bloodshed in world history. This time it was England that assumed the role of hangman.

(To be continued)

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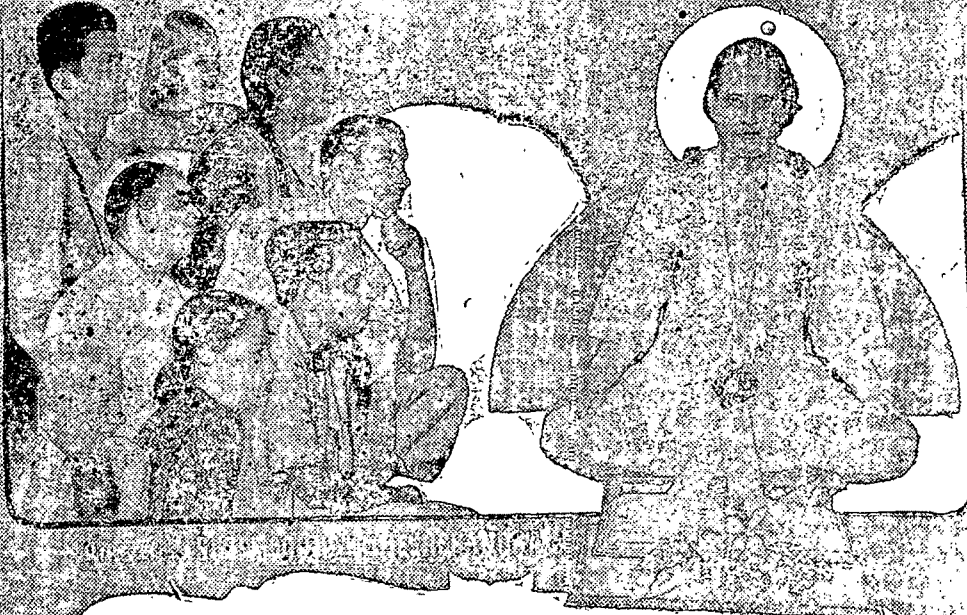
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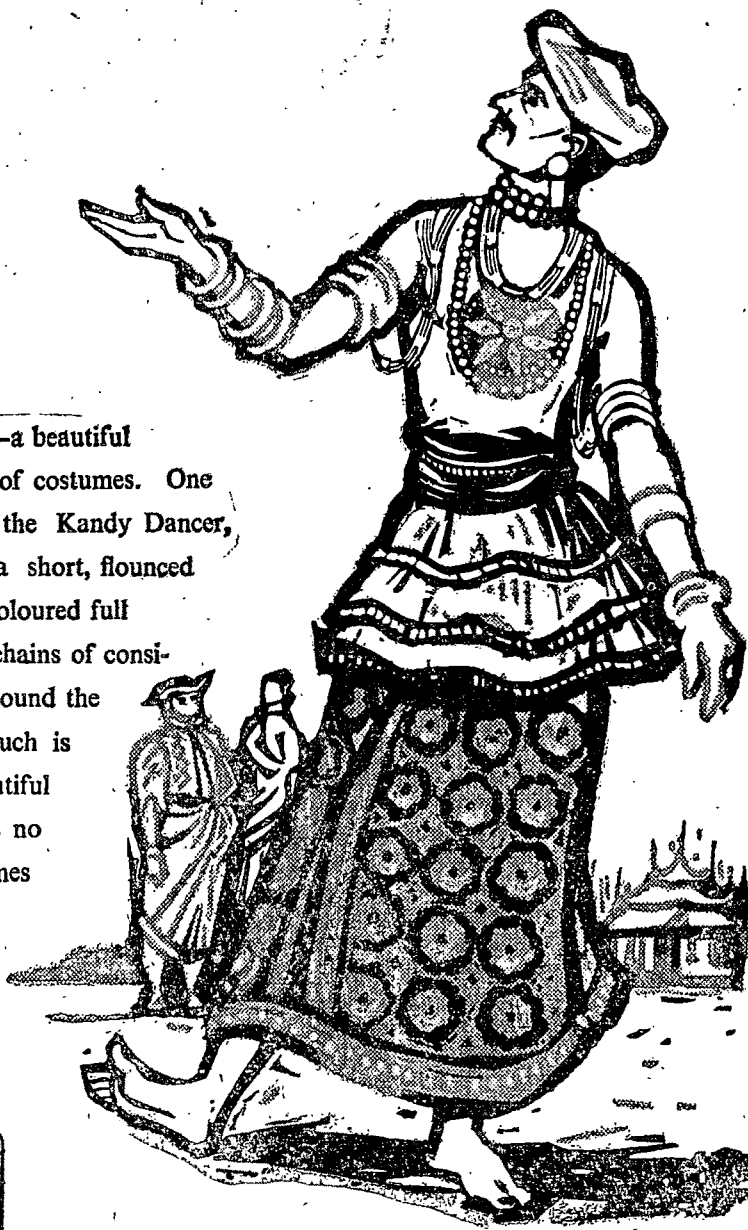
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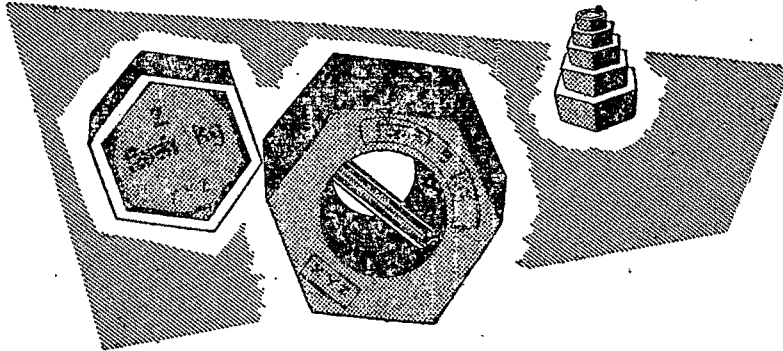
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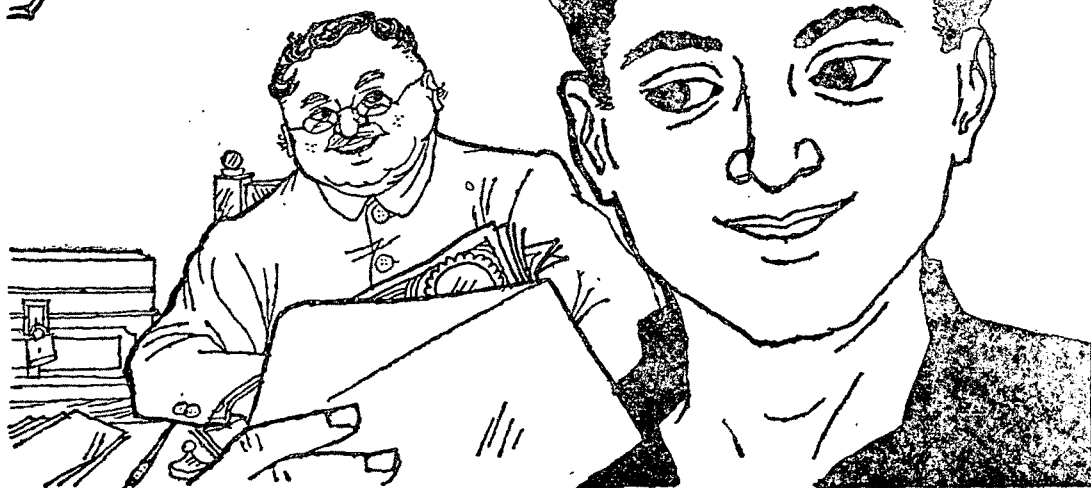
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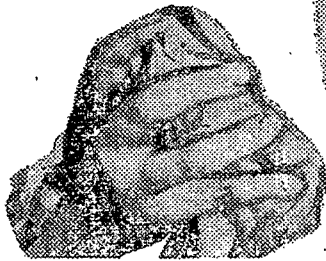
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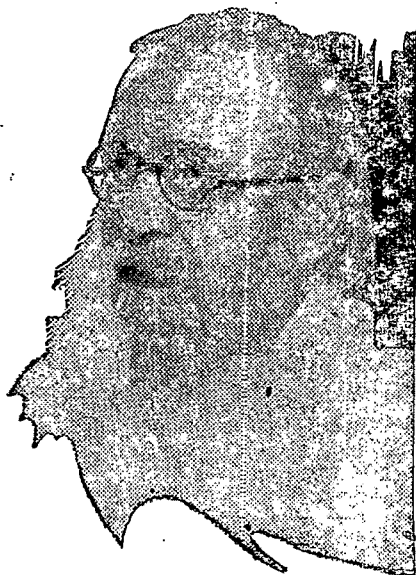
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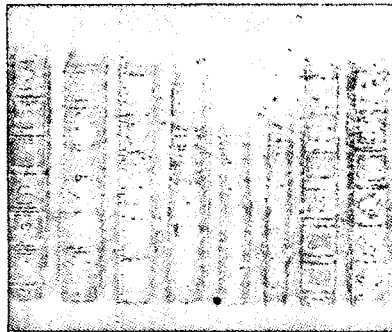
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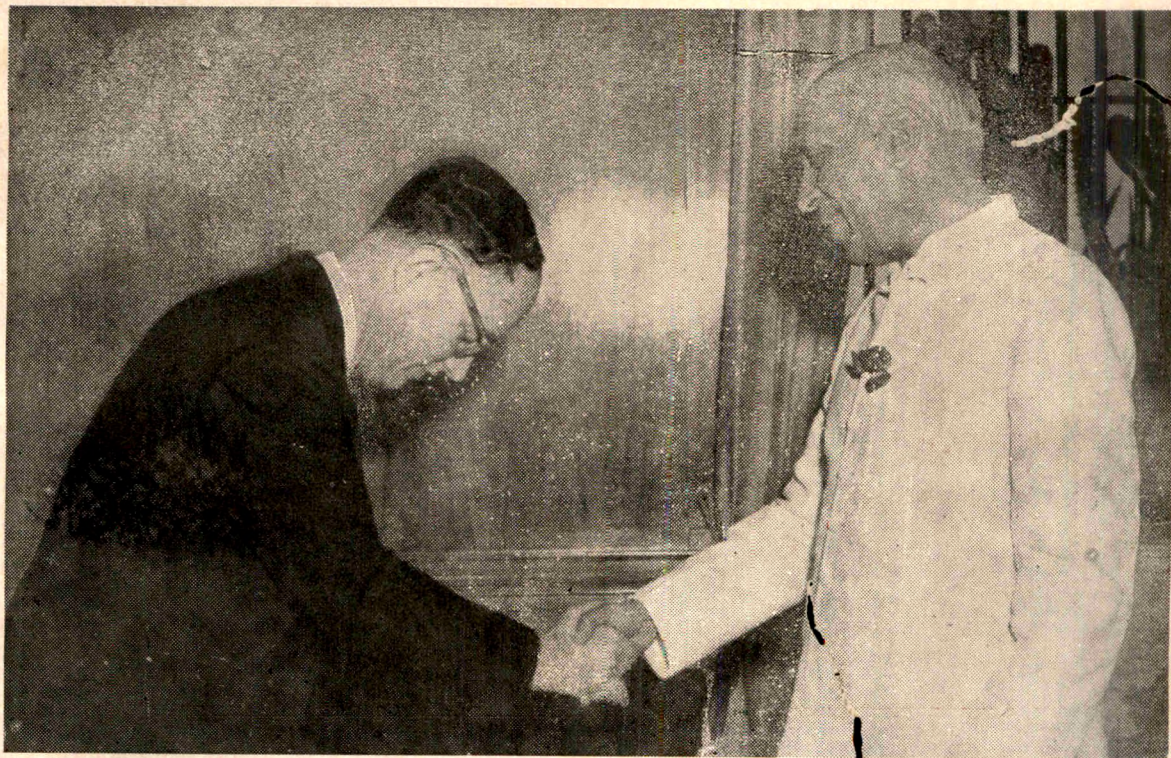
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THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE



1958

VOL. CIII, No. 6

WHOLE No. 618

NOTES

Sir Jadunath Sarkar

It is with a deep sense of loss that we record the passing of Sir Jadunath Sarkar. He was closely associated with the founder-editor of *The Modern Review* and his contributions adorned its pages from the very inception.

Jadunath was the son of the late Rajkumar Sarkar and was born at Karachmaria in the Rajshahi district of what is now East Pakistan, on December 10, 1870. His student days showed the beginnings of the future distinction, as he secured first grade scholarships in the Entrance and First Arts examinations and passed his B.A. with double honours in 1891. He passed his M.A. examination in English in 1892, standing first in the first class and securing 90 per cent marks in the aggregate.

His educational career started as a professor in English in Government service. The foundations of the lasting and monumental research work in Indian History were laid when he chose History, with economics and politics, as the associated subjeet with English for the Premchand Raychand studies and scholarship. The winning of the P.R.S scholarship gave him the starting impetus for a life-long devoted work in historical research, which won him international fame and standing as an authority on the mediaeval history of India. His *Life and Times of Aurangzeb* in five volumes alone would have sufficed as a lasting memorial to his sound and meticulous scholarship and brilliance. In chain with that his contributions to the history of the Marhattas, starting with the life-history of Sivaji, have

added a very great deal to our knowledge of those times, and the volumes of history written by him on that period, are really classic pieces of historical erudition.

Patient and tireless sifting of masses of material, sometimes of mixed value, deep probe into original sources and meticulous care for details were the characteristics of his search for facts, together with a stern disregard for all but the unalloyed truth, gathered from the evidence given by contemporary material.

He was a fearless critic, nevertheless of the governmental lapses in administration and of all matters regarding education and public welfare. He was inflexible where truth, his conscience, and his ideals were concerned. All who remember the stormy days of his Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Calcutta (1926-28) when the opposition made a bear-garden of the Senate and the Syndicate, would bear testimony to his unflinching courage.

In his private life, which was patterned after the traditional modes of plain living and high thinking, he was one of the finest products of the cultural traditions of Bengal. The great fortitude with which he bore a terrible chain of family mishaps, which included five deaths amongst his nearest and dearest—four under tragic circumstances—late in life, showed the metal that went into the making of this truly great son of Bengal.

With Jadunath, ends an era of Bengal, during which Bengal, through the devoted life and work of her sons, shone as the leader of thought in India and the East. May his soul attain all that his devotion earned.

The Kerala Bye-election

The bye-election at Devicolam in Kerala attracted country-wide attraction. The bye-election arose out of a successful election petition by the Congress candidate who had been defeated at the hands of Mrs. Rosamma Punnoose, the Communist candidate, during the General Elections in March 1957. The outcome of the fresh contest has been as before with this difference that the Communist candidate, Mrs. Punnoose, has won by a bigger margin, and with a greater percentage of votes.

The Communist victory at Devicolam has been a significant one—there can be no doubt about it. The fact that all the major non-Communist forces—the Congress, the PSP, the Muslim League and the Catholic Churches—put up a united fight against the Communists and still lost would tend only to enhance the significance of that victory. The Special Correspondent of the *Indian Express* (Madras Edition, May 20) neatly summarises the Communist gains. He writes: "The labourers and peasants of Devicolam have reaffirmed their faith in the Communist Government of Kerala. The electoral victory of Mrs. Punnoose has greatly added to the moral stature of the Communist Party, besides strengthening its hands in the Legislature. It has shown to the world, that the workers and peasantry of Kerala, are behind the Government no matter what others may say. It has also dealt a blow to the already shattered prestige of the Congress."

Goa and the Congress

Shri Shrikrishna Vanjari writes in the fortnightly *Free Goa* (May 10): "It is being increasingly recognised in all well-informed quarters that liberation from the Portuguese of Goa and other Portuguese pockets has been delayed and deferred not on account of the disunity among Goan nationalists but mainly because of the influential group among the Congress Party and government in power in this country not only disavowing liberation but also doing everything in their power to torpedo all effective measures calculated to achieve that end."

After this open charge against the Congress Party, the writer names two prominent Congress leaders of Bombay both of whom are Cabinet Ministers in the present Central Government as

being responsible for governmental inaction on Goa. Any reasonable man should think that the Congress Party and the Central Government each owed a public explanation about its responsibilities in the matter. On the question of the apportionment of responsibility for the delay in the liberation of Goa it must go primarily to the government of the day and only secondarily to the Goan national organizations. For, Goan nationalists never had any freedom of action in the matter. Is it too much to hope that the public would soon reply to Shri Vanjari's open charges?

Divakar Kakodkar

Divakar Kakodkar, the irrepressible fighter for the freedom of Goa, came back to his motherland—India, on April 20 after nine years of prison and exile. Shri Kakodkar had been arrested in Goa in 1949 and detained in the Margao police lock-up in Goa where he had been brutally beaten up by the Portuguese police. Subsequently he was taken to the infamous Aguada fortress in Goa. Though even the Portuguese Military Tribunal at Panjim refused to convict him for want of sufficient proof of any crime he was not released but was again put back into the Aguada fortress and was detained there until 1951 when, without any warning, he was put aboard *S.S. India*, a Portuguese ship, and was taken to far-away Lisbon. The Portuguese police took him to the Aljube jail but the jailors refused to take in Kakodkar as there was no proof that he had been sentenced by any court. That was a unique occasion: Kakodkar had already served two years and had been deported without even having been tried or sentenced by any court of law, but by a mere order of the then Minister for Colonies (since renamed Minister for Overseas Provinces), Sr. Sarmiento Rodrigues—an order, the validity of which was not recognised even by a Portuguese jailor at Lisbon. True to the Salazar concept of democracy, Kakodkar was still not released or allowed to return to his motherland but was taken off to Cape Vert where he was thus illegally detained for seven years. The Portuguese authorities released him only as it became clear to them that Kakodkar's case was going to be focussed through an international forum where the disclosures of the facts of the case

were sure to lead to a great discomfiture of the present rulers of Portugal.

We extend our cordial welcome to this valiant fighter for freedom on his return to India.

The Problem of Foreign Exchange

Notwithstanding increased foreign aids, the problem of foreign exchange for India is becoming acute day by day. In the first week of June there were three successive meetings of the Union Cabinet over the foreign exchange situation. This indicates the gravity of the problem. Final decisions are likely to be taken by the end of June. The foreign exchange position continues to be serious in spite of external assistance which India has received in a generous measure from friendly countries. The fact, however, remains that the only long-term solution of our economic difficulties lies mainly in our ability to produce and export more.

At the recently held meeting of the Export Advisory Council, Sri Morarji Desai, the Union Minister of Commerce and Industry, made some pertinent observations: "The time has come when there must be a reorientation of our thinking. Many industries complain of the shortages of raw materials which the cut in our import programme has caused. They must realise that foreign exchange is not something which Government can produce for them. It is they who earn it. Government can only ensure an equitable distribution of the foreign exchange which is earned. Therefore, it is my considered opinion that every industry in the country must try to export at least such quantities of its production as would pay for the raw materials which it needs to import. This may mean selling without any profits abroad. This will mean adherence to stricter standards of quality than the domestic market demands. This will mean, in other words some sacrifice. I hope that Indian industry will put the same effort behind our export drive that has been shown by industries in other countries in times of foreign exchange crisis."

A tentative suggestion seems to be in the offing that, as a last resort, the country should do without any fresh allocation of foreign exchange for imports during the period of Octo-

ber-December and somehow stretch the allocation made for the six months ending on September 30 to cover the additional needs for these three months. But this would be causing more hardship to the Indian manufacturers as well as deprivation of essentials to the people at large. The import policy for April-October has been restrictive enough and unless further allocations are made for foreign exchange to meet the payments of commitment for the import of capital goods, production will be retarded. The shortage of essential raw materials, particularly steel, has already started to have an adverse effect on production.

The Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, in reply to a question in the Lok Sabha on April 15 laid a statement on the Table of the House indicating the foreign exchange requirements for core projects during the Second Plan period. The statement reveals that the total foreign exchange payments required to be made between April 1, 1958 and March 31, 1961, amount to Rs. 341.87 crores. The total foreign exchange cost during the Plan period has been placed at Rs. 971.99 crores, of which a sum of Rs. 96.35 crores is allocated to the projects in the private sector and the remaining amount of Rs. 875.64 crores is meant for projects in the public sector. Up to March 31, 1958, the total foreign exchange payments estimated to have been made amount to Rs. 382.41 crores. The total foreign exchange payments liabilities which are outstanding amount to Rs. 589.58 crores. Of this amount Rs. 552.81 crores belong to the public sector projects and Rs. 36.77 crores belong to the private sector projects. Of this outstanding amount Rs. 247.71 crores are covered by foreign loans, credits, aid, etc. The balance amount is to be met from other sources. So for the core of the Plan, the total foreign exchanges required amount to Rs. 341.87 crores and this amount is not much. This might be covered by borrowings from the IBRD and also from loans from the USA.

What is, however, needed for India is not mere aid, but trade, that is, increased export trade. India must produce enough to meet her payments obligations. Hitherto India's foreign exchange earnings have been mainly from export of our plantation crops, agricultural pro-

ducts, ores and minerals, jute goods and cotton piece-goods. The possibility of expanding trade in these traditional items, except perhaps ores and minerals, is limited. India would have to look in future to the export of manufactured goods to overseas markets. In 1956 earnings from exports amounted to Rs. 619 crores. Though complete figures for 1957 are not available, the provisional estimate indicates that the total value of exports will not be much higher. The main commodities which show an increase in 1957 are cotton piece-goods, manganese ores, tobacco and hides and skins. On the other hand, exports have lagged behind the 1956 figures in the case of cashew kernels, pepper, tea, linseed oil and cotton waste.

The Government of India is no less responsible for the low export earnings. To mention a specific case, while tea continues to be a major foreign exchange earner, India's tea exports during 1957 are considerably below our earnings during 1956. In 1957, India exported 447 million lb of tea valued at Rs. 107 crores, as against 523 million lb of the value of Rs. 143.3 crores in 1956 and 367 million lb valued at Rs 113.53 crores in 1955. Though the quantity of tea exported in 1957 was higher than that of 1955, the foreign exchange earnings were lower by Rs. 6.5 crores. The main cause of the falling tea exports is the high price and poorer quality. In recent years East Africa has become a formidable rival to India in tea trade and her exports to the United Kingdom have increased by about ten times within a few years. On account of low labour costs, the East African tea enjoys a position of strength in world markets which are highly competitive.

The tea growers in India suggest two measures for the purpose of granting relief to the common teas of India in the export trade of the country. The common teas constitute more than 60 per cent of the country's total tea output. These suggestions are: (1) to levy export duty on an *ad valorem* basis, or (2) to fix the price for the purpose of levying export duty on the basis of the averages of Calcutta and Cochin sales, instead of on the basis of London auction price as at present. The Government of India has accepted none of these suggestions. In its view the imposition

of the export duty on the *ad valorem* basis would give rise to a crop of administrative difficulties and on that account it is not acceptable. The fixation of export duty on the basis of the London auction price is unrealistic. For the purpose of determining the export duty for a particular month, the price of tea is fixed by the Government of India on the world price as it is indicated by the London auctions in the preceding month. The main defect of this system is that under it an export duty at a flat rate is imposed irrespective of the prices fetched by different qualities of tea. The slab system does not practically render any relief to the inferior teas of India. It may be recalled that the Plantation Enquiry Commission recommended that the preceding six months' weighted average price of Indian tea sold in the London auction might be taken, instead of determining on the basis of weighted average of the preceding month's auctions in London. But the Government of India has not accepted this suggestion. The recent reduction in the cess export duty from Rs. 4 per 100 lb to Rs. 2 is negligible in that the relief comes to only 2 NP per pound. Tea is still the biggest foreign exchange earner for India and on account of the Government's lack of imagination, the overseas markets are gradually being lost to India. For the purpose of maintaining overseas markets and also for earning foreign exchange, the Government should altogether abolish the tea export duty from the inferior teas.

The Union Commerce Minister's advice to the Indian traders to export without profit is pedantic. While the Government is unable to make any sacrifice in giving relief to the export trade of the country by reducing export duty, how can it expect the private traders to forego the profit? Theoretically the advice is good, but it will have no practical application.

India should now turn towards her engineering industries for earning foreign exchanges. India also can produce motor vehicles for export trade. There are today three or four first class producing units and she can produce enough for export. The Government has banned the import of private cars and only one unit, namely the Hind Motors is being allowed to produce such cars. We understand

that the Tata-Mercedes-Benz has been refused permission to produce private cars in this country. It at present manufactures only trucks. If that is true then the Government of India itself is standing in the way of increasing the country's export capacity. While official preaching is not lacking in extolling the private sector to produce more, the Government puts a brake on the productive capacity of the country, particularly in the private sector. India will have a good market for motor vehicles of all types in the Middle Eastern countries and more units should be allowed to produce such vehicles.

Mere borrowings from foreign countries will not improve India's position. That will lead to mortgaging India's future. The foreign exchange position is becoming precarious day by day without any sign of improvement. The total drawing down of the Reserve Bank's foreign exchange assets since April 1956 to the end of March 1958 works out to Rs. 479 crores. The utilisation of the IMF credit of Rs. 95 crores has not much improved the position. The total external assistance authorised and committed so far since the commencement of Second Five-Year Plan has been estimated at Rs. 679 crores. According to the latest estimates, the foreign exchange deficit may amount to Rs. 1,700 crores at the end of the Plan period as against the original estimate of Rs. 1,100 crores.

It is time that effective steps are taken for dishoarding the large quantity of gold held by the public and utilising them to meet the country's foreign exchange obligations. The gold can be dishoarded by issuing gold bonds to the public. In recent years there has been an increasing tendency for gold hoarding. The Indian rupee has been depreciating in terms of goods for the last decade, while gold has continued to rise in value. That is why gold hoarding has increased because it provides a safe investment without depreciation in value. The foreign countries, particularly the hard currency areas should be allowed to sell gold to India against a special rupee account which would be utilised for the purpose of foreign payments. In other words, India will purchase gold against rupee as well as against compensation basis.

Should Gold Price be Raised?

Ever since the establishment of the International Monetary Fund controversy has been raging as to whether the gold price should be raised. The IMF has fixed the price of gold at \$35 an ounce and that is the price fixed by the Government of the USA in 1934. The gold-producing countries, particularly Australia and South Africa, have been demanding that gold price should be raised in view of the rising price level in the post-war years. South Africa is the biggest producer of gold in the world and her demand was resisted by the IMF. The main contention of the major gold-producing countries are that since 1934 the price level in general has considerably gone up. It is, therefore, unnatural to keep the gold price pegged at \$35 an ounce. The London *Economist* has suggested that in view of the inflation that has taken place in recent years, the gold price deserved to be raised by at least three times its present level. It is only in two countries, namely, the USA and Canada, the gold price rules at this official level. In Canada, it is rather lower sometimes. In 1957, the price of gold in Canadian dollars was about 4 per cent below that of the official price of \$35 an ounce. Gold production is an important industry in Canada. But owing to the lack of internal demand for gold, the price has not increased. But in other gold-producing countries the price of gold has increased on account of exports abroad.

The USA is the biggest holder of gold stock in the world. To raise the gold price in terms of the U.S. dollar would result in effect the devaluation of the U.S. dollar. This position is not acceptable to the USA, that is why she has been resisting the demand for increasing the price of gold. By an increase in gold price, the producing countries will be benefited. But it will mean the devaluation of the currencies of the member countries in terms of gold.

According to the *Economist*, the most imposing argument for an increase in the gold price is that the growth of world trade plus inflation create a need for more gold reserves which can be provided by marking up the price. The price of gold should be trebled because the price of commodities in terms of

dollar has trebled over the past twenty years. But this is not correct. The inflationary spiral of the past twenty years got its gold base out of the excessive rise in gold price and enormous stimulation to gold production.

The IMF's argument against the raising of the gold price is that gold is not like any other commodity. If the gold price is to be related to the commodity price and marked up every time the commodity price rises, it would cease to have use or meaning as an official currency standard. The use of any fixed gold price is to check excessive credit expansion and rising commodity prices.

Those who are against raising the price of gold argue that any comparison of the gold position today with 20 years ago would show a scarcity because the countries have indulged in so much inflation in the intervening period. But to raise the price of gold at this juncture would be to destroy faith in all the currencies which are linked to gold. In the 1930's, gold price increases had a legitimate object of encouraging recovery of an inequitably deflated world price structure. Inflation today is barely mastered. The increase in the price of gold will give a longer lease of life to the inflationary tendencies that rule the world today.

*So far as India is concerned a rise in the gold price will not much benefit the country. A rise in gold price will mean further devaluation of the rupee and it will further push upwards the inflationary spiral. But it is also a fact that the world price level has moved far away from the 1934 price level. Index numbers have now been based on new higher price levels. It is therefore unrealistic to follow the 1934 gold price for the purpose of valuation of the currencies of the world. The cost structure has gone up all over the world. The gold price therefore calls for a revision. While it is admitted that gold price should not be changed with every change in the prices of commodities, the fact that needs consideration is that the Second World War has brought a basic change in the general price levels of the member countries and that is why the gold price should be raised.

It may, however, be asked whether the rise in gold price will sustain. It may be recalled that some years ago South Africa, on her

persistent demand, was allowed by the IMF to sell gold at prices as were prevalent in the free markets of the world. But it was soon found that the people were not agreeable to pay such a high price for gold. As a result, the free market price went lower than the controlled price and ultimately it had to be abandoned. In Canada, the present gold price rules around the 1934 price of gold. It is only in the countries of the East that the gold price is higher than the price fixed by the IMF.

The price of gold in India is already very high. It is much higher than the price fixed by the IMF at \$35 an ounce. A rise in the gold price, therefore, will not affect the internal price of gold in India. But the gold reserves of the Reserve Bank will go up in view of the rise in gold price. A rise in gold price will no doubt result in the devaluation of the rupee. But there is also the other side of the picture. The increase in gold price will not exceed the present internal price of gold in India. If the price is raised, the Reserve Bank can purchase gold from the public at that officially higher rate and that will facilitate India's payments of her external obligations incurred on account of the import of capital goods for the Second Five-Year Plan. If the official price is raised, the value of gold hoards will rise and there will be less speculative investment in the yellow metal.

The USA is against any rise in the price of gold. It maintains that the dollar is used more commonly than gold in financial settlements among the nations. Any alteration in the ratio of gold to dollar would have far-reaching implications. An increase in the dollar price of gold would penalise foreign Governments, banks and individuals who have trusted the dollar; it would hand out windfall profits to those who possess the gold. The direct benefit of such an increase to the USA would be minor, for gold mining is of rather negligible importance to the USA. An increase in price would be helpful to the major gold-producing countries of the world. They would gain buying power at the expense of the non-producing nations. The last time the dollar price of gold was significantly raised was during the depression of the 'thirties. The situation then was quite different. Then the Federal Reserve Sys-

tem was embarrassed by gold shortage in fighting the depression. Now the Federal Reserve System holds \$9.7 billion of excess gold reserves. In 1934, the policy in raising the gold price was designed to serve the national interest of the USA only. Now it is a question that will have different effects on different countries.

Soil Conservation

It is now increasingly being felt that the success of India's Second Five-Year Plan depends primarily on the expansion of agricultural output, besides the needed emphasis on industrial development of the country. India being primarily an agricultural country, economic prosperity will not be achieved unless she is made self-sufficient in agricultural output. Speaking at the all-India Soil Conservation Seminar, held in Ootacamund in the last week of May, the Union Minister for Co-operation observed "The choice is to get on with the Plan by increasing agricultural production or not to get on with the Plan at all. There is no other way out." The shortfall in agricultural output is fundamentally due to the vagaries of nature. But nature alone cannot be blamed for the shortcomings of man also. The gradual deterioration of soil on account of erosion is also greatly responsible for the low yield of agricultural crops. Afforestation and the development of irrigation are the two important remedies for counteracting the evil effect of soil erosion. In 1956, the net area under irrigation was 56 million acres; the target of irrigation work under the Second Five-Year Plan has been placed at another 21 million acres. That is, by the end of 1960-61, India will have a total irrigated area of 77 million acres.

The gravity of the soil erosion demands more persistent efforts on the part of the authorities. About 200 million acres, made up of 100 million acres of agricultural land, 50 million acres of other non-cultivable land and 50 million acres of desert areas need immediate protection by intensive soil conservation measures in Madras, Bombay, Punjab and West Bengal. Until the establishment of the Central Soil Conservation Board in 1953, the

Government of India was not very much serious about the problem of soil erosion. From the view-point of the devastating nature of this problem, the target laid down and the progress achieved in this direction are totally disappointing. The Union Minister pointed out that during the period of the First Five-Year Plan, only 70,000 acres of land were protected against soil erosion. The lower Bengal, particularly the Sundarban area, is the victim of continuous soil erosion.

The river valley projects are also considerably responsible for the soil erosion. The recent heat wave that is lashing Bihar and West Bengal for the last month is unprecedented in severity. Drought is not the main cause of this aridity. The aridity is mainly the result of deforestation caused on account of river valley projects in Bihar and West Bengal areas. Unless immediate steps are taken for afforestation, parts of Bihar and West Bengal will in no distant future be turned into a dust bowl area as has occurred in the Tennessee Valley area of the USA. For the preservation of soil conservation, certain portions of agricultural land are to be withdrawn from agriculture and trees should be grown on them.

The authorities are also aware of the deforestation caused by river valley projects. One of the main objects of the river valley projects is to increase the irrigated area of the country. But the building of dams has resulted in considerable deforestation and that means natural rainfall is obstructed in these areas. Wind erosion will also be a powerful factor in the river valley regions causing large-scale aridity. It is, therefore, gratifying to note that the Government of India has launched an integral soil survey scheme in these areas. Priority to survey work will be given to the catchment areas of the Machkund, Chambal, Bhakra Nangal, Hirakud, Kosi and Damodar projects. The refugee rehabilitation has also caused considerable deforestation around Calcutta and in neighbourhood areas. Afforestation in these areas is also called for.

Communist Economic Integration

The Communist countries of the world are, if we are to take official announcements at face

value, speedily heading towards mutual economic integration. Prior to 1955 economic co-operation between the Communist states primarily expressed itself through bilateral trade. Since 1955 a new element was introduced through the effort to co-ordinate their long-term economic plans of these countries with a view to eliminating "unnecessary parallelism in production" such co-ordination is taking place within the frame-work of national independence of the socialist states. This has naturally given rise to certain problems which are not unfamiliar to the non-socialist countries. The first problem is that of a comprehensive analysis of the economy of all the socialist countries on the basis of which only a plan for co-ordination can be worked out. Then there is the problem of the determination of the economic efficacy of capital investments in the various socialist countries which is essential for selecting the country of investment and the optimum variant of capital investment. There is again the problem of "finding the best form for the participation of one socialist country in increasing in another socialist country the output of the products it needs." There remains further the difficulty in agreeing to a proper price relationship between those countries.

The organization frame-work through which the object of mutual economic co-ordination is promoted is provided by the Economic Mutual Assistance Council (EMAC) established in 1949 by the USSR and the European Communist states to the sessions of which now representatives of China, Korea, Mongolia and Yugoslavia attend as observers. The Council is now busy co-ordinating the major tasks of the long-term national economic plans of its member-countries. The Council has now a number of standing Commissions to study important aspects of international socialist co-operation.

There is a great degree of co-ordination between the economic plans of the Soviet Union and China. According to the Soviet writer O. Bogomolov, "In drawing up the Second Five-Year Economic Plan of China, the production programmes of both countries [China and the USSR] were co-ordinated. It is within the frame-work of this co-ordination that the Soviet Union is supplying equipment for, and

rendering technical assistance in, the building of 211 major industrial enterprises, one of the decisive factors in the successful industrialization of the People's Republic of China." It is now, however, officially admitted that such co-ordination of production has in many places gone too far or has not been as productive as had been expected and it is proposed to envisage co-ordination at a slower pace and over a longer period—say from 10 to 15 years. The trade is still predominantly bilateral and on a barter system: the problem of creating a clearing system for multi-lateral trade has not yet been satisfactorily solved.

In the European intra-Communist economic relations over the past dozen years the net pre-October (1956) annual balance amounted to about five billion rubles in favour of the Soviet Union. This unequal relationship whereby the Soviet Union gained more at the expense of its East European neighbours was naturally not looked upon with enthusiasm by these countries and the Soviet Union had to concede to their demands for more equal relationships, particularly after the October (1958) events in Poland and Hungary. According to one American expert, Mr. Victor Winston, the unfavourable balance of the non-Soviet European Communist countries showed a downward tendency since 1953 or 1954. "Although the precise moment when this balance became unfavourable to the USSR cannot be pin-pointed," Mr. Winston writes, "a comparison between the average pre- and post-October (1956) annual balances argues convincingly that Eastern Europe has become an economic liability to the Soviet Union."

The validity of Mr. Winston's thesis is not beyond question and it is open to argument whether it is correct to describe the European People's democracies as the "economic liability of the Soviet Union". Certainly this thesis is inapplicable to Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Eastern Germany and to the Asian Communist countries which are partners in the renewed efforts at economic integration of the Communist states. However, information about the Communist countries is so scarce that it is always extremely difficult to make any assessment, not to speak of a correct one.

Communist Orthodoxy

After a brief spell of rational liberalism spread over a period of three years official communism is now again resuming its orthodoxy. The history of a decade ago is being repeated now, perhaps, as the Communists would like to say, on "a higher level." Ten years ago, in June, 1948, the Information Bureau of the nine European Communist parties had decided to exclude the Communist Party of Yugoslavia alleging that the latter had been following policies prompted by what the former termed "bourgeois nationalism." It had not taken long for that Communist campaign against Yugoslavia to degenerate into one of the grossest personal vilification of the dissident Yugoslav leaders by the hirelings of the Cominform so much so that a new term "Titoite" had been added to the Communist vocabulary to denote a criminal. The unity of the Yugoslav Communist leaders soon led the official Communist camp to see its own folly in antagonizing the Yugoslav leaders. So came the Khrushchev recantation followed by others. Khrushchev openly and squarely admitted that the Cominform and the Soviet Communist Party had acted wrongly in criticising the Yugoslav Communists and he offered to make amends for that insult by publicly apologising to Tito and by agreeing to disband the decrepit Cominform. The circle is closing now with a renewed denunciation of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the revalidation of the officially expunged Cominform resolution of June, 1948 by the Soviet Communist Party, this time through the agency of the Chinese Communist Party.

Everything that is being done now follows the familiar pattern of Communist conduct. As in June, 1948, in 1958 also an unilateral judgment has been passed on Yugoslavia, which might conceivably have been modelled word for word upon the 1948 document, that the Yugoslav policies were inducing "the working people and the working class of various countries to proceed along the road of capitulation before capitalism." The whole of the international Communist movement seems to have accepted this characterisation with a show of unanimity that must appear very striking to

even the most superficial observer of the international scene.

What is most important in these latest Communist manoeuvres against Yugoslavia is not the attack itself (though it is no less startling after the Khrushchev recantation, especially as it does nothing but re-iterate the very criticism, sometimes word for word, which had been admitted by Khrushchev as unjust), but the *manner*. Apparently the Soviet or the Chinese Communist Party had had no discussion with the Yugoslav Communist Party prior to the publication of the Chinese disclaimer. Yet it has not struck as unusual to a good majority of the Communists that a fraternal party, professing "proletarian internationalism" should come forward with such unilateral denunciation of a fraternal Communist Party and its leaders. Nay, the Communists, at least in India, far from questioning the Chinese criticism, conveniently have made it their own and have not considered it necessary to read the Yugoslav programme on which the Chinese criticism was based. The Communist Party of India—which is well-known for its fits of emotional imbalance—sent an "amendment" to its message of greeting to the recent Congress of Yugoslav Communists as soon as it came to know of the views of the "big brothers" about Yugoslavia. It has, in West Bengal, published the text of the Chinese critique but did not publish the text of the Yugoslav programme. How, in this context, the Party members or the leadership could form their opinion as to the relative validity of either of the points of view is not known. It is clear that the Party leadership has, without any reference to the documents or its own membership, already made up its mind in favour of the Chinese stand on Yugoslavia. Being Indians one might ask what new features the CPI discovered in the Yugoslav programme that led it to denounce Tito in 1948, praise him in 1955, and again to denounce him in 1958? How is it to be explained that at every turn of this twisted course the CPI's evaluation always followed, but *never preceded*, decision by the Soviet Communist Party? Does "proletarian internationalism" consist in giving up one's judgment and the servile toeing of the meandering Soviet Party line in all matters of ideology and politics? Is it

"bourgeois nationalism" to be indignant against Soviet extortions and ill-founded Soviet (for that matter of any other) claim for omniscience? Why is it that the CPI, which has lost no time to criticise Yugoslavia once it was criticised by the overlords in Kremlin and Peking, never considered it necessary to condemn the Soviet Party for its mischievous and self-condemned policies against Yugoslavia during 1948-1954? Has this reluctance been dictated by the relative strength of the two countries? The CPI owes a reply.

"Balance Sheet of 'Decolonization'"

Professor Tibor Mende of Paris University in an article with the above title in the tenth anniversary number of the bi-monthly *United Asia* of Bombay makes some interesting remarks about the newly independent countries of South-east Asia. "The first and most spacious generalization about the former colonial countries," he writes, "is that their experience with independence is not encouraging. Expressed in terms of improved living standards for the majorities, or considering their success in approaching real economic independence, their experience must be termed a failure."

The causes of this state of affairs were deep and far-reaching. The responsibility partly lay with the former colonial powers who had hindered the process of economic growth in these countries and whose policies were still militating against the achievement of progress by the newly-freed peoples.

Independence did not, however, engendered any immediate change in the institutional basis of economic relationship of the ex-dependent country—either within the nation between sections of its people or without, in its relationship with other countries. "In most cases, if there was any fundamental change, it merely resulted in the substitution of the old Imperial power by another, richer one, as the *vis-a-vis* in the bilateral relationship. Real progress toward *breaking up* of the bilateral relationship (which had come as a legacy of economic colonialism of the past) and, therefore, toward structural changes which could have implied tangible progress toward the implementation of political independence with economic one too, was a rare exception," writes Prof. Mende.

Part of the responsibility for the failure to achieve desirable progress must thus go to the leaders of these newly independent countries also. No serious effort was in evidence to rectify the unbalance in the inherited economies. There was no serious tendency to diversify exports, no real effort to modernise agriculture and no serious effort to create the social conditions and incentives for the channelling of local savings into productive investments.

Further, there was no genuine effort to foster regional co-operation which would have certainly been mutually beneficial. "In fact, one of the most surprising things is that," writes Prof. Mende, "there is next to no intercourse between the ex-colonial countries. The people of Latin America or of South-east Asia know less about each other's problems and achievements than about the events of Europe and the United States. Their newspapers—tributaries of the great international news agencies—accord little if any space to their regional problems. Communications between them have not been much developed and economic exchange, even when obviously beneficial for both sides, has been envisaged only in exceptional cases. The second phenomenon of equally disadvantageous consequences, is that even where attempts have been made to bring together ex-colonial countries—as for instance, at Bandung—this has always been on the emotional common-denominator of political frustration only. It never progressed further on toward the harmonization of economic aims; measures which alone could have promised real progress toward the remedying of the political grievances. All the eloquence of the Bandung Conference did not produce a single arrangement for synchronization of two neighbours' economic aims."

While the learned professor might be criticised for underrating some of the historical handicaps to immediate intra-regional co-operation, the basic soundness of his criticism could not be denied. Moreover, as his criticism was nowhere intended to be an apologia for the restoration of colonialism and as he did not in any way minimise the continuing responsibility of the ex-colonial powers for the present frustration of the independent Asian States, his criticism would seem to demand close attention

from policy-makers and people in all the countries concerned.

De Gaulle in Power

The following news report indicates that the ship of State of France has at last got a pilot of the Old Brigade. It is to be seen what repercussions follow in North Africa and in the Anglo-American Bloc:

"Paris, May 29.—'An Official Communiqué issued at the Elysee Palace,' said President Coty, 'had called on General De Gaulle to form a Government,' reports *Reuter*.

"The invitation came after a series of unprecedented developments in which the President gave an ultimatum to the National Assembly that he would resign if a Government led by de Gaulle was not formed.

"General de Gaulle has agreed to form a Government, a spokesman said. President Coty has called a meeting of the leaders of Parliamentary groups for tomorrow, it was stated.

"The Palace communiqué was issued verbally by a spokesman for President Coty. When asked whether General de Gaulle had agreed to form a Government, the spokesman replied: 'Yes.'

"The Free French leader made a 150 miles dramatic dash by car this evening from his country home to the capital to meet the President. The announcement came after that meeting.

"The President took the unusual step of designating General de Gaulle without consulting any National Assembly personality because last night's negotiations between the General and the two presiding officers of Parliament had failed over the period of suspension of Parliament."

The Western Alliance To-day

The *New York Times* of May 18 carried some significant editorials, extracts from which are given *in extenso* below. The most significant of course is the news commentary on the dramatic assumption of power by Gen. Charles de Gaulle:

"Last week was one of the most eventful since the end of World War II. The repercussions promised to be far-reaching. These, among others, were the major developments:

"(1) In France, pivot of the Western alliance in Europe, the parliamentary regime was fighting for its life in a grave crisis over Algeria. Gen. Charles de Gaulle bid for power as a "strong man," and the Army in Algeria itself led what appeared to be a virtual insurrection against the Paris Government. A large majority in parliament rallied to the regime's defense, but it was plain the struggle was not over.

"(2) In the Western Hemisphere, Latin-American grievances against the U.S. exploded the second time in a fortnight in violence against the touring Vice-President Nixon.

"(3) In Russia, the third and greatest of the sputniks went aloft and gave Premier Khrushchev's prestige a lift at a time of apparent stress within the Communist camp.

"(4) In the Middle East, the anti-Western Nasser of Egypt proclaimed friendship for Russia in terms of marked cordiality. At the same time his followers launched violent attacks upon the pro-Western government of Lebanon.

"Altogether it was a week of deep dismay for the West. For the United States in particular old problems were intensified and new problems emerged. Seldom had the challenges to American resourcefulness—in NATO, in inter-American affairs, in the Middle East, in technology—been so insistent.

"For the Russians the week was one of corresponding satisfaction. It seemed plain that once again the tide of events in the propaganda war was running in favour of the Russians.

"France, for centuries one of the world's great powers, is indispensable to the Allied position on the European Continent. French troops and NATO bases on French soil form an integral part of the West's defense system. France was one of the three Western occupying powers in Germany and is a key-member of the European Common Market, the European Atomic Energy Community and the Coal and Steel Community. A France in turmoil, or under anti-democratic rule by the Right or Left, would loosen the structure of the entire NATO alliance and probably force the retreat of American and British troops from Europe.

"France has been on the brink of turmoil repeatedly throughout the post-war era, largely

as the result of severe conflicts over colonial policy. France has watched its once great empire disintegrate as Indo-China, Tunisia, Morocco and the former French protectorates in the Middle East won independence on the post-war tide of insurgent nationalism. For the French, able neither to muster support from their NATO allies for a vigorous defense of the empire nor to agree among themselves on a plan for its liquidation, the dilemma has been a cruel one.

"The dilemma has been sharpest in Algeria, where for forty-three months the French have been engaged in a bloody struggle against an Arab independence movement led by the National Liberation Front. Once the pivot of its North African holdings, Algeria juridically is a part of metropolitan France. It is ruled by a resident French Minister and represented by thirty seats in the French National Assembly. The majority of the 1,300,000 persons of French extraction among Algeria's predominantly Moslem population of 10,000,000 are violently opposed to the independence movement.

"The Algerian war has tied down a French army of over 400,000, badly stripping France's NATO forces; cost the lives of 5,000 French and 50,000 Algerians and drained the French treasury at the rate of \$5,000,000 daily. It has inflamed feelings within France, exacerbated France's relations with its allies and lent fuel to the Pan-Arab, anti-Western campaign of President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic.

"France's efforts to settle the Algerian conflict have been plagued by the built-in instability of the French political system. The executive in France, represented by the Premier and his cabinet, is completely at the mercy of the 596-seat National Assembly. The Assembly deputies are elected for five years and, except under extraordinary circumstances, do not have to stand for election throughout their tenure regardless of how many governments they bring down.

"The result has been party rule. The seats in the Assembly are split among five major parties of nearly equal strength, plus a sprinkling of splinter groups. The major parties, reading from left to right in terms of their

political shading, are the Communists, Socialists, Catholic MRP (Popular Republicans), Radicals and Independents. To form and sustain a Government, a Premier must usually put together a coalition that has the support of at least three of these parties, plus several of the splinter groups.

"On the Algerian issue, the three center parties—the Socialists, MRP and Radicals—have sought to fashion a compromise policy of increased self-rule. Their efforts have been frustrated by the Communists, on the one hand, who have echoed the demands of the National Liberation Front for complete independence now; and by the Independents and splinter-group Rightists, on the other, who have fought bitterly against "abandonment" of the colony. In consequence, Algeria has been a factor in the fall of several of France's nineteen Governments since the founding of the Fourth Republic in 1947, and three out of the last five have come down specifically on the Algerian issue.

"The French crisis centered around three forces personified by three men. These were the men:

"*Premier Pierre Pflimlin*, 51. Head of the Popular Republicans, M. Pflimlin is a representative of the Catholic and conservative forces in France and a veteran of the French political wars. He has held posts in fifteen post-war French Cabinets, usually as Finance Minister. He is known among his colleagues as a hard worker and a somewhat colorless but skilful politician who is tenacious and determined when aroused. In the past he has opposed major concessions to the Algerian rebels.

"*General Charles de Gaulle*, 67. Stubborn, imperious, uncompromising, General de Gaulle has been described as having a 'Joan of Arc complex' and Winston Churchill was reported to have remarked during the war that one of the heaviest crosses he had to bear was the Cross of Lorraine. But many Frenchmen did, in fact, regard General de Gaulle as France's savior and when he returned to Paris in 1944 at the head of the Free French forces, he became Premier-President of the Provisional French Government.

"For the next two years, he fought with the political parties to obtain adoption of a

constitution that would make the head of the Government directly responsible to the electorate, as in the American system, rather than to the Assembly. In 1946, when his effort seemed doomed, he stepped down and the Fourth Republic was established, giving decisive power to the Assembly. In 1953, de Gaulle retired from active politics altogether.

Lieut. Gen. Raoul Salan, 58. Commander-in-Chief of the French forces in Algeria. It was General Salan, formerly French Commander in Indo-China, who served as the symbol last week of army frustration over French colonial policy. France has a great military tradition and a proud, professional officer class. The officer elite has grown increasingly bitter at the 'Paris politicians' whom it blames for the costly and losing wars in Indo-China, Tunis, Morocco and now Algeria. The repeated Cabinet crises have led the army to act with increasing independence in Algeria—most notably in the bombing last February of the Tunisian border village of Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef."

Sec. 124A of the Indian Penal Code

For the second time Section 124(A) of the Indian Penal Code was declared unconstitutional and void when, on May 16, a Full Bench of the Allahabad High Court delivered its judgment upon the appeal preferred by the editor of the *Siyasat*, Kanpur. Earlier, in 1952, the Punjab High Court had declared this section as militating against the right of free speech provided for in Article 19 of the Constitution of India. The Press Commission in its *Report* also had stated that "in so far as the section penalises mere exciting or attempting to excite feelings of hatred, contempt or disaffection towards Government without exciting or attempting to excite disturbance of public order, it is *ultra vires* of the Constitution even under the amended Article 19(2) of the Constitution. In a modern democratic society changes of Government are brought about by expressing disaffection with its doings and mobilising public opinion hostile to the Government in power. This is the normal functioning of democracy. In so far as Section 124A seeks to penalise such expressions, the Section would appear to be not only *ultra vires* of the Constitution but opposed to the concept of freedom of the Press." If it would be recalled

that the Chairman of the Press Commission was himself a jurist of great eminence the significance of the comment became even clearer.

In view of these authoritative expressions about the Constitutional validity, the Union Law Ministry should immediately take steps to bring the statute in line with the spirit of the Constitution and pending that it should, in consultation with the Home Ministry, advise the State Governments at least to regard the penal section as a dead letter. This should at least enable the State Governments to desist from incurring the infructuous expenditure through prosecution under this section and would save the public much avoidable trouble.

Supreme Court on Kerala Bill

The Supreme Court gave its ruling on May 22 on the Constitutional validity of the Kerala Education Bill. The Bill had been referred to the Court by the President of India. The Supreme Court stated that clauses 3(5), 8(3) and 9-13 of the Bill offended against the Constitution in so far as Anglo-Indian schools entitled to grants under Article 337 were concerned. Clause 3(5) also violated Article 30(1) of the Constitution inasmuch as it made minority educational institutions desiring aid subject to Clauses 14 and 15 of the Bill, the court said.

The Legal correspondent of the *Statesman* adds:

"The four questions in the President's reference to the Court were:

1.—"Does sub-clause 5 of Clause 3 of the Kerala Education Bill, read with Clause 36 thereof or any provisions of the said sub-clause offend Article 14 of the Constitution in any particulars or to any extent?

2.—"Do Clause 3(5), Clause 8(3) and Clauses 9 to 13 of the Bill or any provisions thereof offend Article 30(1) of the Constitution in any particulars or to any extent?

3.—"Does Clause 15 of the Bill or any provisions thereof offend Article 14 of the Constitution in any particulars or to any extent?

4.—"Does Clause 33 of the Bill or any provisions thereof offend Article 223 of the Constitution in any particulars or to any extent?

"The Court's reply was as follows:

"Question 1: No.

"Question 2: (I) yes, in so far as Anglo-Indian educational institutions entitled to grant under Article 337 are concerned; (II) as regards other minorities not entitled to grant as of right under any express provision of the Constitution, but are in receipt of aid or desire such aid, and also as regards Anglo-Indian educational institutions in so far as they are receiving aid in excess of what are due to them under Article 337, Clauses 8(3), and 9 to 13 do not offend Article 30(1), but Clause 3(5), in so far as it makes such educational institutions subject to Clauses 14 and 15, do offend Article 30(1); (III) Clause 7 (except sub-clauses 1 and 3 which apply only to aided schools) and Clause 10 in so far as they apply to recognized schools to be established after the said Bill comes into force do not offend Article 30(1), but Clause 3(5), in so far as it makes the new schools established after the commencement of the Bill subject to Clause 20, does offend Article 30(1).

"Question 3: No.

"Question 4: No. Clause 33 is subject to Article 226 of the Constitution.

"The reference was heard by the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Bhagwati, Mr. Justice Aiyar, Mr. Justice Sinha, Mr. Justice Imam, Mr. Justice S. K. Das and Mr. Justice Kapur.

"Clause 3 (5) of the Bill provides that 'after the commencement of this Act, the establishment of a new school or the opening of a higher class in any private school shall be subject to the provisions of this Act, and the rules made thereunder, and any school or higher class established or opened otherwise than in accordance with such provisions shall not be recognized by the Government.'

"Clause 8 (3) provides that 'all fees and other dues, other than special fees, collected from the students in an aided school after the commencement of this Clause shall, notwithstanding anything contained in any agreement, scheme or arrangement, be made over to the Government, in such manner as may be prescribed.'

"Clauses 9 to 13 relate to salaries, qualifications and conditions of service of teachers,

selection of teachers by the Public Service Commission, and re-appointment of retrenched teachers in aided schools."

The Chief Justice, Mr. S. R. Das, who read the opinion of six of the seven judges who constituted a special bench to hear the arguments, said that

"Clause 20, which imposed a restriction against the collection of fees from any pupil in the primary classes as a condition for recognition, would 'in effect make it impossible for an educational institution established by a minority community being carried on.'

"Clause 20, which had been extended by Clause 3(5) to newly established recognized schools, was violative of Article 30(1), his lordship said, in so far as it affected schools established and administered by minority communities.

"The Chief Justice said that so far as Anglo-Indian schools entitled to grants under Article 337 of the Constitution were concerned, the amount received by them as grant must be construed as 'aid' within the meaning of the Bill and that these institutions must accordingly be regarded as 'aided schools' within the meaning of the definitions in the Bill.

"The imposition of stringent terms as fresh or additional conditions precedent to this grant to the Anglo-Indian educational institutions will, therefore, infringe on their rights not only under Article 14 but also under Article 30(1),' his lordship said.

"Dealing with questions, and 3 which sought the court's opinion on the validity of Clauses 3(5) and 15 in relation to Article 14, the Chief Justice said that there was no discrimination in the provisions of the Bill which applied to both majority and minority community educational institutions.

"The policy and purpose of the Bill could be deduced from the title and the preamble of the Bill which was intended to provide for the better organization and development of educational institutions in the State. Each and every one of the clauses in the Bill had to be interpreted and read in the light of this policy. When, therefore, any particular clause left any discretion to the Government to take any action it must be understood that such discretion was to be exercised for the purpose of advancing

and in aid of implementing and not impeding this policy. It was therefore, not correct to say that no policy or principle had at all been laid down by the Bill to guide the exercise of the discretion left to Government by the clauses in the Bill.

"The general policy deducible from the title and preamble of the Bill, his lordship said, was further reinforced by more definite statements of policy in different clauses thereof. The clear implication of the various provisions in the light of the policy deducible from the title and the preamble was that in the matter of granting permission or recognition the Government must be guided by the consideration whether the giving of such permission or recognition would ensure for the better organization and development of educational institutions in the State.

"If in actual fact, any discrimination was made by the Government, his lordship said, then such discrimination would be in violation of the policy and principle deducible from the Bill itself and the court would then strike down not the provisions of the Bill but the discriminatory act of the Government.

"The Chief Justice said that though Clause 14 conferred power on Government to take over the management of any aided school this power was to be exercised only if it appeared to Government that the manager of any aided school had neglected to perform the duties imposed on him and that the exercise of the power was necessary in public interest. Likewise the power under Clause 15 (1) for acquiring any category of school could be exercised only if Government was satisfied that it was necessary to exercise it for standardizing general education or for improving the literacy level in any area or for more effectively managing the aided educational institutions, etc. The exercise of this power was also controlled by the proviso that no notification under the sub-clause could be issued unless the proposal for the taking over was supported by a resolution of the Legislative Assembly—a proviso which clearly indicates that the power cannot be exercised by the Government at its whim or pleasure.

"The Chief Justice referred to the rule-making clause and the fact that rules have to

be placed before the Assembly and observed that a discretionary power was not necessarily a discriminatory power and that the abuse of power by the Government would not be lightly assumed.

"For these reasons, his lordship said: 'It appears to us that the charge of unconstitutionality of the several clauses which come within the two questions now under consideration founded on Article 14 cannot be sustained'

"Dealing with question two which raised doubt whether Clauses 3(5), 8(3) and Clauses 9 to 13 did not infringe minority rights under Article 30(1), the Chief Justice said that the term minority 'was not defined in the Constitution. It was easy to say that a minority community meant a community which was numerically less than 50 per cent but then the question was not fully answered, namely, 50 per cent of what? Was it 50 per cent of the entire population of India or 50 per cent of the population of a State forming part of the Union? The Chief Justice said that the Kerala Government's contention that persons must numerically be a minority in the particular region in which the educational institution was situated to claim the fundamental rights of minorities was not a satisfactory test. The Bill extended to the whole of the State and consequently the minority must be determined by reference to the entire population of Kerala. By this test Christians, Muslims, and Anglo-Indians would certainly be minorities in Kerala.'

"Referring to the scope of Article 30(1), the Chief Justice said that it left it to the choice of minorities to establish such educational institutions as would serve both the purposes of conserving their religion, language or culture and of giving a thorough, good general education to their children. There was no limitation placed on the subjects to be taught in such institutions. The ambit of the rights conferred by the Article had to be determined on a consideration of the matter from the points of view of the educational institutions themselves.

"The Chief Justice then referred to the argument of the Counsel who appeared for some Kerala educational institutions that Clause 26 of the Bill, which would make it obligatory on guardians to send children to Government or

private-recognized schools to complete the full course of primary education, would result in the closing of minority institutions which did not seek either aid or recognition from the State for want of students. His lordship said that the question of infraction of minorities right under Article 30 (1) by Clause 26 of the Bill did not come within the scope of question No. 2 and we cannot on the present reference express any opinion on that point.

"On Anglo-Indian educational institutions getting grant under Article 337 of the Constitution, the Chief Justice said: 'If the Anglo-Indian educational institutions cannot get the grant to which they are entitled except upon terms laid down by the provision of the Bill then, if, they insist on the right of administration guaranteed to them by Article 30(1), they will have to exercise their option under the proviso to Clause 3(4) and remain content with mere recognition, subject to certain terms therein mentioned which may also be an irksome and intolerable encroachment on the right of administration. But the real point is that no educational institutions can in modern times, afford to subsist and efficiently function without some State aid and, therefore, to continue their institutions they will have to seek aid and will virtually have to surrender their constitutional right of administering educational institutions of their choice. In the premises, they may, in our opinion, legitimately complain that so far as the grants under Article 337 are concerned, the provisions of the clauses of the Bill mentioned in Question 2 do in substance and effect infringe their fundamental rights under Article 30(1) and are to that extent void.'

"The Chief Justice said that the problem before the court was one of reconciling between the two conflicting interests—the minority rights to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice and the duty of Government to promote education and its obligation to introduce free and compulsory primary education in accordance with Article 45. The directive principles could not ignore or override but subserve the fundamental rights. At the same time the right of minorities to administer could not obviously include the right to maladminister.

"His lordship said that there were no doubt

powers under the Bill which were 'serious inroads on the right of administration and appear perilously near violating that right, but considering that those provisions are applicable to all educational institutions and that the impugned parts of Clauses 9, 11 and 12 are designed to give protection and security to the ill-paid teachers who are engaged in rendering service to the nation and protect the backward classes, we are prepared, as at present advised, to treat these Clauses 9, 11(2) and 11(4) as permissible regulations which the State may impose on the minorities as a condition for granting aid to their educational institutions. We, however, find it impossible to support Clauses 14 and 15 of the said Bill as mere regulations. The provisions of those clauses may be totally destructive of the rights under Article 30(1). It is true that the right to aid is not implicit in Article 30(1) but the provisions of those clauses if submitted to on account of their factual compulsion as condition of aid may easily be violative of Article 30(1) of the Constitution.'

"In our opinion,' his lordship added, 'sub-clause 3 of Clause 8 and Clauses 9 to 13 being merely regulatory do not offend Article 30(1) but the provisions of Clause 3(5) by making the aided educational institutions subject to Clauses 14 and 15 as conditions for the grant of aid do offend against Article 30(1) of the Constitution.'

"The Chief Justice said that the right of minorities to establish educational institutions of their choice must, therefore, mean the right to establish real institutions which would effectively serve the needs of their community and the scholars who resorted to their institutions. There was no doubt no such thing as fundamental right to recognition by the State, but to deny recognition to the institutions except upon terms tantamount to the surrender of their constitutional right of administration of institutions of their choice was in truth and in effect to deprive them of their rights under Article 30(1). The legislative power was subject to the fundamental rights and the legislature could not indirectly take away or abridge the fundamental rights which it could not do directly and yet that would be the result if the

said Bill containing any offending clause be-State, then no law of the State could compel came law.”

“Concluding the Chief Justice said, ‘There can be no manner of doubt that our Constitution has guaranteed certain cherished rights to the minorities concerning their language, culture and religion. These concessions must have been made to them for good and valid reasons. Article 45 no doubt requires the State to provide for free and compulsory education for all children but there is nothing to prevent the State from discharging that solemn obligation through Government and aided schools and Article 45 does not require that obligation to be discharged at the expense of the minority communities. So long as the Constitution stands as it is and is not altered, it is, we conceive, the duty of this court to uphold the fundamental rights and thereby honour our sacred obligation to the minority communities who are of our own.’

“In a separate note, Mr. Justice Venkatarama Aiyer said that while he shared the majority opinion in regard to questions 1, 3 and 4 of the President's reference, he could not agree with the view that Clause 20 of the Bill could be said to infringe Article 30(1). This clause by which Government could direct schools not to charge tuition fees for primary classes, his lordship said, applied only to Government and private (aided or recognized) schools and there was no prohibition on minorities, religious or linguistic, establishing their own educational institutions and charging fees, so long as they did not seek aid or recognition from the State. It was only when they made a demand on the State for aid or recognition that the provisions of the Bill would become applicable to them. Construing Article 30(1) on its language, Mr. Justice Venkatarama Aiyer said, it was difficult to assume that it implied any right in the minorities to have their educational institutions recognised by the State. If there was no right in the minorities to have their institutions recognized, then the question whether Clause 20 was an invasion of that right would not arise.

“Mr. Justice Venkatarama Aiyer said that if the right of minorities to establish and maintain educational institutions carried with it an implied right to be recognised by the

State, then no law of the State could compel them to admit students free and therefore Article 45 could never become operative since what it provided was free education for all children.

“The true intention of Article 30(1) is to equip minorities with a shield whereby they could defend themselves against attacks by majorities, religious or linguistic, and not to arm them with a sword whereby they could compel the majorities to grant concessions,” his lordship said.”

Government and the People

Referring to the broader question of the relationship between the people and the administration in India, the weekly *Vigil* of Calcutta in a keen editorial writes:

“The Prime Minister some times lectures Government officers: they should change their old mentality and re-orient their attitude towards the people, must not be all the time sitting on their official perches but should come down among the people, and so on. But whenever there is a question, not of the *burra sahibs* coming down to the people (which anyway the *burra sahibs* have so far given little proof of doing), but of drawing up the people near the ‘centre of activity and responsibility’ Shri Nehru shows a characteristic aversion for any deviation from the ‘best’ tradition of the British ruler at home and in the colonies, which is to permit the people as rarely and as little as possible a view of the inner working of the Government and policy-making, where secrecy is accepted as the supreme rule. The Prime Minister was angry with the way the people showed their interest in the proceedings of the Chagla Inquiry Commission. He thought it was “vulgar” and seemed to regret that the inquiry at all took place in the presence of the public. It was an occasion, all too rare, when the public had a glimpse—a very fleeting one—of a corner of the inner sanctuary of the ruling gods who, however, rule in the people's name and at their cost. Similarly, the Prime Minister was annoyed at the ‘indecent’ of the behaviour of Shri Siddhartha Ray who resigned from the West Bengal Cabinet. The Prime Minister did not condescend to go into

the charges made by Shri Ray in his statement. He confessed he did not even read it. He was concerned only that Shri Ray had done something which is "not done" by a Minister, that is, to tell the public any 'secret' of the inner working of the Government and policy-making."

This whole attitude is reactionary. Though the Government is supposed to be run for the people by the representatives of the people, neither the people nor their representatives have any scope to influence the making of policies which has, as before, been kept as a close preserve of the officialdom. Foreigners, including Americans and Britons, have often expressed wonder at the extreme paucity of information about the publicly-manned enterprises in India. No, this secretiveness has found encouragement from the Government's policy of according to the senior government officers an unduly privileged position. The Chagla Enquiry showed how cynical and unscrupulous some of the higher officers could be when it came to serving their own skin. But the Government, instead of taking the proper lesson, has come out against the enquiry itself, and the subsequent enquiry is being held in camera. It is, indeed, difficult to understand why a people's government cannot allow an open enquiry into the conduct of a few of its officers when judges are deciding many times more complicated and passion-raising cases in court before the public gaze. This unnecessary and unusual secretiveness is certainly a symbol of one of the moral dangerous potentialities of the present state of democracy in India.

India at the Asian Games

We have no heart or inclination to go into details of what happened in Tokyo where the Indian teams were concerned. We are only appending two news-reports for record.

But all the same we say with all the emphasis at our command, that either this chain of disgraceful exhibitions should be totally ended by stopping the sending of teams abroad, or else the control and management must be drastically purged of its foul and intriguing elements.

Tokyo, May 29.—"Twenty-four-year-old Mohinder Singh kept India's flag flying today at the Asian Games with a record-breaking effort of 15.62 metres (51 ft. 2¾ in.) in the hop-step-and-jump to gain the fifth gold medal for his country.

"Apart from this it was a tale of bad luck and poor displays from an Indian point of view.

"First Gulzara Singh was disqualified after his courageous effort in the gruelling marathon in which he had finished fourth. Then the 4×400 metres relay team was disqualified after finishing second. Just when hopes were raised that India would repeat her performance in the 4×100 metres women's relay at Manila, where she won a gold medal, there was some fumbling with the baton and she had to be satisfied with a bronze medal—her second in the games.

"The 4×400 metres relay race was marked by a great effort on the part of Milkha Singh to catch up with the Japanese runner but he just failed. Running the last leg he made up much ground but could finish only second. The Indian team was disqualified because the first runner, Joseph, fouled and dropped the baton near the change-over line. Over the last 100 metres he had appeared to be making the distance with difficulty."

Tokyo, May 30.—"For the first time since the 1928 Olympics at Amsterdam, India were pushed to second place in an international hockey meet when Pakistan today won the gold medal in the third Asian Games on goal average, after holding India to a goalless draw.

"The young Pakistani team made a determined bid to humble the world champions but the experienced Indian deep defence, Claudiu, in the half line and the goalkeeper Laxman, came to India's rescue. Poor finishing by Pakistan ruined their chances of an outright victory.

"Korea finished third in the tournament, Malaya fourth and Japan fifth.

"But while the hockey team failed to secure the gold medal India's football and volleyball teams secured thrilling victories."

The Clay-feet of Democracy

Democracy is very far from perfect in action, thanks to the totally self-centred, that is to say extremely selfish mode of thinking amongst certain of its strata. Below we append three news-items which go to show the weak points of democracy where the politics of organised labour are concerned. They are from the news-items in the *Statesman*:

London, May 30.—“Ninety-seven ships were today immobilized in London and 15,000 men were thrown out of work as a result of the unofficial strike of 14,000 London dockers, reports *U.P.I.-A.F.P.*”

“The strike was called to protest against the employment of ‘black-leg’ labour and in sympathy with meat transport drivers from Smithfield market who stopped work two weeks ago to press for higher pay.”

“Several ships have sailed from London without unloading. Export goods are held up on the quayside while thousands of tons of perishable goods cannot be unloaded.”

“The Government today mobilized 6,000 soldiers to stand by for duty as truck drivers to assure the supply of petrol for the London region.”

“The measure was announced by the War Office and followed an appeal by the Ministry of Transport calling on motorists not to make a rush for petrol.”

“The decision to mobilize the soldiers indicated that the meeting this morning between Mr. Macmillan and union leaders to prevent the London bus strike from spreading had failed.”

“At the beginning of the week, Mr. Frank Cousins, leader of the Transport Workers Union, whose 53,000 busmen have been on strike for 26 days ordered petrol tank truck drivers to go on strike next Monday in support of the busmen.”

“Mr. Cousins also called for a strike of London underground personnel but the underground workers who are affiliated with the Railway Workers Union have so far refused to leave their jobs.”

“A delegation of the Trades Union Congress conferred for nearly two hours today

with Mr. Macmillan. A union spokesman said the interview had not produced any concrete or immediate results.”

“The T. U. C. had asked for a meeting with the Prime Minister after the Minister of Labour, Mr. Iain MacLeod, had refused to intervene in the bus strike despite the threat to extend the strike to petrol deliveries in the London area.”

“The General Council of the T. U. C., was meeting this afternoon to discuss the situation.”

Jamshedpur, May 25.—“T.I.S.C.O. announced today that it would start reopening plants in the factory from May 28. The announcement added that tentatively the factory will be back to normal production on June 15, when all the plants will be functioning.”

“The notification was relayed in the afternoon over T.I.S.C.O.’s radio system and there were large gatherings at different points in the town listening to the broadcast. Leaflets in Hindi and English were widely distributed.”

“Sir Jehangir Ghandy, Director-in-Charge of T.I.S.C.O., arrived here by a special Tata plane from Delhi where he had stopped for a night on his way back from London.”

“Sir Jehangir is popular among the employees and his arrival has raised hopes among them that efforts may begin for a settlement.”

“It was officially stated today that the casualties in the police firing on the night of May 20 and the following morning were two dead and 14 wounded. The Government had so far maintained that there had been one death and that four others had been wounded, but the second body was found by the police yesterday in a secluded place far from the place of firing.”

“It was officially stated today that the police had fired thrice and not once on the morning of May 21.”

Jamshedpur, May 29.—“The controversy as to whether the steel factory strike should continue or not having ended, the only concern of workers now is to go back to work as quickly as possible.”

"The management has phased the re-opening. According to this programme men will be taken back when necessary and it appears the last group will not be able to enter the factory before the second week of June provided everybody gets passes by then. The heaviest rush of workers so far was seen today at registration centres. Registration, which is done after a worker signs a declaration that he will not participate in strikes, and the issue of passes seem to be proceeding painfully slowly and unless the company arranges to speed up the procedure it is doubted if all employees can be given passes by the dates fixed in the phased programme. I talked with many people who stood in queues for passes for hours in scorching sun with the temperature well above 110°F today. They complained that they had registered their names three or four days ago but were still to get their passes. There were other queues of people who wanted to register their names as preliminary to getting passes.

"In two morning shifts today (A and E) 4,064 men attended work compared with 3,548 yesterday."

We have further the curious spectacle of strikes in the dockyards of our major ports. It is curious because the very labour leaders who have organised the strikes, have repeatedly accused the Government of being indifferent about food shortages as also about the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan. These strikes will hold up the import of food and the carrying out of the Plans, due to the great delay in unloading ships carrying food and essential materials. The Government for once seems to have woken up to realities and at a belated hour is trying to tackle the situation. Beyond that it seems to be a hopeless mess as yet.

Indian Success on the Himalayas

May 15 marked the first Indian success on the Himalayas. On that day two members of the 8-man Indian Expedition to the 26,867 feet

Cho Yu reached the summit of the peak. Nepalese and Indian national flags were hoisted on the Cho Yu to mark this success.

By all standards this is a creditable performance: as a first venture the success of the Indian team in reaching Cho Yu, world's sixth highest mountain peak, deserves all praise. The Indian team on the hills suffered great reverses, not the least was the death of the noted climber, Major Jayal. It speaks highly of the determination and ability of the members of the team that even such an initial shock could not deter them from following up to their object. We heartily congratulate the members of the team—particularly the great Pasang Lama whose experience of the Himalayas is not equalled by any other individual except Tenzing—the victor of the Everest.

The Brother-in-law

The fortnightly *Reporter* of New York writes: "The recent and reluctant prominence of Colonel George Gordon Moore, the President's wife's sister's husband, reveals that the American language lacks a precise word to describe such a relationship."

The average Indian never ceased to wonder at the relative paucity of words in English to describe personal and social relationships. His surprise was all the more greater because the greater majority of the well-known languages of India was very rich in these types of vocabulary. In Bengali, for example, the relationship referred to by the *Reporter*, would simply be described as *bhaera* and everyone would understand it. One of the sociological factors for this richness of Indian languages might be traced to the prevalence in India until recently universally, of the joint-family system which necessitated the formulation of exact, but short, terms for denoting the proper relationship between so many relations as the poverty of the English (American) language in this vocabulary might be ascribed to the absence of this joint-family system in England or the U.S.A.

EVOLUTION AND ROLE OF THE SPEAKER IN FOREIGN DEMOCRACIES

BY PROF. DR. RAMESH NARAIN MATHUR, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

I

In many countries the presiding officer of the representative or the Lower House of the legislature is known as the Speaker. The institution of Speakership was first developed in the House of Commons in England and has been adopted along with its name by other countries as they developed representative legislative bodies. Curiously enough the Speaker in the English House of Commons does not speak except on very rare occasions. Tradition prohibits him from taking part in the deliberations of the House and from making political speeches outside. However, the name has stuck on to the office because at one time long ago the Speaker acted as the official spokesman of the Commons before the king.

The institution of Speakership has passed through several stages in the course of its development in England and it has also undergone changes in the course of its transplantation in other lands. In England, during the pre-Tudor, Tudor and Stuart regimes the Speaker acted more as an agent and servant of the king advocating and protecting the interests of the royal master than as the defender or champion of the rights and privileges of members. In the next period, during which evolution of Constitutional government took place in England, the Speaker stood forth as the Tribune of the people, defying the arbitrary mandates of the king and promoting the interests of the representatives of the people. It was only since the close of the eighteenth century that the Speaker in England has been able to maintain more or less continuously the character of a non-partisan umpire, keeping aloof from politics both inside and outside the House, and of an impartial regulator of the proceedings and business of the House. Since then the English Speaker has maintained the tradition of perfect impartiality and non-partisanship. On accepting office the English Speaker leaves his politics behind him.

By convention he is forbidden to have connection with political parties or to become a member of a political club. By another convention the English Speaker makes no political address when he seeks re-election from his constituency and is allowed to remain in office so long as he is willing and able to serve and his constituency is not contested.¹ As Speaker he is expected to deal impartially with members of all parties, recognising those who want the floor, and applying the rules and guiding business without favour. For centuries he has been denied the right to speak and vote in the proceedings of the House. He has a casting vote but practice has limited its use to the maintenance of the *status quo*. The English Speaker today is very largely a mere presiding officer and is, 'as near as can be in a human being, the Rules and Practice of the House come to life without interposition of his own'.²

II

In other countries where the institution of Speakership has been adopted, it has not been found possible to maintain all the characteristics as they have developed in England. Local conditions have necessitated variations—even development on different lines in some places. In the United States of America absence of ministerial leadership in the House of Representatives has resulted in

1. Between 1895 and 1935 there had been ten elections in the U.K., in none of which had the Speaker's seat been contested. In 1935, Captain E. A. Fitzroy, the Speaker of the House of Commons, was opposed in his constituency by a candidate sponsored by the Labour Party, but Captain Fitzroy was elected and re-elected to the Speakership for the fourth time in succession. In the last five general elections, the Speaker was opposed four times. In 1956, when Mr. William Shepherd Morrison, who was elected Speaker of the House of Commons in 1951, contested election as a Conservative candidate, he was opposed by an independent Labour candidate, Mr. D. C. Cox. The official Labour Party did not contest the seat in the Speaker's constituency and Mr. Morrison eventually won.

2. Herman Finer: *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol. 2, p. 782.

the Speaker assuming the role of the leader of the House and in his becoming an active party leader, openly promoting party interests in the House. On the continent of Europe existence of a large number of small parties and groups and the consequent political instability has made it difficult for the Speaker to keep out of politics or to become non-partisan and neutral. In Colonial countries the conflict between the Imperial power and the representatives of the people has led to the assumption by the Speaker of the role of the Tribune of the people, protecting their rights and championing the interests and privileges of the members and in helping to enlarge the powers of the legislature. Before attempting to describe the evolution of the office of Speaker in India it will be not without value to review briefly the development of the office in some important democratic countries as the U.S.A., France, Canada, Australia and the Phillipine Islands.

III

The Speaker in the U.S.A. is, unlike his British counterpart, one of the leaders of his party and is actively and openly identified with his party organisation in the House. Convention makes the American Speaker a pronounced partisan. It is partly due to the absence of ministerial leadership and partly due to peculiar conditions prevailing in the country for a long time. Due to the application of the separation of powers in America the Executive is debarred from direct participation in the proceedings of the Legislature. Hence the Executive in America cannot lead the legislature as the Cabinet does in England. Leadership must be exercised and it is but natural for power of leadership to gravitate into the hands of the Speaker as the only officer chosen by the House from its membership. The Speaker soon became not merely the presiding officer but also the leader of the House. With the development of parties he became a party leader. As the influence of the parties grew and as the size of the House increased his power also grew with them and he became a virtual dictator determining the procedure of the House and the course of its legislation till some of his powers were curtailed in 1911.

Historically there was strong tradition of a political Speaker in America. The office was nurtured in the very cradle of liberty. During the middle of the 18th century there was great conflict between the Governor and the Assembly for the attainment of democratic rights. The Speakers of the Colonial legislatures were leaders in the struggle for independence and fought hard for the constitutional rights of the people.

After independence the power of the Speaker of the House of Representatives grew enormously, partly as the result of dynamic leadership of Speakers like Thomas B. Reed (1889-91, and 1895-99) and Joseph G. Cannon (1903-10) and partly as a result of necessity of streamlining the organization of the House in order to get legislation enacted. During 1880 Speaker Reed secured adoption of rules which greatly expedited the business of the House at the expense of the rights of individual members and granted to the Speaker virtually dictatorial power over the House through his power to recognize or refuse to recognize members and through his selection of and his membership on the Committee on Rules. Without the assent of the Speakers practically no legislation could be enacted. Those who chafed under such restraints organized a revolt against Speaker Cannon and got a resolution passed by the House depriving the Speaker of his Rules Committee membership. The Rules Committee was now to consist of ten members from the majority party and four members from the minority party of the House. However, the Speaker still continues to exercise his other functions and important privileges. He decides questions of order, recognizes members, appoints select and conference committees. As a member of the House he has the same right to speak and vote as other members, although he is required to vote when his vote would decide the issue, as by breaking a tie. He is accorded the front rank not only as regards legislative influence but in politics as well.

Presiding officers on the continent of Europe stand midway between the Speakers of the English House of Commons and the Speakers of the National House of Representatives in the U.S.A. with some attributes of the office of the Lord Chancellor in the House

of Lords added.³ They do not forego the privileges of being partisans outside the chair. They contest the election at the end of the term of their office and are re-elected if the political complexion of the Chamber does not change. In France due to the existence of many parties and groups and due to political instability it is difficult for a Speaker to keep the strict role of party neutrality. He is elevated to the chair less for technical competence or judicial impartiality than for his political attitude. The President of the National Assembly is elected anew at the beginning of every new session. At election time party passions are stirred up and Presidents are opposed in their own constituencies. Consequently there are more frequent changes in the office according to the changes in the political complexion of the Chambers. Whereas from 1876 to 1920 the House of Commons had only six Speakers, France had thirteen Presidents. Of these Grevy, Gambetta, Floquet, Brisson, Deschanel were elected three times each or more. Brisson, who served for six years, was elected twenty times.⁴ The President of the National Assembly remains attached to his party, takes part at group meetings, and sometimes enters into press controversies. He cannot continue in office after his political party loses control of the House. He invariably takes part in politics and exercises all the rights of an ordinary member. He passes into ministries and then back on the chair. He not infrequently takes part in debates and political controversies on the floor, though of late a tendency has been noticeable on his part to refrain not only from participation in the debate but also from voting. In Germany due to the multiplicity of party groups and bitter party conflicts it is not possible for the President of the Reichstag to maintain party neutrality. The President of the Reichstag remains closely attached to his party, speaks at meetings and writes in the Press. His office is both judicial and political. He is bound by rules at all times but he has to use all his legitimate powers to further the interests of his party.

Even the Speakers of the Dominion Parliaments are not altogether above and beyond the politics and strife of the Chambers. It is not the usage at Ottawa, as it is at Westminster, that the Speaker shall completely sever himself from his political party. Speakers make political addresses in their constituencies, like all other members elected to support the Government; and there have been instances in which a speaker has vacated the Chair in order to accept office in the Cabinet.⁵ There is no English tradition in Canada of re-electing the Speaker. It is always open to elect a new Speaker for a new Parliament.⁶ The reason for this larger freedom at Ottawa is that conditions at Ottawa, partly due to race and language, and partly due to long-prevailing ideas as to the distribution of all government patronage, have all gone against the adoption of the Westminster precedent of allowing the occupant of the Chair to continue for two or three Parliaments regardless of the change of political parties at general elections.⁷ However the Speaker is re-elected if it suits the convenience of the majority. The rules as to the Speaker's vote in the Dominions are curious. The Speaker has only his casting vote but in the exercise of the casting vote he does not follow the British precedent. In 1877, the Speaker of the South Australian Assembly voted against the Ministry on a vote of no-confidence because he held that he should always vote against a Ministry which apart from his vote did not command majority in the House. However, the Speaker in New Zealand Assembly in the same year voted for Sir George's Ministry due to his desire to conform to the British practice which requires that the casting vote should be used to maintain the *status quo*. Thus the rules governing the casting vote in the Dominions are not fixed and not strictly governed by the British Parliamentary tradition. The Speaker in the Dominions, though expected to discharge his duties impartially, has not been wholly free from partisanship and the tone

3. The Lord Chancellor of the House of Lords is a partisan and exercises his ordinary right of vote.

4. Edward Saint: *Government and Politics of France*, p. 22.

5. Edward Parritt: *Evolution of the Dominion of Canada*, p. 380.

6. Keith: *Responsible Governments in the Dominions*, p. 379.

7. Parritt: *Evolution of the Dominion of Canada*, p. 382.

and temper of the assemblies in the Dominions have not reached the level prevailing in the House of Commons.

The role which the Speaker has played in non-sovereign and colonial institutions is different from that played in the sovereign legislatures. The speaker in colonial legislatures has stood forth as the champion of the rights and privileges of the people and has often led the people's struggle for democratic institutions. The evolution of the Dominion of Canada presents an interesting study in revealing the true role of the Speaker in the constitutional struggle of the people against the representatives of the Crown. Both in the Lower and Upper Canada, which were separate provinces from 1792 till 1841 with distinct governments, political differences had long existed. These grievances were due to the lack of harmony of spirit between the legislative and executive authorities. The legislative assemblies, when they initiated legislation, were opposed by the legislative councils and the Governor. The legislative councils were packed with the nominees of the Governor and the Governors from 1792 to 1837 were notoriously partisans and were imbued with the spirit of English Toryism of the period.⁸ The Governor was a great opponent of the elected members of the legislative assembly and openly interfered with elections. Louis Joseph Papineau who was elected Speaker of the Legislative Assembly in the French Province in 1815 became the leader of the constitutional revolt against the oppressive Executive. He held the office of the Speaker until the armed rebellion in 1837. The issue at that time was whether the British minority or the French majority should rule at Quebec. At this time the influence of Speaker Papineau on the French Canadians was as strong as the hold of either O'Connell or Parnell on the Nationalist movement in Ireland in the 19th century. Speaker Papineau launched an attack against the Government at Quebec within purely constitutional limits. Under his leadership the House obstructed Government business and withheld supplies for the redress of grievances. A similar type of agitation was launched in Upper Canada and the Speaker

supported the Assembly in their struggle for constitutional government. Under the political leadership of Papineau and William Mackenzie, an independent elected member of Upper Canada, rebellions broke out in Lower Canada and Upper Canada, although they were suppressed violently. The direct result of this revolt was the Durham Report which united the Lower and the Upper Canada and established representative, though not responsible, government in the union. However, the Canadian Assembly under the wise leadership of their Speakers carried on the struggle for self-government from 1841 to 1849.

The political evolution of Australia as a self-governing Dominion ran in lines parallel to that of Canada. The period of the constitutional development was a period of bitter conflict between the Speaker and the Legislature on the one hand and the Governor and the Home Government on the other. The Speaker of the Lower House stood forth as the champion of the rights of the people and fought hard for their constitutional rights. There were constant conflicts between the Governor and the Speaker and the elected members. The latter rejected the budget estimates for 1844 in the New South Wales legislature for redressing their grievances. The dissatisfaction which existed in the Legislative Council increased due to the promulgation of the depasturing licenses regulation by the Governor on April 2, 1844 without consulting the Legislative Council. Speaker Alexander Meleay allowed the representatives of the people to pass a resolution condemning the regulations and expressing disapproval of the land policy which was placed beyond their control. On 28th August, 1846, the legislature under the legislative leadership of the Speaker passed a vote of censure upon the Executive for appropriating more than a certain sum of money which had been fixed for the detection of illicit distillation. The Speaker with the concurrence of the House appointed Francis Scott, Parliamentary Agent, in 1844 to exert pressure on the Home Government to redress their economic and political grievances. Again, the legislature under the leadership of Speaker Charles Nicholson passed a protest vote against the Constitution Act of 1850 which did not redress the long-

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-69.

standing grievances of the colonists. The legislature demanded the withdrawal of power by Parliament to tax the people of the colony. The legislature again on 25th August, 1852, decided that they would not grant supplies for the year 1854 unless a favourable reply was sent to them. The Home Government conceded all the demands of the legislature.

The legislature in the Philippines, which remained a colony till 1935, became the natural spearhead of Philippine nationalism and played a great part in developing a politically dependent people into a nation-State. As early as 1907 various political groups united to form a nationalist party for the attainment of immediate independence of the Philippine islands and to constitute themselves into a free and sovereign nation under a democratic government.⁹

In the first election of July 30, 1907, the Nationalist party captured 58 seats out of 80, and elected Sergio Osmena as the Speaker of the Assembly in which capacity he was both the symbol and chief architect of national independence. Measures passed by the Philippine Assembly in 1907 made the Philippine Speaker as powerful as the American Speaker. He was considered the next in rank and importance to the Governor-General who had to consult him in all important legislative measures and other matters such as appointments.¹⁰

Under his leadership the legislature made a strong plea for immediate independence. In 1909, Speaker Osmena and the Assembly came into serious clash with the American dominated commission. The Assembly refused to pass the budget which was certified by the Governor-General. On his re-election in 1916, Speaker Osmena with the support of national leaders made repeated attempts to bring the Executive under the control of the legislature. The Speaker and the House of Representatives with the co-operation of the Governor-General Francis-Harrison were able to attain considerable success

in the rapid Philippinization of the Government. The successor of Francis-Harrison, Major General Leonard Wood who took office in 1921 re-established the prerogatives of the Chief Executive and this led to a clash between the Philippine nationalists and the Governor-General. Speaker Manuel A. Roxas of the House of Representatives who succeeded Speaker Osmena in 1922 also came into conflict with the Governor-General. He led an independent mission to America where he presented a memorial to the American Government urging the grant of independence to the Philippines and denouncing the high-handed policy of Governor-General Wood. The demand for independence was not conceded by the American Government which urged greater economic and social development of the Philippines before granting them political independence. However, Philippine leaders and Speakers did not relax their efforts for the attainment of their political objective of self-government. The Tyding-McDuffie Act of 1934 was the result which provided for a ten-year period of transition prior to the proclamation of Philippines Independence.¹¹

IV

From the above short review of Speakership in various countries it is clear that the Speaker of the Lower House has played different roles according to the political exigencies of the time in each country. The institution of Speakership was first developed in the mother of Parliaments from where it was transplanted in other countries. Although the English Speaker today is noted for his impartiality and non-partisanship, yet before the development of constitutional rule in England he was a strong partisan and had marked political leanings. During the mediaeval period and Tudor and Stuart regimes, the English Speaker continued to remain subservient to the Crown and regarded himself more as an agent of the Crown than as defender of the rights and privileges of the Commons. During the evolution of the constitutional rule in England, the English Speaker was able to assert himself and actively promoted the interests of the Commons. After responsible government had been firmly established on sound parliamentary lines in England, the English Speaker established the tradition of

9. Grayson Kirk: *Philippine Independence*; p. 40.
10. The Philippine Speaker could appoint all Chairmen of Committees, was himself a member of the Committee on Rules, and enjoyed powers of official recognition to members desirous to speak. His political powers were taken away from him by a resolution in 1922 that he shall be a mere presiding officer. Speaker Osmena remained in office from 1907 to 1916 and from 1916 to 1921.

11. Political Independence of the Philippines was proclaimed on July 4, 1946.

absolute impartiality and party neutrality. His severance from party lines is, indeed, so complete that, after his election, he does not enter the portals of any political club of which he may happen to be a member. In other countries where the English pattern of Speakership has been adopted, it has not been possible to adopt the characteristics of the English Speakership in toto. Indeed, there have been marked variations in other countries which are due to the peculiar circumstances obtaining in them. In the United States of America the establishment of the Presidential system of Government and absence of ministerial responsibility has resulted in the Speaker assuming the role of the leader of the House, and an active party leader, openly promoting party interests in the House. In the Continent the existence of multiplicity of party groups and the consequent political instability and many other factors have all militated against the Speakers of the Lower House assuming strictly impartial roles.

In the Dominions and Colonies, the Speakers of the Lower House could not conform to the British pattern of Speakership. This is in the main due to the Speaker assuming the role of the Tribune of the people protecting their rights and privileges from official encroachment and leading the people in their struggle against the imperial authority. In Australia, Canada, the Philippines and other colonies which struggled for responsible government the Speaker assumed the rôle of a leader of the nationalist party and played his part in securing democratic rights to his countrymen. But although there is bound to be a variation in the institution of Speakership in the course of its transplantation in different countries from the country of its origin, under stable conditions there is a tendency of the office towards approximation to the British model. In those colonies which have emerged successful from their struggle for responsible government and where parliamentary government is firmly established on sound party lines without the evil features of acute class-conflicts of multiple-party groups, the Speakers of the House have assumed the role of perfect impartiality and party neutrality. The task of the Speaker in such conditions is merely reduced to the maintenance of order in the deliberations of

the House and allowing the minority legitimate opportunities for debate and criticism without undue obstruction and delay. In the U.S.A. also there is a noticeable change in the Speaker's office which if allowed to continue would bring it to the level of the English model. After the Revolution of 1911 the Speaker has been stripped of all dictatorial powers and leadership has fallen into the hands of the floor leader of the majority party. Mr. Underwood in the 62nd and 63rd Congresses as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means and as floor leader of the majority party exercised as much influence and authority as the strongest Speakers have done. Although after Underwood the Democrats were not so fortunate in possessing a similar leader of marked abilities, the fact is that the floor leaders have succeeded in dominating their majority and in obtaining the legislation they desired. If the change in the Speaker's position becomes permanent, a person desiring active leadership will not desire Speakership but some other position. It is, therefore, not improbable that in the not-too-distant future the Speaker of the House of Representatives may become an impartial presiding officer stripped of all political influence and power but possessing great dignity.¹² In England, however, it appears, that a tendency is at work that may make it difficult for the Speaker to maintain the traditions of absolute impartiality and neutrality. The Parliament Act of 1911 has cast upon the Speaker a function in discharging which it may not be possible for him to be strictly impartial. This fear has been expressed again and again by Conservative members of the House of Lords. Another complication has arisen with the rise of the Labour Party to a position of great influence and power. Previously, as Prof. Laski has pointed out, there were no fundamental differences between the two major political parties but today the two leading parties stand for two different social orders. While the Conservative Party wishes to preserve the existing capitalistic order of society the Labour Party desires to liquidate it and in order to carry out its programme of socialization is likely to need help from the Speaker.

12. E. Kimbale: *National Government of the United States*, pp. 325-326.

ON THE POSITIVE SCIENCES OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS

BY PROF. PRIYADARANJAN RAY,

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THE late Acharya Brojendra Nath Seal was not only an eminent scholar of philosophy, but was equally familiar with the literature, religion and scientific ideas of the ancient and the modern age. His contemporaries and colleagues were known to regard him with great esteem, and many of them used to speak of him, quite significantly indeed, as: "He is not a seal but a hypopotamus," alluding obviously to his extensive studies. It will, therefore, be no easy task for me to give you an adequate idea of his outstanding scholarship.

In ancient India, knowledge was regarded as an integrated whole. The early Hindus seemed to recognize no sharp line of demarcation between religion, philosophy, literature, and natural sciences that comprised cosmology, astronomy, physics, chemistry, physiology, biology, mathematics including arithmetic, algebra, geometry and trigonometry, medicine including anatomy and surgery, etc. As a result, scientific concepts, methodology and experiences of the ancient Hindus and their application to industrial technique, were scattered over religious scriptures like Brahmanas and Upanishads, philosophical treatises like the six systems of Hindu philosophy, ancient Sanskrit literary works, mythological writings like Puranas, treatises on religious practices like Tantras, etc. On the other hand, even the medical treatises like the *Charaka* and the *Susruta* are found overloaded with philosophical concepts and discourses. So, the scientific concepts and experiences of the ancient Indians lay buried under and intermingled with a vast mass of old Sanskrit literature till some European and Indian scholars like Colebrooke, Wilson, Hoernle, Macdonell, Royle, Dutt (Uday Chand), Thakur Sahib and others by their zealous exploration brought these to the notice of the scientific world. But their contributions were, however, of a somewhat fragmentary character. A comprehensive and systematic investigation and treatment had yet to be made. Acharya Brojendra Nath Seal along with Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray undertook this task and the results of their monumental labour are recorded in their famous publications *The Positive Sciences*

of the Ancient Hindus and the *History of Hindu Chemistry* respectively. As a matter of fact, more than half of the second volume of the *History of Hindu Chemistry* consists of a chapter on the "Mechanical, Physical and Chemical Theories of the Ancient Hindus" and an appendix on the "Scientific Method of the Hindus" contributed by Acharya Seal.

THE MECHANICAL, PHYSICAL AND CHEMICAL THEORIES

In the 'Mechanical, Physical and Chemical Theories of the Ancient Hindus' Seal has given us an account of the cosmogony as expounded in the Samkhya-Patanjala and the Vaiseshika-Nyaya systems of Hindu philosophy. The former furnishes possibly the earliest clear and comprehensive account of the process of cosmic evolution and the latter elaborates the concepts of mechanics, physics and chemistry, with particular reference to the theories of atoms, molecules and compounds. The Vedantic view or *Maya-bad* leading to the evolution of matter by *panchikaran* has also been more or less fully discussed. Acharya Seal has shown that many modern scientific concepts have their analogues in these philosophical systems of the ancient Hindus. The conservation, transformation and dissipation of energy, together with the doctrine of causation as a corollary, form the basis of these systems, though only as essential concepts of systematic and logical thought without any experimental verification. The concepts of time, space and causal series in the Samkhya-Patanjala system have been shown by Seal to bear comparison with the most advanced modern views about them. On the basis of Samkhya view Seal interprets that our conception of an ultimate particle of matter stands in three relations (1) Position and space¹ (2) Position in time,² and (3) Position in a causal series.³ He thus shows that time is a mere construction of the understanding in order to express the succession of events, or the course of evolution. Order in time is nothing but the relation of antecedence and sequence. This seems to suggest that there is no reality of time; it has got no

objective existence. One is thus tempted to compare this idea with that of Einstein in his theory of relativity. Space has been described as having extension⁴ and direction.⁵

A remarkable interpretation by Acharya Seal of the measures of time as given by Bhaskara in his *Siddhanta-Siromani* deserves a particular reference here. The smallest unit of time defined by Bhaskara is called *Truti*, which is equal to $1/34,000$ part of a second. This was used by Bhaskara in astronomical calculations.

According to Seal, Bhaskara may, therefore, be regarded as the precursor of Newton in the discovery of the principle of the Differential Calculus, as well as in its application to astronomical problems and computations. In his opinion, Bhaskara's claim in this respect is stronger than that of Archimedes to the conception of a rudimentary process of integration.

Discussing the measures of weight and capacity as mentioned in *Amarakosha*, Seal particularly draws our attention to the smallest measure of weight called *Trasarenu*, used by the early Hindus. It stands for the minimum visible, or that which is just discernible, e.g., a mote floating in the sunbeam entering into a dark room through a slit or peep-hole in the window. The size of this minimum visible body, which is equivalent to the size of an atom or *paramanu* was deduced by Seal from Varahamihir's table. The thickness of the minimum visible or of a mote in the sun-beam was thus taken to be 3×2^{-20} of an inch. From which it follows that the volume of *trasarenu* or *paramanu* is $4/3 \pi \cdot 3^3 \times 2^{-63}$ of a cubic inch. As one inch is equal to 2.5 cm. the radius of a *paramanu* according to Hindu view, becomes of the order of 10^{-6} cm. This value approaches that of the modern scientific calculation of 10^{-8} cm. (approx).

Another concept of great significance in modern science, which finds its parallel in the philosophical speculations of the ancient Hindus, has been stressed by Acharya Seal. This is the conception of molecular motion.⁶ It resolves all physical action into motion. The Vedanta, for example, speaks of a cosmic vibratory motion. A similar idea is conceived by Samkhya as well to characterize every process and phenomenon of cosmic evolution. According to Nyaya-

Vaisesika the world at bottom is an infinitude of continually whirling or vibratory particles (atoms).

CHEMISTRY

Dealing with chemistry in the medical schools of ancient India Seal has shown that the prevailing schools of medicine and surgery as represented by *Charaka* and *Susruta* were based on the Samkhya teaching with a methodology derived from Nyaya-Vaisesika doctrine. An elaborate theory of inorganic and organic compounds is found in them. In this connection he has also referred to the knowledge of chemical compounds and of their preparation, to the metallurgical and chemical processes described in the treatise on Metallurgy⁷ by Patanjali, especially the preparation of the metallic salts, alloys and amalgams, as well as to the extraction, purification and assaying of metals. The use of the mixtures, called 'Vidas,' containing aqua-regia or other mineral acids *in potentia*, is ascribed by Seal to Patanjali. The preparation of mercury and its compounds by Nagarjuna has also been noted.

From the *Vrihat Samhita* of Varahamihira (early 6th Century A.D.) Seal quotes the preparation of several cements or powders called *vajra-lepa* (cements strong as thunder-bolt), dyes, cosmetics, flower-scents, mordants, and indigotin from indigo plants. Dealing with chemical industries of ancient India in this connection Seal refers to the tempering of steel in a manner worthy of advanced metallurgy, a process to which the medieval world owed its Damascus swords. He remarks that "it was this applied chemistry much more than handicraft skill which gave India her premier position in the Middle Ages and earlier (from Pliny to Tavernier) in exports and manufactures." Seal has also mentioned that the art of making and polishing glass, lens and mirrors (spherical⁸ and oval⁹) was known to the ancient Hindus, quoting from Pliny that 'best glass ever made was Indian glass'.

Mention of alchemical preparations in literary works like *Vasavadatta* and *Dasakumara Charita* also has not escaped Seal's attention. Chemistry in *Vrinda*, *Chakrapani*, *Rasarnava* and *Rasaratnasamuchchaya* has been fully dealt with. Seal has also discussed the

recipes for nourishment of plants as found in the treatise of Varahamihir.¹⁰

MECHANICS AND KINETICS

In the chapter on Hindu ideas of mechanics and kinetics Acharya Seal has discussed and analysed the various kinds of motion and their causes. He has pointed out that in the astronomical treatises of Aryabhata, Brahmagupta and Bhaskara the movement of a falling body, caused by gravity,¹¹ is ascribed to the attraction exerted by the earth on a material body. In giving an account of motion due to direct contact with a body exercising continued pressure Seal refers to Udayana's account of balloons filled with gas or smoke, drawing our attention to the fact that balloons were known in Udayana's time (970 A.D.).

The concept of momentum is also found in Nyaya-Vaisheshika where it is called *Vega*.¹² Seal discovers a logical explanation of acceleration in Udaytakara's view of *Vega*. He proceeds further and states that

"Vega, it will be seen, corresponds to inertia in some respects, and to momentum in others. This is the nearest approach to Newton's first law of motion."

In the Vaisheshika theory of motion gravity and *Vega* have been described as acting in the same direction.¹³ According to Seal "this laid a good foundation for the explanation of the accelerated motion of falling bodies" which was discovered by Galileo later on.

Our attention is also drawn by Seal to the notion of three axes formulated by Vachaspati (circa 842 A.D.) in order to indicate the position of one particle in space relative to another. This remarkable analysis anticipates, according to Seal, in a rudimentary manner the foundation of solid or co-ordinate geometry, eight centuries before Descartes. That the principle of relative motion is implied in Aryabhata's description of the diurnal motion of the earth from west to east and the apparent revolution of the starry heavens in the opposite direction (east to west), has been particularly stressed by Seal.

ACOUSTICS

Seal has also dealt with the Hindu ideas of acoustics and has referred to the theory of sound, as given in *Mimamsas* being caused by

the wave motion in air. In this view the particles of air are subject to a vibratory motion¹⁴ in the production of sound. This is more or less in agreement with our modern ideas.

PLANTS AND PLANT-LIFE

In the chapter on Hindu ideas about plants and plant-life, Seal has referred to the classification of plants as given in *Charaka* and *Susruta*, as well as that followed in *Amarakosha*. The classification was, as Seal observes, rather very superficial. That the ancient Hindus were not unacquainted with the elementary ideas of plant physiology has been shown by Acharya Seal by quoting from Udayana as well as from the Buddhist scholiast Dharmottara and the Jain writer Gunaratna (circa 1350 A.D.), e.g., the phenomena of life, death, sleep, waking, disease, drugging, transmission of specific character by means of ova, movement towards what is favourable (sun) and away from what is unfavourable. Gunaratna also notices the sensitiveness to touch of plants like the *Mimosa pudica*. Seal further points out that the Hindu scriptures teach that plants have a sort of dormant or latent consciousness and are capable of pleasure and pain.¹⁵ This is also supported by quotation from the Mahabharata that plants are sensitive to heat and cold, to the sound of thunder, etc., as well as to odours, both pleasant and unpleasant.

It is, therefore, not unlikely that Acharya Jagadis Chandra Bose drew his inspiration for his famous investigation on plant life from this ancient Hindu faith.

ZOOLOGY

In zoology too, the ancient Hindus did not fail to make their notable contribution. Acharya Seal has cited evidences for this by referring to the classification of animals as given in *Charaka*, *Prasastapada*, *Patanjali*, *Susruta*, and even in *Chhandogya Upanishad*, *Puranas* and in the ancient Jaina work, the *Tattvarthadigama* of Umasvati (circa 40 A.D.). From a consideration of the views of all these authorities Seal summarised the Hindu classification of animals into a few main divisions with several subdivisions under each. Space does not allow me to give a full account of it. Nevertheless a very

10 वृक्षाद्युर्व्वद 11 गुरुत्व 12 वेग 13 उभयसमावेश

14 परिस्पन्द

15 अन्तःसंज्ञा भवन्त्येते सुखदुःखसमन्विता

brief and condensed statement might still be of considerable interest.

A. *Kshudrajantus*, boneless and without (red) blood:

Invertebrate.—(a) *Ayonija*—a-sexually generated: (i) *Svedaja* (from heat and moisture), (ii) *Udviija* (eruptive or metamorphic); (b) *Yonija*—sexually generated, e.g., the *Andaja*—oviparous.

There are again several sub-divisions under each head, e.g., the *krimis*, the *jalaikas* (leeches), *kosasthas*—shelled animals or mollusca (*santhas*, *suktikas*, *sambhukas*, etc.). Insects (*pinlika*, *bhramara*, *makshika*, *vrischika*, *masaka*, *patanga*, *kita* or butterflies, glowworm, etc.).

B. *Tiryakyoni* animals—sexually generated animals possessing bones and blood; the vertebrata.

(1) *Andaja* (oviparous)—(a) *Matsyas*, (b) *Uragas* (snakes), (c) *Bhujangas* (reptiles)—include *Godha* (lizards, chameleons, etc.); *Kurnas* and *Nakras* (tortoise, crocodiles); *Sisuparas* (crabs, etc.); (d) *Pakshi* (birds). There are several sub-divisions among birds again.

(2) *Jarayujas* (viviparous)—(a) *Charma-paksha-pakshis*, leather-winged animals (bats); (b) *Vilesaya Jarayujas*—mammals that live in holes or burrows (rodents, insectivora, etc.); (c) *Parnamrigas*—arboreal mammals (wild cats, squirrels, apes); (d) Non-carnivorous quadrupeds: (i) *Janghalas*, strong-legged (deer); (ii) *Kulekhara*—grazing on the banks of rivers (elephant, rhinoceros, buffalo, hog, etc.); (iii) *Granjas*—living in villages, domesticated quadrupeds (horse, mule, goat, sheep, cow, etc.); (e) Carnivorous quadrupeds: *Guhasaya* (living in caves and hollows)—e.g., lion, tiger, wolf, hyena bear, panther, cat, jackal, etc.; (f) Man.

The classification, however, did not proceed on an anatomical basis. This brief reference abundantly testifies to the minute Nature study of the early Hindus to which our attention has been drawn by Acharya Seal.

PHYSIOLOGY AND BIOLOGY

Acharya Seal has also provided us with a comprehensive account of the achievements of the early Hindus in the field of physiology and biology. Materials for this purpose have

been gathered by him from *Charaka*, *Susruta*, *Vagbhata*, *Chakradatta*, and other ancient treatises. These deal with metabolism, the circulatory system, the vascular system, the nervous system, the sympathetic spinal system, automatic and reflex activity of the organism, foetal development, heredity, the sex-question and then life itself. Seal's interpretation of these physiological and biological processes enable us to make a sensible comparison between them and those of modern science for a proper assessment of their value. As it will not be possible to deal here with every aspect of the subject even cursorily, only a few salient features might be touched upon.

The chemistry of digestion, as presented by *Charaka* and *Vagbhata*, has been described by Seal as follows:

"The food we eat contains five kinds of penta-bhautic organic compounds. From their predominant elements substances are named Earth-compounds, Ap-compounds, Tejas-compounds, Vayu-compounds and Akasa-compounds. The Earth-compounds supply the hard, formed matter of the body, the Tejas-compounds give the animal heat (or the metabolic heat), the Vayu-compounds are the sources of the motor-force in the organism, the Ap-compounds furnish the watery part of the organic fluids, and the Akasa-compounds contribute to the finer etheric essence which is the vehicle of the conscious life.

"Roughly speaking, the Earth-compounds answer to the nitrogen compounds in the food, the Tejas-compounds to the hydrocarbons (heat producing), the Vayu-compounds to the carbohydrates (dynamic). The Ap-compounds are the watery parts of food and drink. The flesh, for example, is a tissue composed principally of the Earth-compounds; the fat of the Earth- and Ap-compounds; the bones of Earth-, Vayu-, and Tejas-compounds. The Tejas-compounds predominate in the composition of the blood. Different operations of the metabolic heat (perhaps, different digestive fluids are also meant) are required to digest the different substances in the food."

In describing the circulatory system from *Charaka* and *Susruta* our attention is drawn by Seal to the statement in *Charaka* of the number

of *Sira* cords (arteries, lymphatics, bile-ducts, etc.) as 700, and of *Dhamani* cords (veins, nerves, chyle-ducts, ducts for urine, sweat, etc., ducts for Vayu, etc.) as 200, and their ramifications (capillaries) as 3,056,900. How did *Charaka* arrive at such a large number, stated with such definiteness, is rather inexplicable.

Dealing with the nervous system after the *Tantras*, Seal points out that in *Charaka* and *Susruta* as in *Aristotle*, the heart is the central organ and seat of consciousness; but in the *Tantric* writings as in *Galen*, the seat of consciousness is transferred to the brain or rather the cerebro-spinal system.

While dealing with heredity as discussed in the ancient treatises Seal shows that *Charaka's* view on the subject may be compared to that of Darwin's gemmule. *Charaka* assumes that the sperm cell of the male parent contains minute elements derived from each of its organs and tissues. That is, the fertilized ovum or the 'Vija' contains in *potentia* the whole organism that is developed out of it. The theory was somewhat modified by *Atreya* to explain the observed facts of inheritance. According to *Atreya*: "The parental Vija or germ-plasm is a minute organism and derives its elements from the parental organs, but distinct from the latter, and independent of their peculiarities. It is this combination and characters of these constituent elements of the parental Vija that determine the physiological characters and predisposition of the offspring." Seal calls this as *Atreya's* germ-plasm theory and considers it as an advance on the conception of gemmules by Darwin.

Dealing with the sex-question as expounded in *Charaka*, Seal draws our attention to the law of alternate rhythmic change which seems to determine the sex-character of the foetus. Reference has also been made to another factor mentioned in *Charaka*, which is the relative predominance of the sperm- and the germ-cells in the fertilized ovum. Excess of the sperm-cell produce the male and that of the germ-cell the female.

Dealing with the Hindu conception of life Seal introduces us to the materialistic view of the Charvaks, who used to regard life as a result of physico-chemical process occurring in the organic body, even as non-intoxicating rice or

molasses assumes the intoxicating properties of spirituous liquors by fermentation. Similarly, external stimuli are the causes of instinctive movements and expression of new-born babes, like the movement of iron under the influence of magnet. Living organisms like animalcules are in the same manner generated spontaneously under the influence of heat and moisture; and maggots are developed in curds and similar substances. This is more or less in accord with the view of a large majority of modern scientists.

According to Samkhya also life is a reflex activity, a resultant of various concurrent activities of the sensori-motor, the emotional and the appreciative reactions of the organism. According to Vedanta, on the other hand, life is a sort of subtle rarefied "ether principle," pervasive of the organism.

ANATOMY

In *Anatomy*, Seal points out that the ancient Hindus based their experience on actual experimental work and they practised dissection on dead bodies for the purpose; ingenious directions for such dissection are given in *Charaka* and *Susruta*; post-mortem operations and major operations in obstetric surgery (the extraction of the foetus, etc.) also were carried out for embryological observations; further, in *Materia Medica* and in *Therapeutics*, especially in the symptomology of diseases, the observations of the ancient Hindus were precise, minute and thoroughly scientific.

METEOROLOGY

Dealing with *Meteorology* Seal observes that the Hindus used the rain-gauge in their weather forecasts for the year; they made careful observations of different kinds of clouds, the area of disturbance of different earthquakes, the altitude of the terrestrial atmosphere, etc. (cf. Varahamihira, Sripati and others).

ASTRONOMY

On the other hand, Seal notes that in astronomy the observations of the Hindus were rather somewhat defective, though the determination of the lunar constants entering into the calculation of lunar periods and eclipses reached a remarkable degree of approximation to the correct values, exceeding that of Graeco-Arab computations.

CONCLUSION

I have tried to give in this article a brief outline of the contribution which Acharya Seal has made to our knowledge of the scientific ideas and experiences of the Ancient Hindus. Much of the achievements of the ancient Hindus in the field of positive sciences would have possibly remained in the dark but for the comprehensive study and extensive investigation of a scholar of the eminence of Acharya Seal. I am quite conscious of my frailty to do full justice to his valuable work; for, he was a scholar of versatile genius who could never remain satisfied with acquiring the mastery over any particular

branch of knowledge. A man of his gigantic intellect would have been a valuable asset to any country of the world, and it will be no exaggeration to state that had he been living with us today many of our vexed problems in the field of education and learning might have been solved without any serious difficulty. I carry in my mind my personal impression of this great scholar as a man of rare simplicity and humility, and I join with you all to pay my respectful homage to his illustrious memory.*

* Read before a gathering on the birthday centenary of the late Acharya Brojendranath Seal.

AGRICULTURAL PRICE STABILIZATION IN INDIA

In the Context of Rapid Economic Development

BY DR. P. C. BANSIL, M.A., Ph.D.

THE laissez faire principle which dominated State policy for a very long time received a rude shock after the world depression of the thirties. This change manifested itself in active interference by the State in the primary sector—agriculture—and was visible in the form of Canadian Wheat Pools of 1939, American Agricultural Adjustment Acts, 1933, the Australian Wheat Growers Relief Act of 1933 and many more similar measures adopted in other Western countries.¹ A scheme of agricultural price stabilization which was defined² as a policy involving a scaling down of the heights of prices as well as an elimination of depths was preached with all the vigour.

India, perhaps, was one of the few countries in the world where so little positive action was taken by the State to meet the depression.³ This followed the inflationary period of World War II. The fear of deflationary tendencies at the

close of the war again brought the problem of price stabilization to a head and the Krishnamachari Committee Report was the result of such an awareness. The galloping inflation of the post-war period belied the earlier fears and the recommendations of the Committee remained in cold storage. Sudden fall in prices during 1954 and 1955 for about an year, however, revived the issue.

This brief historical study would show that price stabilization policies which have invariably translated themselves in price support programmes, have been depression-orientated or, as one may say, backward looking.⁴ Also, whatever the degree of success achieved by these measures, they have been adopted in surplus and developed economies. India today, as against this, symbolises if not a deficit, at most a marginal economy which is looking forward for an ambitious rapid development. And if such a development is envisaged, a continuing fall in agricultural prices cannot be visualised.⁵ An expenditure of the order of Rs. 4,800 crores in the public and Rs. 2,300 crores in the private sector with as big a slice as Rs. 1,200 crores to

1. These emergency measures have since become permanent and three great wheat exporting countries of the world, viz., the U.S.A., Canada and Australia, are now irretrievably committed to the policies pursued by and under the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Canadian Wheat Board and Wheat Industry Stabilization Acts.

2. *Businessmen's Commission Report on Agriculture in the USA, 1927*; p. 178.

3. *Prices Sub-Committee of the Policy Committee on Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries*, p. 19.

4. Prof. M. L. Dantwala, *The Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*; April-June 1956; p. 175.

5. Prof. Dantwala, (*ibid.*, p. 174) would even consider such a phenomena as a failure of planning.

be met from deficit financing during the coming 5 years may, on the other hand, release an inflationary spiral.

This in other words means that the very context in which price stabilization measures came to be adopted in other countries was different. We have thus to examine the validity or otherwise of this policy under the conditions now prevailing in India and see how far agricultural price stabilization can help or hinder the process of rapid economic development.

Our cherished objective under the Second Five-Year Plan is:

- (a) A revived target of 40 per cent increase in food production;
- (b) A rapid industrial development both in the heavy as well as in the small-scale industries; and
- (c) A substantial improvement in the standard of living by a 25 per cent increase in the national income and the provision of more of employment opportunities.

As regards food production, for a proper study of its inter-relation with prices, it would have been advisable to examine the trend in prices on the one hand and area and production on the other, in respect of some of the important agricultural commodities. Under the existing conditions when there is a complete lack of data and historical series in respect of any of these constituents are conspicuous by their absence, such a study will not lead to any useful results. We will, however, discuss the cost of production theory in detail. Seasonal factors remaining the same, Dr. Natarajan established a high correlation between acreage and production.⁶ Serious objections have, however, been raised with regard to the validity of this cost of production theory.

This theory is assailed on the ground that firstly, agriculture in India is never a profitable or even a business proposition. It has on the other hand been accepted as a losing concern.⁷

6. Dr. B. Natarajan, *Food and Agriculture in Madras State*, 1951, p. 198.

7. *Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, p. 1440; *Sir John Russell Report on the World of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research*, p. 67; *Prices Sub-Committee Report*, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Wadia and Merchant, *Our Economic Problem*, pp. 226-39; *Cost of Production of Crops on a Canal Irrigated Estate in the Punjab (1935-36 to 1939-40)*, p. 7—Punjab

Secondly, the cultivator is on the land not by choice, but by the force of circumstances, because he cannot do anything else.⁸ Thirdly, the supply of the various factors of production—land, labour and capital—which tend to be more or less inelastic, is not responsive to the changes in the price of agricultural produce. According to George O'Brien,⁹ capital invested in the land also assumes a fixed form, and the supply of labour becomes all the more inelastic, particularly when the farm is worked by the owner and his family. The abandonment of a farm in such cases means the abandonment of the home. Even if some little elasticity is assumed in the supply of these factors, the greater time-lag between the 'input' of these factors and the corresponding output renders the cultivator helpless to adjust production to price changes. Fourthly, agriculture being susceptible to natural hazards most, the cultivator can rarely think of his actual cost of production. According to Wyllie,¹⁰ 75 per cent of crop variations are due to weather conditions. Lastly, while the cost of production is more or less sticky, prices of agricultural produce are invariably determined mainly by extraneous factors. Costs of production vary from place to place, but agricultural prices tend to be the same over wide areas. There is, for example, a slight difference in the basic price of wheat in the various 'mandies' (markets) of India. No wonder, if even world prices exert their influence on the prevailing prices in other countries. Farm prices at least are influenced to an appreciable extent by the general price level. This is supported by E.M. Ojala¹¹ who makes a comprehensive study of the farm prices in USA, Sweden and U.K.

Board of Economic Studies; Dr. M. B. Desai; *The Rural Economy of Gujarat*, pp. 204-205; Dr. D. R. Gadgil and V. R. Gadgil, *A Survey of Wai Taluka*, 1940, p. 178; M. G. Bhagat, *The Farmer—His Welfare and Wealth*, p. 178 and the *National Sample Survey*, No. 2, p. 3.

8. The position though peculiar to countries like India, is not much different in the case of others. *Businessmen's Commission (op. cit.)*, p. 8) pointed out that even in America "there are many toilers on farms who if subjected to ordinary business standards would be eliminated from the reckoning."

9. *Agricultural Economics*, pp. 10-11.

10. *Transition of Agricultural and Highland Society*, 1926, p. 23. Also Engberg *Industrial Prosperity and the Farmer*, pp. 41-42.

11. E. M. Ojala, *Agriculture and Economic Progress*, Oxford University Press, 1952; p. 142.

Changes in prices have been so varied¹² and wide that the question of their having any relation with cost of production would not arise. The prices of agricultural commodities were reduced by one-half during the depression period, while the cost of production fell only by 15 to 20 per cent.¹³ The problem can be examined with respect to falling as well as rising prices separately.

Normally it may be said that when price of a commodity falls below the cost of production the supply would stop over a period. The fundamental law seems, however, to be contradicted in the case of agriculture in general and food in particular, where farm consumption itself takes away a major portion of the total production. Again, due to the peculiar nature of agriculture, the farmer cannot introduce changes in his programme at short notice. There are, for example, certain paddy lands in South India which are not suitable for any other crop. No shift under such circumstances is possible even over long periods. Where such a shift is possible, the cultivator can at best divert lands from less profitable to better crops. Even this becomes impossible in the case of a general depression.

A glaring proof of the inability of the cultivator to adjust production to the level of fall in prices is found when we study the position during the thirties. According to the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, the value of agricultural crops, taken at an average harvest price, fell from Rs. 10,340 million in 1928-29 to Rs. 4,730 million in 1933-34.¹⁴ But there was hardly any decline in the net sown area or the agricultural output.¹⁵

Odds are that, agriculture being more a mode of life than a business proposition in a country like India, the cultivator may be compelled to increase rather than decrease his production under falling prices. The tendency was

clearly observed during the depression of 1929-30.¹⁶ This is because he cannot afford any further contraction in his already scanty income.¹⁷ An individual farmer who, acting in isolation reduces his production may have to face a double loss arising from a smaller output and a lower price.

It may be argued that the demand for agricultural, particularly food crops, being practically inelastic, the cultivator may charge monopolistic prices. Such possibilities are, however, rare. Firstly, because the number of producers is large and secondly, scattered as these cultivators are over a vast area, there is no machinery or institution under which they can put themselves. Agricultural prices are thus rather competitive.¹⁸

Production may, therefore, have an inverse relation with falling prices. But the question of its having a linear relation would not arise. Supply in agriculture in other words remains more or less inelastic during the falling prices¹⁹. Notwithstanding all this, there are examples in a country like England where between 1873 and 1896, a 50 per cent fall in the price of wheat led to a decrease in the area under wheat from 3.5 million to 1.7 million acres. Again, the passing of the Wheat Act there in 1932 was followed by an increase in wheat acreage by over 40 per cent in a period of 3 years. Such a price flexibility may be possible where agriculture is run more on business lines and where the country has an industrial, rather than an agrarian economy, but not in a place like India.

The position with regard to rising prices would, however, seem to be a little different. The farmer, under the depressed market condition, while not curtailing his production is at the same time disinclined to make an addition to the price costs. The application of fertilizers, for example, was uneconomical in India during the thirties, at least for food crops. But the demand for them has tremendously increased during the post-independence price spurt. High

12. S. G. Beri, *Price Trends During the Last Decade, 1940*; pp. 8-9.

13. According to a report of the League of Nations on 'Depressions' (quoted by Dr. R. V. Rao; *Studies in Rural Economy*; p. 188) during the last 20 years the price of wheat and jowar was halved three times within 12 months and the price of cotton three times in periods of under 18 months.

14. Quoted by Palme Dutt, *India Today*; p. 215.

15. Cf. P. C. Malhotra; *Stabilization of Agricultural Prices in India, 1946*; p. 5.

16. S. G. Beri, *op.cit.*; p. 9.

17. *Businessmen's Commission on American Agriculture*, pp. 77; 118-119; O'Brien; *op.cit.*; p. 31; *Prices Sub-Committee Report*; *op.cit.*; p. 32; and P. C. Malhotra; *op.cit.*; pp. 4-5.

18. Cf. O'Brien; *op.cit.*; p. 19.

19. This is also confirmed by O'Brien; *op.cit.*; pp. 11 and 31.

prices also provide sufficient incentive for the cultivator to try improved methods of cultivation and put into practice the result of experiments conducted in the laboratory. It is, however, implied that Government will extend not only full co-operation, but also resort to extensive propaganda in that direction. If normal facilities are not available, even progressive cultivators who are keen to introduce new improvements would be helpless to do anything. All these things may have the combined effect of increasing production but always in response to an effective demand. This is the most important thing. During the initial stages of the Grow More Food Campaign, the cultivator was not prepared to divert cotton lands to food, unless the Government gave an assurance to purchase the extra produce at pre-announced²⁰ prices.

On the strength of what has been stated above, it can be safely concluded that agriculture, specially food production, may never have a sagging tendency either under falling or rising prices. The real position would thus seem to be that agricultural production would depend more on factors other than prices. Any way, prices would not seem to be a pre-requisite of food production.

The other objective relates to rapid industrialization and raising the standard of living of the people. This can best be achieved by providing better employment opportunities. One of the most striking features of Indian agriculture is the presence of a surplus unproductively-employed agricultural population.²¹ Along with this unutilized or under-utilized manpower on the one hand, there are unexploited natural resources on the other hand.²²

Any scheme of economic development would mean the provision of full-time employment to the under-employed and a syphoning off of the surplus agricultural labour from the agricultural to the industrial sector—big or of the small type. When surplus agricultural labour is moved to the non-agricultural sector (mostly

to the towns) it is not necessary that the supply of food-stuffs made available by agriculture for the non-agricultural sector will simultaneously increase. "The appropriate financing of industrial investment will not suffice automatically to evoke an increase in this crucial supply of necessary subsistence. Now that there are less mouths to feed in the village, more of the villagers' own produce may be consumed by each of those remaining there. Those who remain may even be induced by the easing of their position to enjoy more leisure and to cultivate less intensively (in economists' jargon, their demand for income in terms of effort may prove to be so inelastic as to produce the situation of a backward-sloping supply-curve of agricultural output). In such a case, the increased wage-bill and expenditure of the industrial production coming up against an inelastic supply of *marketed produce* of agriculture will certainly have inflationary consequences so far as agricultural prices are concerned. This rise of agricultural prices might seem at first sight likely to bring its own cure by stimulating a larger supply to be marketed. But if manufactured goods are not plentiful, on which agriculturists can spend their extra money income, the offer of a larger money income may merely reinforce the tendency to enjoy more leisure or for the villagers to consume more of their own crops."²³

Now an increase or decrease in the marketable surplus is dependent upon the psychology of the cultivator in a free economy. Under the conditions already detailed, marketable surplus can best be increased only by creating in the cultivator a desire to go in for more of industrial consumption goods in exchange for which the agricultural produce may be made available. This in other words means making the terms of trade more favourable to agriculture. Such a policy is possible only if we have at our disposal huge stocks of industrial consumption goods which can be supplied to the cultivators at reasonable or even subsidised rates so as to induce him to go in for them. Agricultural prices high or low, stable or unstable will thus have little effect on this surplus. The surmounting of this problem is accordingly a matter, "not of providing appropriate financial policies and institutions,

20. Cf. Sir Henry Knight; *Food Administration*; p. 125.

21. Cf. Morrill R. Goodall, *Administration and Planning for Economic Development*; p. 11 and Maurice Dobb; *Some Aspects of Economic Development*; p. 38.

22. *The First Five-Year Plan; Planning Commission*; p. 7.

23. Maurice Dobb; *op.cit.*; pp. 44-45.

but of the appropriate organization of the social and economic life of the village, of agricultural production and of commercial exchange between village and town."²⁴

This shows that all our objectives under the planned development are inter-related. Industrial development will involve a regular flow of agricultural raw materials to feed the industries and the availability of foreign exchange for the purchase of heavy industry. This in turn will depend upon exportable surplus and that also mainly from the agricultural sector. The net result is that every aspect of economic development will revolve round increased agricultural production and marketable surplus which as we have already seen do not bear any relation to prices. Price stabilization would, therefore, seem neither relevant nor helpful under conditions of rapid economic development.

Besides this, the policy if adopted has to be implemented either by physical controls over prices or adjustment of supply to demand or even demand to supply under a set policy. As regards physical controls over prices, they involve not only administrative problems, but also those pertaining to the fixing of appropriate prices. The parity formula has come in for much of criticism²⁵ and is of little applicability in an under-developed economy like that of India.

The measures adopted for the adjustment of demand to supply require the regulation of production or storage operations. Production regulation can be attempted only if we have an accurate data about production and consumption levels in the country. Not to speak of an under-developed economy like that of ours, such comprehensive data are not available even for advanced countries like the UK and USA. Again, in an industry like agriculture, which is scattered among millions of small cultivators, it may not be possible to enforce such rigid rules. Our experience of the Grow More Food Campaign in its various phases would bear testimony to this.

In so far as storage operations are concerned, besides the administrative and allied difficulties involved in the implementation of

the scheme,²⁶ the other and the major problem is that of the cost required to be incurred.

The Government will have to spend money firstly for the setting up of a machinery to purchase food-grains and then to distribute it to the non-producers at subsidized rates. Although the controlled period of about a decade does not bear any analogy to the policies now under discussion, it gives an ample proof of the fact that State trading in an essential commodity like food involves heavy expenditure on the part of the Government. Marketable surplus in the case of wheat and rice according to the respective Marketing Reports is of the order of 55 and 40 per cent respectively. Coarse grains are, however, mainly consumed by the producers. Such a surplus in their case has been found to be only 15 to 20 per cent.²⁷

Assuming that our average annual production of fine grains is nearly 33 million tons and that of coarse grains including gram another 30 million tons, the available marketable surplus would be as shown in the table below. Price has been worked on the basis of Rs. 10/- per maund for coarse grains.²⁸ In order to leave some margin for some discrepancies (if there may be any) in the figures for marketable surplus and also for increased consumption on the farm as well as what might be retained in the villages for the consumption of the rural non-producers, such a surplus has been taken at 40 per cent in the case of fine grains and at 15 per cent for coarse grains.

	Total production (Million tons)	Market- able surplus (Million tons)	Price per ton (Rs.)	Total price (Mill Rs.)
Fine Grains	33	13	280	3640
Coarse Grains	30	4.5	168	756
<i>Total</i>				4396

It is apparent from this that if the whole of the marketable surplus is required to be pur-

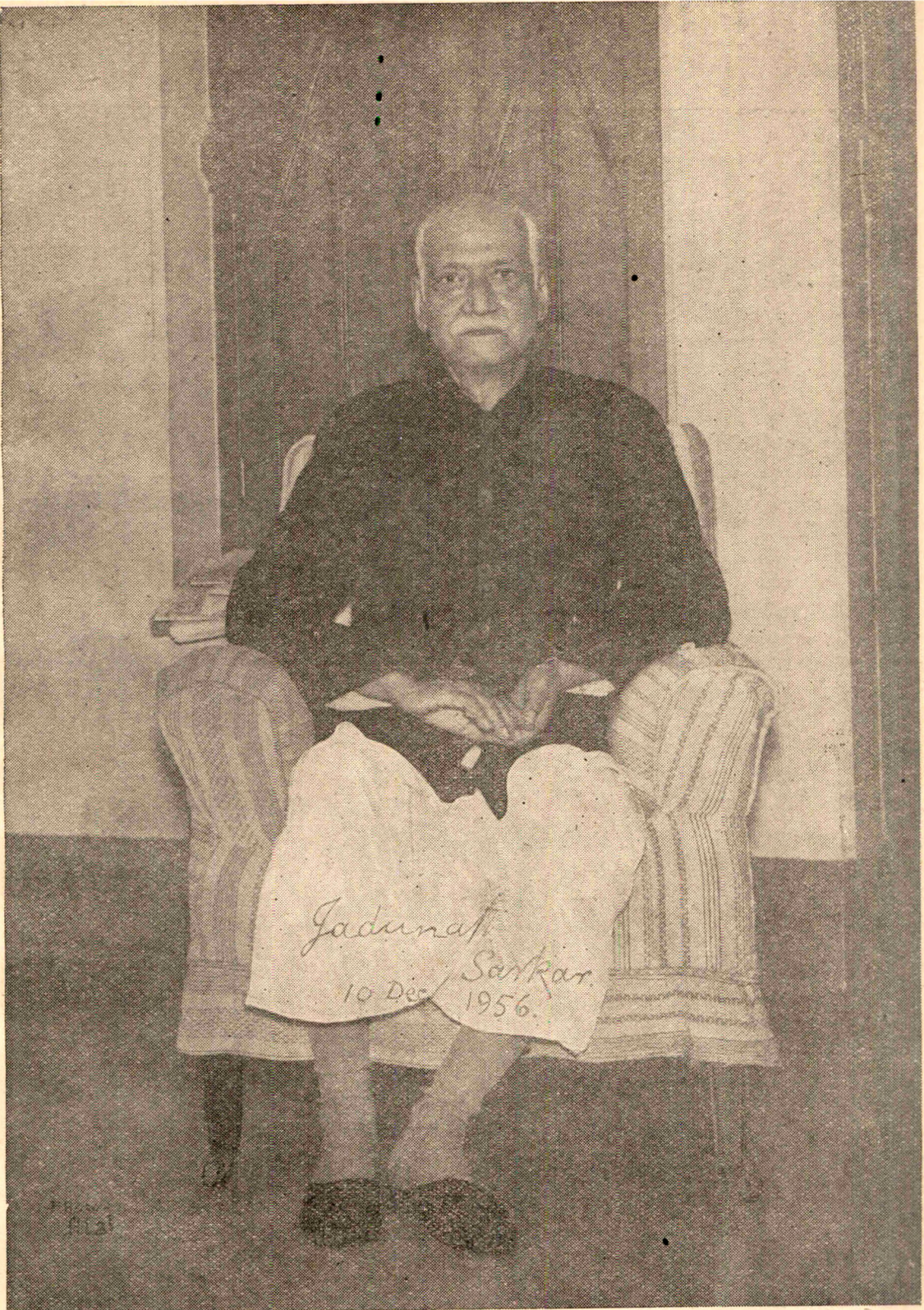
²⁴ Ibid.; p. 46.

²⁵ Cf., J.J. Anjaria; *The Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*; op.cit.; p. 185 and "Agricultural Price Stabilization in India" by P. C. Bansil; *The Economic Weekly*; February 25; 1956; pp. 247-48.

²⁶ Cf., Geoffrey Shepherd; *Agricultural Price Control*; pp. 85-112 and 142-144.

²⁷ Report on the Marketing of Maize and Millets.

²⁸ This is the minimum level below which we may not like to go. But in the context of things, as they are, prices may be much higher.



JADUNATH SARKAR

Born Dec. 10, 1870

Died May 19, 1958
Courtesy: Jogesh C. Bagal



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in conversation with the members of the Nepalese University Commission when they called upon the Prime Minister in New Delhi.



The King of Afghanistan studying rare books and manuscripts at the History Department of the Aligarh University during his recent visit to Aligarh

chased by the authority concerned, the annual expenditure would be about Rs. 440 crores. There is, however, no question of the whole of this surplus being purchased. Although the Government will have to be ready to purchase the total quantity offered by the peasants for sale, the actual quantity that the Government may be required to purchase may not, however, exceed 25 to 30 per cent of the surplus, which in other words means a capital expenditure of say Rs. 120/- crores. It may be added that there is nothing sacrosanct about this figure. This may vary this way or that way. According to Shri M. Srinivasan,²⁹ working capital required is Rs. 75 to 100 crores.

This is only if the policy is restricted to cereals. It may become necessary to extend it to other crops like cotton, sugarcane and jute as well. Price-support policy when restricted to cereals alone, while correcting the disparity between the prices of food articles and manufactured goods, may deepen the gulf between cereals and other non-food agricultural products. France, for example, had to extend the price-support policy to oil-seeds also. All this would mean that an appreciable portion of the capital available for investment will have to be allocated for the price stabilization policy when every penny is required for the developmental programmes.

The Commodity Credit Corporation in the USA ever since its inception in 1933, incurred losses to the extent of \$24,240 million (Rs. 1,152 crores) in respect of sales and support programmes, during the first 20 years of its life. The CCC's investments in surplus commodities have jumped up from Rs. 952 crores in 1952 to Rs. 2,619 crores in recent years. We, in India, might not be required to incur such heavy expenses, but U.S. experience can give us an idea of the extent to which we might be required to go.

If the stabilizing agency is required to level up demand fluctuations, the remedial measure is the development of subsidize consumption programmes. This also involves heavy expenditure.

29. *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*; op.cit.; p. 151.

The payment of subsidies in any form to any sector of the economy is fraught with dangers under a scheme of rapid economic development.

Price stabilization will thus have little relevance³⁰ from theoretical, practical or even institutional aspects. It is no accident that price stabilization was not included as a project either in the First or the Second Five-Year Plan. The objects in view in both these plans were either an increase in investment and resources in the Indian economy or an increase in standards of life. Agricultural price stabilization could not obviously help but would have rather hindered the first objective. It was not relevant or necessary for the other purpose.

If Indian experience is viewed in the long-term world perspective, the absence of emphasis on price stabilization need not be regarded as exceptional. Barring the economies which are solely dependent on one or two crops and economies which have had chronic agricultural surpluses, price stabilization has not been needed in the post-war period.³¹

All this does not, however, mean that the behaviour of prices can be allowed to move unchecked. If a close watch is not kept on the movement of prices, the whole of our plan may be thrown over-board. More so, when in spite of the greater emphasis on the public sector under the Second Plan, the private sector comprising of agriculture, cottage and small industries and some large-scale industries will continue to contribute a very large proportion—probably 75 to 80 per cent—of the national income,³² some check on the erratic behaviour of prices would be necessary.

Some of the apparent maladies in the agricultural price structure are the seasonal variations and speculative activities of the traders.

30. Even otherwise price policy cannot be considered as a panacea, a magic device; capable of removing all obstacles in the way of a more satisfactory utilization of agricultural resources. (Cf.; D. Gale Johnson; *Forward Prices for Agriculture*; p. 87).

31. Cf. Colin Clark; *Economics of 1960*.

32. Dr. S. R. Sen; Paper on "Price Policy for the Second Five-Year Plan;" Papers relating to the Formulation of the Second Five-Year Plan; *Planning Commission*; p. 591.

Seasonal variations will be levelled to a great extent as a result of the Produce (Development and Ware-housing) Corporation Bill, 1956. Besides its functions of storage and ware-housing, the Central National Co-operative Development and Ware-housing Board which is being constituted, will plan and formulate programmes for the production, processing, marketing, imports and exports of agricultural produce with the help of co-operative societies. The fundamental difference between this scheme and storage operations is the source from which the funds come. This will be wholly financed from the co-operative private sector as against the burden on the public sector under the storage operations.

As regards speculation, credit control measures already taken by the Reserve Bank—restrictions in the scope of advances against food-grains and cloth³³ as well as necessary changes in the reserve ratio under section 42 of the Reserve Bank Act—will, it is felt, be a sufficient guarantee against the evil effects of excessive money supply.

The Forward Price System also helps in achieving a high degree of price as well as in-

come stability, if a few basic aspects³⁴ system could be followed properly. For Markets Commission has already been set terms of Forward Contracts (Regulation 1952, and regulatory provisions are applied to forward contracts in specific throughout India not only in cotton, but oils, oil-seeds, spices, wheat and gram. Ad this are the export-import quotas which s very useful purpose by effecting the changes in the supply and demand condi-

Then finally there is the question of t logical improvements and of an increase in cultural production at the cost of little investment, directed if necessary from where. The benefit of such direct investm agriculture may be several times more tha from any of price stabilization policies, n in the form of assured support prices to tl mers or subsidies to the consumers. O basis of what has been stated above, we conclude that price stabilization is not re in the context of rapid economic develop India. It is neither a pre-requisite nor a sity for the achievement of planned t Some of the palliative measures as already and mentioned above, may instead be effective to meet the short-term expedier

33. *Reserve Bank of India Bulletin*; June and July, 1956.

34. Cf. Johnson; *op.cit.*; p. 11.



LYRICS—THE LIFE-LINE OF TAGORE

By JOGES C. BOSE

I have a fine recollection of the day I first heard Rabindranath's song *Tumi sandhyar megh santa sudoor*, Thou art like a floating cloud of the evening sky, blissfully remote and serene.*

We had gathered for a bit of gossiping on the outskirts of our playground after the games of the day were over—it was in a mufasil town of Bengal. A stranger of our age came that way. He was meticulously metropolitan in dress and demeanour and we accosted him, voluble with a sense of hospitality. As we learnt that he was a student of Santiniketan, we coaxed him for one of Tagore's songs. We had hit the bull's eye, he knew how to sing; and after the formality of a shy hesitation he sang:

*Tumi sandhyar megh santa sudoor
amar sadh-er sadhana
Tumi amari, tumi amari.
Ami apon man-er madhuri mishay-e
tomar-e Karechi rachana.
Ogo shunya gagan-bihari . . .*

Thou art like a floating cloud of the evening sky
blissfully remote and serene; thou art so intensely mine, the crown of all my desires.

I have woven round Thee all the sweetness of
my inmost being, all the sweetness I can
muster strong, as Thou hast been wandering
aloft in the vacancy high, etc.

On the threshold of adolescence, when consciousness seeks to meet understanding, the song had a strange reaction on me. In fact, I did not chuckle my way home, but felt thoughtful—What the song really meant? Was it a love-song, indicative of that hunger of which I was having a hazy idea surreptitiously creeping over me? And as I concluded that this 'Thou' is no other than God, I marvelled at the silver accents of a new approach. The types of devotional songs we were attuned to, were in nature and kind sombre about God and his ways. The accepted techniques centered round the world as a stage and men playing willy-nilly their allotted part; round the evanescence and hollow-

ness of things we see and perceive and man as but an eddy of illusion on the ebb and flow of life; round the suggestion of the last fateful day staring us in the face; in fact, round about what is essentially calculated to trim the mind off things earthly. But no matter at what plane I alternately fixed the song I noted one self-effacing intenseness the lover and the devotee share in common. Flesh was getting transmuted into spirit.

In the chain of cross-questionings, crude imaginativeness is prone to, I am since then in the grip of an amorphous complex—If God creates man or man creates God? It is an outright heresy to those, who believe *ipso facto* in God as the first principle of life. With them all doubts resolve by fulfilment in realisation, which is a phase of the mind, a mind rationalised to be above a question on the point.

Realisation cannot be card-indexed. It is personal, it is exclusive. All the same, it has a sweet contagion as it exudes in tears of sleepless hankering, in tears of the joy of union and the fear of loss. A representative song to cover the various aspects touched above is:

*Duksher barashay chokhkher jal jei namlo,
Bakkher darojay bandhur rath shei thamlo;
Milaner patrati purna je bichhed bedonay
Arpinu hat-e tar khed nai khed nai!
Bahu din banchita antar-e sanchita kee asha,
Chokhkher nimishei mitlo se parasher tiasha;
Eto din-e janlem, je kadon kandlem se kahar
janya,
Dhanya e jagaran, dhanya e krandan,
dhanya r-e dhanya.*

As sorrow's monsoon breaks and it rains in tears,
The friends' chariot stops at the door-post of
the heart that yearns;

And I am to quiet lulled.

What else have I to grieve, as I hand over to
him the cup of union, full to the brim with
pangs of separation?

Long have I nursed the hope, even if deprived
so long.

But now in the twinkling of an eye is appeased
the thirst for touch;

* All translations of this article save the one acknowledged are mine.

And at long last, I wake up to realise who he is
I have kept waiting for.
Blessed is that awakening and thrice blessed is
the longing in tears.

Rabindranath's conception of tears makes for a hymn. It has for its sheet-anchor that in pain, as he says, is symbolised the infinite possibility of perfection. He weaves a chain of pearls with tears of sorrow for the universal deity; to him a mist of tears hovers round the creations of beauty; the tears of the earth keep her smiles in bloom; tears cleanse the penury of the heart and wash the dust of the road that to salvation leads. Baptised in tears, he listens to the lover's footfalls, silent as night eluding all watchers; and as the much-awaited stands face to face to flood him with smiles, he feels to the fibre of his being that without Him 'work is an endless toil in a shoreless sea of toils.'

All these are suggestive of an intimate, personal contact and lead us straightway to the question: How does a man stand to God? It admits of no categorical answer. Could it, however, be that the vital realisation of oneness with the Infinite—an unanalysable, transcending factor—is one solution of the insoluble? The eternal power is the power unseen, unknown, uncreated. But paradoxical as it seems, it is not beyond the reach of a man, who can tune up his mind, vibrant and quickening with hope and faith. I am, however, loath to accept the validity of Pascal's dictum, 'Thou wouldst not have looked for me if thou hadst not found me'; because, the reverse of it is as plausible and has at least the equalitarian value in keeping alive the zest for perfection. It is this, which integrates the varied endeavours of a man to save him from obscuration.

A slide-glance on one matter-of-fact aspect of the question, as reflected in some great poets, is interesting from the stand-point of association of ideas. Shakespeare follows the golden mean between 'a divinity that shapes our ends rough-hew them how you will,' on the one hand and on the other, a man is his own doing, such as 'the fault dear Brutus, is not in the stars but in our selves.' Milton, even before he was blind and 'on evil days fallen and evil tongues encompassed,' saw very little to fall within man's will to do. He writes over the autograph in his Bible, preserved in the British

Museum, that 'the stars ride over man's fate easier than the tide.' Byron drank life to the lees. But as the bowl was filled with gall and wormwood, he denied nothing, doubted everything and finally came to believe that God plans the fate not only of man but the entire cosmos. Poles asunder in the quality of personality, Browning is but a lump of clay for the Potter to mould him in any manner he likes. Wordsworth delights to be 'suckled in a creed outworn,' so that he might sense God in the smell of earth and the feel of weather; to him 'a blade of grass opens paradise.' This diversion of man's allegiance to God over the line of a self-forgetful adoration of the Beautiful, has, in the context of easy human terms, its last say in Vidyapati's two lines of unclassed and unclassable sweetness, bringing it up to the pitch of, what I was discussing, personal contact with the unseen, the unknown and the uncreated:

*'Janam abadhi ham rupa neharana
Nayana na tirapitaa bhela,
Lakha lakha juga hiye hiya rakhanu
Tabu hiya jirana na gela.'*

Birth to birth I have at Beauty gazed in all
wistfulness, but the vision's delight has not the
level of satisfaction reached.
The heart to heart has pressed for ages un-
ending, but its craving is unsatiated as ever.

Vidyapati makes music the vehicle of approach; so does Rabindranath. "I know," he says, "that only as a signer I come before thy presence." In music as in nothing else, is there the scope for concentrated harmony bridging the gulf between the finite and the infinite. It explains why Rabindranath, the lyricist, outdistances the poet and philosopher. In fact, whatever be his fate as a poet one hundred years hence, he fancied half in jest half in earnest, the lyricist, it is accepted without qualification, is insured for all time. Were a large-scale draft on credulity permitted in our age, it would have been as much claimed that the finger of God wrote many a line of his songs.*

Early in life, Rabindranath had taken to Vaishnava literature with the joy of an explorer,

* A time-honoured tradition credits a line of Jaydev as penned by his Lord, Srikrishna himself.

suddenly in possession of, as he says, the philosopher's stone. By heredity and upbringing he had his overall moorings in the *Upnishads*, which embody truths revealed to the Rishis in their moments of illuminated awareness. In the plastic period of life, these two great influences blended in him to make his relation to God one of unified personality. Yet as the two streams have intermingled, each retains its individual genius. He subscribes to the Geeta's *Taya hrishikesha hridishitena*, Thou God dwelling in the inmost recess of my heart, but is chary of reconciling himself to the very next thought, *jatha nijuktoshmi tatha karomi*, I do as thou biddest, because it smacks of subservience and therefore separateness. Nonetheless, his is as much a surrender and no prostrate resignation. It is a joyful, reposeful, willing surrender, which brings in its trail the immutable consciousness of attainment in merger. And in the integrality of synthesis, he is voiceful of a toned, tuneful flageolet delivering the sense of tranquil restoration but in the vitalizing warmth of the Vedic apocalypse.

Him I have known, who resides beyond
the ken of vision, in region celestial.

In the sum total, the lyrist gives us a colourful pattern of compositeness and the intellectual satisfaction of a deeper reality of life. He who gets into the spirit is no longer 'the player that struts and frets his hour on the stage and is heard no more.' Slowly and imperceptibly, he is, by and large, clothed with a colossal faith that to look life in the face is to look God in the face. It is this steady translation, which makes Tagore's devotional songs a joy and sustenance even to those in whom spirituality is no vital impulse.

W. B. Yeats, in the composition of whose mysticism India is supposed to have a share and in whom India, in return, caught the patriotic poignance of Ireland, writes the Introduction to Rabindranath's *Gitanjali*. In it he invokes the doctrine of Nietzsche to say that 'we must not believe in the moral and intellectual beauty which does not sooner or later impress itself upon physical things.' I do not know what it means in cold objectivity and might have

struck a rather queer line to understand its implication.

A few days before Rabindranath left for England with the manuscript of the *Gitanjali*-translation, he attended a party at the Calcutta University Institute in honour of a musician, hailing from Hyderabad, if I remember aright. After the musician had entertained the audience with his classics, Rabindranath, pressed hard, sang '*Tumi kemoni kor-e gan kara h-e guni*,' . . .

I know not how thou singest my master!

I ever listen in silent amazement.

The light of thy music illumines the world.

The life-breath of thy music runs from sky
to sky,

The holy stream of thy music breaks through
all stony obstacles and rushes on.

My heart longs to join in thy song, but vainly
struggles for a voice.

I would speak, but voice breaks not into a song
and I cry out baffled.

Ah, thou hast made my heart a captive in the
endless meshes of thy music, my master!

—*Gitanjali* (English).

Such lines, by the way, as 'I ever listen in silent amazement' and 'thou hast made my heart a captive in the endless meshes of thy music' are purely Hellenic. I would, however, take the liberty to say, at the same time, that they have lost much of their excellence in the bizarre context of music's 'light,' 'life-breath' and 'holy stream' in disturbing succession, even if they fit in so well in our language with its flair for metaphor. Very few of Rabindranath's translation, so far as I know, convey the ineffable charm and significance of the original, far less the thrills of their depth and mellifluousness. In fact, I have my doubts if the judges at Stockholm could ever get to the core of the *Gitanjali*, but for the distinguished orientalist, who, as Earnest Rhys says, read the poems in Bengali before they came out in English. However to resume.

Pitted against the renowned musician, Rabindranath, my boyish misgivings were, would suffer in techniques. What musician, however, I instantly thought, would have in the voice his profound personality, which belongs to no technique but is of the soul. Did he, people

wondered—at least I did—compose the song on the spur of the moment? Such a situation, had for me the aroma of what 'for its grace is dear and yet dearer for its mystery.' When, therefore, a gentleman broke in upon the spell-bound animation of the house to say, amongst other things while offering thanks, that Rabindranath had treated them to his latest song published in a Bengali monthly some four-five days back, I, for one, could not take kindly to the disclosure. As I held it to scrutiny, my displeasure, I concluded, was the measure of my reluctance to forego the pleasure of a metamorphosed atmosphere—moral and intellectual beauty impressing itself upon things physical. I would fall back upon one other incident of my college life. One night after roll-call at nine in the hostel, I was moving about with our Principal to select a team for a cricket match the following day. In front of the room we had in view—these were all single-seated rooms—we heard muffled voices and they quieted down to make room for a voice singing low but none-the-less clear. It was a gross breach of hostel rules, frowned upon without mercy. Not, however, before the song concluded the Principal got in. To our surprise, he, the great stickler for the niceties of discipline, uttered not a word about the delinquency. An Irishman, who did not know Bengali, he said that he could not follow what was sung but was deeply stirred by its rhythmic roll. Would he not be right to say, he asked after a moment's pause, that it was an orchestral song? We all joined in to say that it was one of Tagore's songs and explained what it meant, the more so earnestly in order to gloss over the ticklish affair—violation of hostel rules. I focussed his attention upon the lines—

*Eito tomar alok-dhenu surya tara dal-e dal-e,
Tara tomar charay dhenu, kothai bosh-e
bajao benu mahagan tal-e.*

The sun and stars in rotation thy cattle tend;
But where really under the blue canopy art
thou seated playing thy flute eternal?

He had heard, he said brimming with vivacity, a lot of Tagore's from Pearson (W. W. Pearson of Santiniketan) but could hardly imagine that a few lines of his would move him like that. We slipped into a rambling discourse about Tagore; and as we got up, initially

forgetful of what we were out for, Time had erelong, passed over to another date.

From this a rather banal way of interpreting literature and what is, I am afraid, tantamount to twisting values, it is worth recall that as Romain Rolland received the news of the First Great War, he got his copy of the *Gitanjali* and took to reading it with his sister to help tide over some gnawing thoughts*. In a world at odds Tagore's is the healing touch.

I have often wondered why the Nobel Committee preferred Rabindranath, who was no more read than by a few Bengali-knowing people, to Romain Rolland—Nobel Laureate, 1915; Anatole France—Nobel Laureate, 1921; W. B. Yeats—Nobel Laureate, 1923; and in this category may be included L. Tolstoy and Thomas Hardy. All of them were in the hey-day of their popularity the world over.

"The songs of the *Gitanjali*," says W. B. Yeats, "display a world he has dreamt of all his life long." This vision of a new world has an added meaning in relation to the conditions of contemporary Europe, which fairly within two years witnessed the First Great War and the barbarism it unleashed. With the advancement of Science, the proud achievement of Western civilization, there have been right from the beginning efforts to prevent it for sinister ends. In individual life, people had taken to multiplying wants and cluttering it with frippery and tinsel. But in the midst of what is enough and to spare in contributing to convenience and stateliness, there was the pinching awareness of one shortage and it withered the bloom of things. Does the *Gitanjali* give a clue to that inwardness of spirit answering the need? Does it satisfy the test of Walt Whitman's longed-for 'song of the universal, no poet has chanted amid the measureless grossness and slag?' Their compelling note is the assurance that God's emanence is always for those who seek it with a sustained devoutness. And this assurance has been conveyed in a language, which has, to borrow a line of Swinburne 'all the grace of perfect force and all the force of perfect grace' and in the glitter and fragrance of Nature's many-varied wondrous aspects. Long after the edge of first novelty

* I remember having read the same story in respect, of Countess De Nuaillies and Clemenceau. I forget the authorship of either and cannot say which one is correct.

wore off, Johan Bojer hailed Tagore as India bringing to Europe 'a new divine symbol, not the Cross but the Lotus.' By 'Lotus' he meant the tradition of a culture, which has outlived the rise and fall of civilizations.

No poet of the East has had the world-wide celebrity of Rabindranath. The fifth-century Indian poet and dramatist Kalidas, to whom he bears affinity in expatiating the joy of life, the deification of rains and in giving us consummate pictures of landscape, has been held in high esteem in Europe since when his drama *Sakuntala* was translated into English by Sir William Jones. The English translation was translated into German, French, Danish and Italian. Rabindranath adorns the succession all too well. He has, besides, reinforced the faith of the West in the integrity of India's spiritual foundation.

A hurried word, how the *Gitanjali* came out by way of acknowledging those, who sponsored it, may not be grudged. Rothenstein is the largest possible influence. He first met Rabindranath at the Calcutta residence of the Tagores while on a visit to discuss Art with Abanindranath Tagore. He was struck, he says in *Men and Memoirs*, to see how in Rabindranath 'physical and moral beauty were harmoniously wedded' in 1912, as Rabindranath went to England for reasons of health, he contacted Rothenstein and showed him his manuscript of the *Gitanjali* translation. Rothenstein was so much impressed that he sent typed copies to some distinguished men of letters and then arranged a reading in his house. Rabindranath read it before W. B. Yeats, Ezra Pound, May Sinclair, Earnest Rhys and others. C. F. Andrews, who had not seen Rabindranath before sums up his impression as he listened to the recital that 'his great longing was to touch his feet.' Ezra Pound found in these songs 'the sense of saner stillness in the midst of the clangour of mechanisms.' Bradley and Stopford Brooke wrote Rothenstein giving them high praise. What literary critics sent in their recommendation to the Nobel Committee remains a guess-work. Rabindranath was awarded Nobel Prize for Literature in November, 1913. The *Gitanjali* has since been translated into French, German, Danish, Dutch, Italian, Russian, Spanish and Swedish.

My first reaction on receipt of the news of this Blue Ribbon to Rabindranath was one long sigh—How little of his was available to the judges of the Nobel Committee? Was it not the one facet of the lyrist only? As I read the English *Gitanjali*, a like voice filled my mind intermittently. It was the voice of the German ecclesiastic Thomas-a-Kempis of the *Imitation of Christ*. Much, however, as Kempis held me down by the haunting cadence of his music and the spiritual fervour of his mysticism, I was stung by the idea that he makes man basically a sinner for no fault of his, but, because, we are all born of concupiscence. Rabindranath is a refreshing contrast. He makes man a part of the universe, which is, as the *Upanishads* have taught him, born of love and by love propped up and into love absorbed. This unifying sense of love gives him the 'right of entrance to the great fair of common human life.' In any case, it tones him up to outwear the accidents of breed and border.

In obedience to the vogue, set by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the doyen of Bengali literature in modern times, our public at one time likened Rabindranath to Shelley, 'the lyric lord of England's lordliest singers.' As I read it, I was at my wit's end to catch the exact strands of conatet, except that the leading strain of either is lyrical, and, that either has pressed humanity first into the alembic of his art. As I grew up and read Mathew Arnold's criticism of Shelley, which to my immature mind passed for an authoritative pronouncement, I felt particularly unhappy at the comparison. Rabindranath is as much 'a beautiful angel' and his wings as 'luminous' but I would not accept that he 'beats his wings in the void in vain.' I, therefore, dubbed the estimate as the one-time complex of our people to spiritualise a pet reference with a drop of water from the English Channel. But later on, as I read Brownings' summing-up of Shelley—'his simultaneous perception of Power and Love in the abstract and Good in the concrete,' I glided unawares into the school of thought I had shied at. Yet, I have no manner of hesitation to say that they failed to size up Rabindranath Tagore, endowed with the gift of faith in the culture of India, renewing the sense of life full, significant and worth-living.

DR. JADUNATH SARKAR

By P. C. ROY CHAUPHURY

No flame burns for ever. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the acknowledged doyen of historians in India was at the zenith of intellectual output for over six decades, a record in the world. A giant among intellectuals, Jadunath was an institution by himself. His tall erect stature, broad forehead, well-set brilliant eyes, his dignified poise, gait and measured words, all indicated that it was Acharya Jadunath. He literally looked a man of the mind. In his writings there was no gush, rhetorical padding, no digression and no anachronism of ludicrous absurdity. He had no time for gossiping stories and gasconading traditions. His critical analysis was of a devastating type. Both his personal bearings and writings indicate the high character of the man—a realist, a stoic with a supreme intellectual detachment. From his earliest years he had obviously fixed a standard, far too high for the present day intellectual vacuum, plagiaristic research and history made to order. There was an encyclopaedic character about his personality and works.

He was an eternal student. Books and old manuscripts were his passion. How many could carry on research on a subject for 50 years as he did on Aurangzeb? But the spirit of research did not crush the man in him, rather he imbibed an insight with which he could interpret historical facts for the future. With him it was not merely picking the bones from oblivion and setting them to a shape but he breathed life into the bones and interpreted the past to the future with an oracle's wisdom. If any one had read his volumes on Aurangzeb or on Shivaji critically he would have known why Jadunath in the last few years had been more or less silent and had been writing occasionally with a prophetic vision about the present trends in India.

The greatness of his genius can only be realised from a survey of the conditions amidst which he rose to be the father of historical research in India. He spent a fortune in worshipping the Muse of history, acquiring books, manuscripts, photo-stats from all parts of the world and training up students at his cost. For researches in mediaeval India he learnt Persian and for studying Shivaji he learnt Marathi and other languages. He had not only to go to the original sources but like a ruthless jeweller who

would not hesitate to spurn a base ornament he would reject spurious documents acquired at a great cost without the least idea of the sources from where the documents had come. If one would only read the analysis of the bibliography he has appended to his monumental works on Shivaji or Aurangzeb one would be literally overwhelmed, by the list of the sources in French, Portuguese, English, Persian, Sanskrit and Marathi. The last time I met Jadunath in Calcutta he bitterly observed that doctorates were being liberally strewn by the Universities even when the research-workers have no knowledge of the language in which the original sources of his subject are.

Among his monumental works mention should particularly be made of the five volumes on *Aurangzeb*, *Studies on Mughal Administration and Mughal India*, *India through the Ages* and *Fall of the Mughal Empire*. Any one of them is adequate to commemorate the author for generations. Apart from his historical researches Jadunath was a literary critic. He was a brilliant writer in Bengali and took an active interest in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. The present generation may not know that long before Tagore had won the Nobel Prize for his *Gitanjali*, Jadunath had introduced Tagore to the English-knowing world by translating many of his writings.

Reminiscences spread over 38 years crowd on the memory. Very few people know that within his rough exterior he had the soft mother's heart. He was extremely reserved and almost curt to any one who would waste his time but at the same time his large-heartedness knew no limits. But he never allowed his kindness to go astray. There was an occasion when after trying a research scholar for about a year during which period the scholar was living in his house as a family member Jadunath asked him not to come back after the summer vacation because he thought the student did not have a research scholar's cut. But at the same time Jadunath gave him some money unobtrusively to tide over the present difficulties. If once he came to like a student or a friend his house was the second home for that man. When he lived in Cuttack and Patna his house always had five or six

scholars and students sharing food with him and working on their own. Like a typical patriarch he would preside on the meals and carry on conversation on all possible topics. There was no reserve then. If he was inexplicably cold occasionally that was due to his pre-occupations or to the various family misfortunes that he had throughout his long life. It is indeed a tragedy that this great man had a series of domestic bereavements. Last year I had an occasion to see Sir Jadunath immediately after one of his great bereavements but the way I was received in the old affectionate but reserved manner and Jadunath plunging into academic discussions I could not possibly refer to his bereavement. He would not like others know the effects of his personal tragedies. The more sorrow he had the greater keenness he showed for his work. The sorrows deepened his intellectual detachment that he always had and he appeared satisfied with a self-inflicted banishment. But his very silence proved how much he valued what he loved. Life's tempests had waxed and waned with him but he appeared to be at peace outside although God knows what full tides that silence might have borne. . .

Bihar was his home for decades. The Bihar Research Society, the Patna University, the Suhrid Parishad and various other institutions here were shaped by him. His students will all say that a like of him is not to be seen. It almost looks that God destroyed the mould he was shaped in.

The flame has burnt out. Sir Jadunath's works remain reminding us that the source of light could always be tapped if one has the mental equipments. But to those who had the privilege of knowing him intimately the personal void can never be filled up. The curious mixture that he was, scared others but not those whom he loved. I never knew the largeness of his heart till he advised me 36 years ago to come over to Patna for further studies after my graduation from Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. I was just one of his thousands of students. After staying in his house for a few days when I wanted to shift to a hostel the great man literally had burst on me and asked me if I was inconvenienced in his house. That settled the matter and I lived with him as one of his family. That was Sir Jadunath the man.

(Broadcast from A.I.R., Patna on 24.5.58).

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THE NEW COMMONWEALTH AND INDIA

By PROF. GOPI RAMAN RAUT, M.A.

THE Commonwealth of Nations or the New Commonwealth is merely a name signifying an association of states free to agree and act as they choose, a unique phenomenon the like of which has never existed. The purpose and ideals of this association are shrouded in mystery. It is neither a treaty, nor a regional body nor a confederation. Members can secede at will from this association.

India's membership of the Commonwealth is, however, a matter of serious study, in so far as the present Government is insistently continuing as one of its members, the others being the U.K., the leading partner, Australia, Canada, Ceylon, Ghana, Malaya, New Zealand, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa.

The history of the Commonwealth is interesting in the sense that it has not been rigid but amazingly adaptable to the changing circumstances. A hundred years ago the term

'commonwealth' meant public good (common weal). In another sense it signified a state, e.g., the commonwealth of England, more particularly a form of government in which the general public had a direct voice. As some of the colonies of the British Empire rose to be self-governing dominions within the British Empire, the British Commonwealth of Nations began to develop. During World War I the dominions fought on the side of Britain, and signed the Treaty of Versailles as equals. Mainly due to the efforts of statesmen like Gen. Smuts of South Africa, and Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of Britain, the British Commonwealth of Nations came into effect in 1917. In 1925, it was explicitly mentioned that the Dominion governments were free to pursue their own foreign policy and could make treaties as independent states. The status of the Dominions in the Commonwealth was defined in the

Imperial Conference in 1926 in the following words:

"Great Britain and the Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status and in no way subordinate to each other in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

This was subsequently embodied in the famous Statute of Westminster in 1931. The associated self-governing communities of the British Empire were thus free to act as they liked in their domestic and foreign affairs. But the British Crown was the "golden link" binding them together, and they all owed allegiance to it. Another landmark in the evolution of the concept of Commonwealth was in 1937 when Ireland declared herself a sovereign independent democratic state. Allegiance to the British Crown was not taken seriously by the U.K.

But a change in the nomenclature of the British Commonwealth of Nations occurred with the independence of India. A wholly new situation arose as India was pledged to sovereign democratic republicanism and had different historical traditions and culture. The U.K. Government was keenly desirous of keeping India associated with the Commonwealth. As regards India's association with it the Indian National Congress resolved in its Jaipur session in 1948 as follows:

"In view of the attainment of complete independence and the establishment of the Republic of India, which will symbolise that independence and give to India the status among the nations of the world that is her rightful due, the present association with the U.K. and the Commonwealth of Nations will necessarily have to change. India, however, desires to maintain all such links with other countries as do not come in the way of her freedom of action and independence, and the Congress would welcome her free association with the independent nations of the Commonwealth for their common weal and the promotion of world peace."

Subsequently, a conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was held in April 1949 in London, and a formula was found out to

accommodate the sovereign republican state of India in the Commonwealth. The Joint Declaration at the conclusion of the said conference defined the position of India *vis-a-vis* the Commonwealth in the following words:

"The Government of India have, however, declared and affirmed India's desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and her acceptance of the King as the symbol of the free association of the independent nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth."

Thus the British Commonwealth imperceptibly changed itself into the Commonwealth of Nations. There was now no question of any allegiance to the Crown as it had been under the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1926, quoted above. The Queen has no function in relation to India; she is merely a symbolical head. Nothing is done here in her name. Besides, membership does not mean that India accepts all or any of the policies of the member states. It does not come in the way of her independent foreign policy. It is not a treaty binding her. Thus it does not in any way impinge upon her sovereignty or upon her republicanism.

Before examining some of the issues involved in India's association with the Commonwealth, it may not be out of place to point out to an intriguing speech of Sir David Eccles, President of the Board of Trade on June 7, 1957 in Paris in connection with European free trade area proposals:

"Our deepest roots are there in that unique family of free nations and colonies on their way to freedom. The Queen is our Head. *We are united by our loyalty to Her Majesty*, by our principles of Parliamentary government, by our legal system and by trade arrangements we have built up over many years. We see in the Commonwealth how many different races and territories in different stages of development can work together for common purposes." (Italics ours)—*Commonwealth Survey*, Vol. III, No. 13, p. 577.

This is from a speech made by a cabinet member and published in an official publication of the U.K. government. His reference to loyalty of member states to Her Majesty might be due to his obsession, but statements like these

must not be lightly brushed aside, for they are derogatory to our sense of national pride and tend to a denial of the republican character of our Constitution.

The manner in which India was hurried into the Commonwealth cannot be called proper or justifiable. The Constituent Assembly of India was asked by the piloting leaders to ratify India's membership of the Commonwealth, and it did so on May 17, 1949. But this could have reasonably been postponed till the new Indian Parliament, elected by universal suffrage, would have considered it.

Besides, it cannot be claimed that this association was in keeping with the pledges and ideals of the Congress itself. Sri Nehru, presiding over the Lahore session of the Congress, 1929, had stated:

"Independence for us means complete freedom from British domination and British Imperialism. . . . India could never be an equal member of the Commonwealth, unless Imperialism and all that it implies is discarded." Again, since January 26, 1930 our annual Independence Day pledge had included the following:—"We believe therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or Complete Independence."

"One may argue that we were against Dominion status and not the Commonwealth. But how could it be accepted that British "Imperialism and all that it implies" has been discarded to-day, least in 1949 when India entered the Commonwealth?

There is then the question of the headship of this new Commonwealth. The British King or Queen has been acknowledged as the symbolical head. The capital 'Head' in the Prime Ministers' declaration is worth noting. It gives somewhat undue importance to the status of the British monarch for all the members. And was, after all, any head even symbolical, needed for all of them? A head would have been needed if it were a federal or confederal structure, an imperial organisation, or a constitutional entity. The Commonwealth being none of these, the headship of the British king or queen was not at all necessary at least in the case of India. How can India, having thrown off princely order in her Constitution, reconcile herself to the head-

ship of the British hereditary monarch? Even though there is no legal or constitutional flaw in it, it has an adverse psychological effect on Indian feelings.

Much has been and is being said of the "silken bond which is invisible but nonetheless strong" subsisting between the different countries of the Commonwealth. No pains have been spared to placate the "common tradition of parliamentary democracy," the Rule of Law, with its fundamental principles of trial by jury and independent judiciary, and the use of English language. It is also pointed out that many of the parliamentary procedure obtaining in British Parliament are common to all the members, the judgements given on legal points in one country are often quoted in another, and that legal training is almost the same in all of them. To strengthen this so-called link, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association has been formed to arrange visits and conferences and courses of instruction for the officers of all the parliaments. All this being said, there is nothing referred to above, which is not being practised in one democratic country or another, such as the U.S.A., France, Switzerland, Burma etc. And in spite of all this, how can the strict stipulation of only a Muslim Governor-General in the Pakistan Constitution, the religious bias there, the 'apartheid' policy of the South African government, etc., be reconciled to secular democracy avowed by those who flaunt the 'silken bond'? It is not meant here to deny wholesale the common features, but to show the incongruities and basic differences that are many. Indeed if the 'silken bond' would have been 'strong,' the Commonwealth could not have been so loose a structure as it is. The metaphysics of unity has been given undue importance.

Attempts have been made to over-emphasize economic advantages accruing from it and its political value. On the other side bitter critics have complained of the alleged domination of British Imperialism over Indian economy. Without going into the details of the controversy it is proposed here to mention some of the facts in brief. The economic significance of India's association should not be wholly ignored. Britain has been our principal trading partner and by far the largest investor in various industries and plantations. India lies in the Sterling Bloc

area. The following figures illustrate the position of British trade with India:

Year	(In lakhs of rupees) Total import from U.K.	Total export to U.K.	Total India's imports	Total India's exports	Per cent of 1 to 3	Per cent of 2 to 4
	1	2	3	4		
1951-52	46228	18786	94313	73299	17.2	25.6
1952-53	13884	12244	66988	57737	20.7	21.2
1953-54	14271	14871	57193	53062	24.9	28.02
1954-55	15336	18808	65626	59354	23.3	31.7
1955-56	17269	16438	70481	60941	24.5	27.01

—Figures from *Eastern Economist*.

Besides, there is the Colombo Plan which undertakes to give financial and technical help to the under-developed countries.

However, India is in trade deficit with Britain. There are other substantial trading partners also, viz., the U.S.A., W. Germany, Japan, Burma, Egypt, Indonesia, Italy, Saudi Arabia, Czechoslovakia, China, the U.S.S.R. etc. The Colombo Plan itself is not limited to the Commonwealth countries but includes Cambodia, Burma, Japan, the Philippines, etc. India,

too, could have reaped advantages from the Plan without being in the Commonwealth. Lastly, Britain herself faces balance of payments difficulties, and, hence, we may not expect any substantial financial aid from her. We will have to seek other sources.

A consideration of the political aspect of the association reveals many obnoxious features. Of course, there are Indians in British territories such as Fiji, Mauritius, East Africa etc., and if we were to leave the Commonwealth the problem of their nationality would arise. But political divergences are many. Australia and New Zealand are mostly European in outlook on many matters. India was not informed of the British action against Egypt even as a courtesy. Indian prestige was no doubt enhanced due to her vehement denunciation of the aggression, but it cannot be said that aggression was halted on account of her being in the Commonwealth. Britain, Pakistan, Australia, etc., are members of the SEATO and the Baghdad Pact, which threaten the freedom and security of Afro-Asian nations. British attitude towards the Kashmir issue has been lamentably biased against India. The question of Indian and Pak nationals in South Africa is not being resolved. The intransigence of the South African government and the open support of Britain to it in the U.N. bears ample testimony to the invidious racial policy of the die-hard imperialists. Britain is supporting colonialism in Algeria, and is perpetrating atrocities in Cyprus and Kenya.

A great publicity was once given to the goodwill shown by Britain at the return of the relics of Sariputta and Moggallan. But what about the question of the India Office Library, possessing highly valuable materials belonging to India, which has not yet been resolved? India's association with the Commonwealth is thus anomalous.

One may ask, as to why we should break this tenuous link when there are already so many breaches in the world to-day. Well, leaving the Commonwealth can in no way be treated as a breach. Ireland, the nearest neighbour of Britain, left it in 1949. She lost nothing, and Britain is not unfriendly to her. Our neighbour Burma is not in it and she is not in any disadvantageous position.

THE SPIRIT OF REFORMATION

BY PROF. CHUNILAL CHAKRAVORTY, M.A.

II

The most interesting feature of Calvinism was that though its initiator preferred passive obedience to resistance, nonetheless, as from the beginning it had to side with the mercantile interests of commercially advanced countries, the doctrine underwent gradual changes commensurate with the historical development of such individual countries. Although the centralised monarchy, at one stage, received the support of the protestants because it ensured peace and order that was essential to efficient and unhindered economic pursuit, yet wherever the monarchs attempted to become absolute and disregarded the interest and aspirations of the mercantile class, Calvinism stood as the defender of democracy and individual rights.

In this connection it is pertinent to examine the contention of Max Weber, which has been developed in his great scholarly work, *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Weber had endeavoured to prove that capitalism in minor form had always been there. It could not release its force fully and assume its social predominance until Calvinism provided the spiritual material. Therefore capitalism was the social counterpart of Calvinism. But subsequent facts will prove the weakness of this one-sided argument. R. H. Tawny argues:

"It (Calvinism) varied from period to period and country to country, with differences of economic conditions, social traditions and political environment. It looked to the past, as well as to the future. If in some of its phases it was on the side of change, in others it was conservative. The Calvinism which fought the English Civil War, still more the Calvinism which won the uneasy toleration at the Revolution, was not that of its founder.

while puritanism helped to mould the social order, it was, in its turn, moulded by it."¹⁵

It is necessary now to examine briefly the progress of the Protestant movement in major important European countries. Lutheranism, after its initial success in Germany fell into a torpor. Calvinism with its rigour, crusading zeal, military discipline and unflinching support to the cause of the bourgeoisie provided appropriate spirit and strength against the onslaughts of the powers of the counter-Reformation. England, the first country to revolt against the Roman Church, made a complete breach under Henry VIII. As a result of the Peasant's Revolt and the War of the Roses, the feudal foundation of the society had been violently shaken giving way to the middle class, which ushered in an age of commercial prosperity in the country. The Tudor monarchy chiefly counted on their support. The Protestants also lent their support unequivocally to Tudor despotism as long as it did not threaten or interfere with the freedom of commerce of the bourgeoisie. The measures of Henry VIII regarding the dissolution of monasteries and other steps taken to effect the breach with Rome could be carried on smoothly chiefly because the middle class had consented to it. This breach also involved that some day or other England would come at loggerheads with Spain which then controlled the trade of the New World and the West Indies. The English merchants were eagerly waiting for the opportunities to have their share in the trade of the New World and the opportunities offered itself during the reign of Elizabeth after the destruction of the Spanish Armada. In the wake of it the contest for the supremacy in the New World grew more intense and the pirate-like activities of Drake, Hawkins, Raleigh received active and throaty support from the Crown and

"There was action and reaction, and

15. R. H. Tawny in the foreword to the *Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

the merchant-middle class. With regard to the internal religious policy the so-called middle course that was being followed by Henry VIII and Elizabeth with a view to consolidate their position, could not stand the ultimate test of time. The efforts of the Tudors to keep the Parliament in good humour by adopting deceitful manoeuvre could not have been a permanent feature. With the removal of all danger from without and within, the Parliament rose its head and opposed Elizabeth on the monopoly question, for it had interfered with the freedom of commerce of many in favour of a privileged few. The problems which the Tudor monarchs did not solve, but only kept in abeyance, assumed a formidable proportion during the Stuart monarchy. The bourgeoisie must have their unfettered rights and if the monarchs pave the way, well and good, or else the very legitimacy of the monarchy must be brought under fire. The nascent capitalist development could not be and must not be thwarted. The Stuart monarchs attempted to do the impossible and hence came in headlong collision with the middle class. Calvinism found its way into England and the Puritan movement began. The Puritans became the spearhead of the revolution which broke out in England in 1642, chopped off the head of Charles I in 1649 and established a commonwealth under Oliver Cromwell, that would guarantee all opportunities to the commercial interests of the bourgeoisie by harnessing the state machineries favourably. Up to this point their zeal for freedom, rights and liberties reached the high watermark. But as soon as the Republican elements of the army advanced claims so as to extend these democratic rights to the lowest elements of the society, the same people turned conservative and ultimately helped the restoration.

In Holland the movement initially took the shape of a national struggle against the Spanish domination and interference in her domestic affairs. But innately it was a struggle of a commercial nation whose interest was jeopardised by a foreign king. When the General of Philip II, Alva, carried his persecution too far and throttled the commerce of the country by imposing extortionate taxes, the liberation struggle became more intense and the bour-

geoisie threw their entire support to liquidate the stranglehold of Spain. In this they principally obtained support from England. Perhaps they also looked farther and cherished hope to have their share in the Spanish colonies in some future date. Calvinism found a fertile ground for their preachings. The doctrine of passive resistance and pre-destination were construed to suit the interests of the bourgeoisie. Althusias and Grotius propounded anti-Royalist theories. In 1581, the States General, in the Act of Abjuration, renounced their allegiance to Philip II with the assertion:

"All mankind know that a prince is appointed by God to cherish his subjects, even as a shepherd to guard his sheep. When, therefore, the prince does not fulfil his duty as protector, when he oppresses his subjects, destroys their ancient liberties, and treats them as slaves, he is to be considered, not as a prince, but a tyrant."¹⁷

So, after a long-drawn struggle they succeeded in defeating the enemy and forming a Republic which obtained the sanction of the powers of the Treaty of Westphalia and by the 17th century not only founded the strong basis of a commercial country, but also started expanding her markets by acquiring colonies which brought her in a headlong collision with her one-time ally—England.

In France the movement assumed a somewhat different form and the success of the bourgeoisie was not as easy as it was in England or in Holland. One of the chief causes was that the monarchy was steeped in reaction and yet had to depend on the feudal aristocracy. Catherine de Medici tried to increase her autocratic power by playing off the Guises against the Bourbons. She did not side with either thereby failing to gather any strong force behind the monarchy. Nevertheless at heart she was a Catholic and aspired to crush the power of the Protestants not only at home but even abroad with the help of Philip III of Spain. Yet commercialism was trying to develop itself in France. The energetic Huguenots were the pioneers and leaders of com-

17. Quoted in *The History of Political Theories* by Sabine.

merce and industries. They must also have some share in the Government which Catherine was not ready to concede. When Catherine summoned the States General the "third estate" put forward revolutionary demands of constitutional reforms, confiscation of church property for secular use, etc. The third estate was principally the elected representative of the municipal oligarchy. The country naturally got involved in intermittent civil strifes which climaxed in the massacre of St. Bartholomew that swept away the lives of 20,000 Huguenots. The persecution instead of stifling the spirit of the Huguenots rather intensified their crusading zeal. One important effect of the massacre was the birth of the *Politique* which pleaded toleration. Another fact was that the Huguenot movement which had hitherto been in alliance with local nobilities has now completely dissociated itself from feudal attachment; for most of the nobles either have fallen or abjured their faith. "The importance of the bourgeoisie and their ministers consequently increased and under their influence republican ideas had become more prominent."¹⁸ Francis Hotman wrote *Franco Gallia* in which he developed the theory of elective monarchy governed through the people and for the people. Theodor Bcza wrote in *Vindiciae Contratyranos* in 1579:

"The king was made subject to law. He should be the watchdog of the people's interest; for he is the representative of the people. The king is accountable to law for his every act." Here it should be remembered that the spirit of *Vindicia* was not democratic but aristocratic. It did not seek popular representation, but of the corporation.

The fundamental question was, therefore, that bourgeoisie capitalism must thrive. It might not have an easy victory but it must ultimately win. It could not initially take a total national character, because unlike England, feudalism was still a formidable force. "It was a great weakness of the Huguenots, that they were in general on the side of local privileges and against the king."¹⁹ The observation

is appropriate. But it was equally appropriate in 16th century France under a succession of Catholic monarchs who, although endeavoured to increase their power at the cost of feudal privileges, nevertheless always preserved the feudal character of the society and its economy. Hence it was impossible for the Huguenots to lend support to such monarchs. But whenever any monarch, be he a Catholic, actually tried to bring about the unity of the country and adopted progressive economic measures, the Huguenots were always agreeable to support. They supported Catholic Henry IV because of the reforms of Sully. Richelieu could take away their local privilege and maintain peace, because he had conceded to their commercial aspirations. Even during the war of Fronde, they did not ally with the nobles but peacefully pursued their commercial activities. They were the staunchest supporters of the Government of Louis XIV because of the Reforms of Colbert. Had not Louis in later date, turned a bigot and aspired to become the Holy Roman Emperor, by waging continual wars, thereby wasting the resources of the country, if he did not revoke the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and persecuted the Huguenots, France might have been spared the bourgeoisie revolution of 1789 that established the delayed capitalist institutions in France.

In this brief survey, attempt has been made to show the general trend of socio-economic development that started its career in the 16th century and its relation with the Protestant teaching that has supplied the theoretical weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie. "Such teachings, whatever was its theoretical merits or defects, was admirably designed to liberate economic energies, and to weld into a disciplined social force, the rising bourgeoisie.*

No ideology can perform any social function if it does not voice the demands and aspirations of the creative forces of the society. At the same time the ideology must be sufficiently elastic to adapt itself to the developing trend of the rising social forces. Therefore, though it influences the movement, yet at the same

18. Johnson: *Europe in the 16th Century*.

19. Sabine: *A History of Political Theories*, p. 319.

* R. H. Tawney: *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, p. 119.

time, is influenced by it. It is the interaction of the conscious and the unconscious. The conscious aspects of Lutheranism aimed at maintaining the feudal structure of the society and religion, minus its corruption. But the unconscious aspects released the forces of revolution for which Luther was least prepared. Therefore, whereas Lutheranism created a rift in the German Empire, it could not, at the same time, invigorate or open a new vista before the indigenous bourgeoisie who, as a result failed to take the destiny of the country in their hands. But in other parts of Europe the onward march of the bourgeoisie could not be checked. Calvinism not only lent unflinching support to the bourgeoisie institutions, but also adopted its doctrine of pre-destination and collectivist-dictatorship in favour of direct action, initiative and individualism. After winning its initial victories in commercially advanced countries, it had to prove its inner strength in the decisive struggle against the forces of the counter-Reformation in the Thirty Years War. The issue was principally, which should have its sway—old forces or new? Ultimately the latter triumphed. Thereafter in the treaty of Westphalia the religious questions had to be compromised in favour of the heretics. Now nationalism as an important factor in politics made its definite appearance. With the passage of time the religious issues receded into the background and gradually detached itself from actively interfering with a secular affairs. Capitalism started its unhindered and relatively independent historic journey. Now Nationalism came to supply the spirit to the nations of Europe who have set their goal of accomplishing capitalistic development of their respective countries. The history of the 17th century and

18th century Europe had principally been the history of asserting the bourgeois leadership and the promotion of their economic interests even at the cost of other countries. Out of this emerged another political phenomenon—struggle for colonies which would serve them in both ways, as market to buy raw materials at a cheap rate and at the same time sell their finished products at a higher price. By the 19th century the colonial rivalry reached its peak-point out of which England came out as the strongest capitalist and colonial power.

The bourgeoisie today seem to have reached the end of mission. Now, this one-time progressive and revolutionary force has become conservative. Internally they oppress and exploit the labour, put down the modern heresy with same ardour as it was done by the Jesuits in the 16th Century. Externally they suppress the liberation movements of the colonies. As theoretical justifications to their oppressive actions, they even revive religious dogmas mixed with doses of pseudo-scientific casuistry to prove the immutable nature of their order in which some are pre-destined to work and suffer, while some to guide and enjoy: and blinded by narrow selfish interests, these people forget the past. But if the past is the exemplar of the future, if in our brief examination we have found a trend of historical development, then of course, this seemingly universal and immutable order of the bourgeois world is sure to make way for new social forces. And in this historic march a suitable theoretical guise like that of Calvinism has not been found wanting.

(Concluded)



FISH AND FISH-GOD IN ART AND SCULPTURE

By AMAL SARKAR, M.A., LL.B.

THE story of fish and the fish-god appears to be interesting when we find that there is a strange note of oneness and commonness behind it through the different parts of the world. The worship of the fish is one of the most ancient religions. The idea of worshipping this 'ever open-eyed creature of scales and fins' might have originated in a strange but very possible way; when lands began to be created out of and at the expense of the vast sea, and in which the principal means of transit were the rivers and the canals, the fish inhabiting the sea and the rivers became an object of veneration to the indwellers of the lands. Thus the fish, as the lord of the waters occupied an important place in the religions and mythological conceptions. Thus again the god Ea of Erudu became one of the most famous gods of the Babylonians and the Oannes in the form of a fish became very popular among the peoples of Greece. Fish was chosen in some countries as the symbol of vigour, endurance, perseverance and power and in some as the symbol of great potency and supreme sanctity.

From the dawn of human civilization fish-worship was common in different parts of the globe like Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, America, China, Japan and Europe and other places. Fish has always played an important role in objects of art and crafts and sculpture which are so much closely related to different religions. In Egypt the fish is associated with the great goddess Isis—the wife of Osiris and the mother of Horus. Sometimes the Semitic races of Egypt gave this creature of the seas and rivers a phallic symbol: this fact may be due to its relation to fertility, fecundity and reproduction. In Mesopotamia extensive use of fish motive was made on seals and palace-walls of Sennacherib's palace at Kouyanjik and on a cylinder-seal where we find a crab effectually pressing its nippers into the body of a luckless woman. In Mesopotamia, like other places, fish was undoubtedly used for food from the earliest times; one of the reforms introduced by Urukagina, a king of the 1st dynasty of Lagash, was 'the deprivation from office of the extortionate fishery inspectors.'

Some very interesting terra-cotta figures from Assyria representing the Fish-god, Dagan, are preserved in the British Museum. A fish-god sculptured in relief was discovered in Assyria and Babylonia. The Dagan-cult had possibly found its origin in the alluvial centres of civilization in the extreme south of Babylonia, where the water was an all-important factor for good or ill. From Babylonia again a four-sided block of clay forming an elongated kind of cube (British Museum No. 92611) dating about 2100 B.C., has been found and it is inscribed with lists of the names of fish, birds, plants, stones and garments. According to



Fish motif in Bharut (2nd century B.C.)

some philologists the Hebrews have derived the word for fish, spelled variously 'dg,' 'dag,' or 'deog,' which is believed to have come from the Sanskrit word 'de' or 'deo' and 'ag' or 'ab,' words that are allied to the solar 'ak' and 'aqu,' meaning water. Then following the common habit of early peoples reading a word either from left to right or from right to left, the word 'God' as 'Good One' has been evolved. The Talmudic Messiah also was called Dag and had a fish for

his attribute. In the same way the Syrian Sun-God, Baal, wears a 'skin of fish.'

In Greece, Poseidon, the god of the sea and of the watery element, rides a dolphin. The dolphin motive is commonly found on Greek and Roman coins. The people of ancient Greece used to call the dolphin as the 'Philanthropist' because to them the dolphin was the 'friend' of man and the 'saviour' of wrecked ships. In fact, Christ the Saviour is called sometimes as 'The Fisher of Men.'



Piprawah casket with fish-handle (4th century B.C.)

In China and Japan fish motif has been extensively used in art and sculpture from very early times. The Chinese people take fish as the symbol of energy and perseverance and among the piscinian species the carp is highly esteemed. The carp which through untiring zeal and zest is known to succeed 'in leaping the waterfall and making the ascent of the river' has become an example to the Chinese youngsters. The carp leaves the idea before the young mind that true life rests in surmounting all difficulties and trials of life. In China the precept of the carp is applied at the time of the annual examinations for literary honours and those who succeed are referred to as "the fishes which have become transformed into dragons." The painting of fish in China dates back to the early 7th century A.D. i.e., the period of the T'an dynasty. Among the

Japanese the fish motive became very popular during the middle of the 14th century A.D., although the idea of worshipping a fish-god is much earlier. Subjects like 'Taki Nabori,' 'Leaping the Waterfall' 'Shiesei no Kai' and 'Reading a Love-letter' are very common and popular in Japanese art and sculpture. All these subjects relate some aspects of a fish. The last-named theme, i.e., 'Reading a Love-letter' is very interesting: 'the composition is a rebus based upon the homophone of Koi, which may mean either 'love or carp'; hence the woman who symbolizes love is made to ride the carp after the fashion of Kinko, a Chinese recluse and an expert in painting fishes. The Boys' Festival is another interesting occasion in which fish plays a dominant part. In this festival every boy is represented with one fish-flag which is the symbol of courage and endurance. The military officials of Japan are always asked to eat of the carp at the time of going to war and other important occasions with the belief that by so doing they would imbibe the heroic qualities of the creature. The fish also appears in every temple of China and Japan in the shape of drums and gongs. Sometimes the twin-fishes are found in Japan among the Seven Appearances, which symbolize "Freedom from Restraint." Kwanon, the feminine manifestation of the Indian Avolokitesvara, is frequently represented carrying a basket containing a fish.

In India fish has been respected from time immemorial and it is given high honour even today. On religious occasions like marriage ceremony fish is represented as the symbol of fertility and fecundity. In Hindu mythology Vishnu, the All-encompassing One, incarnated Himself in the form of a fish and saved mankind from the Deluge. Varuna, once the creator and ruler of the world and later the lord of the waters is associated with a *Makar*, a kind of fish combining the body and tail of a fish and the legs and head of an antelope. Vishnu as Matsya Avatar is represented mostly as half man and half fish; in earlier sculptures he is shown as a mere fish. On the potteries of the second and the third millenium B.C., from the Indus Valley sites we can detect a number of fish motifs and the style is so much common with that of the other parts of the world that we struck with wonder

at this similarity, this strange commonness and oneness. The same motif of 3000 B.C., is again to be found in the Bharhut sculpture in the 2nd century B.C., and again in the Rajput paintings of the 16th and the 17th centuries A.D. Thus we see that there remained always a continuity and 'no-break' in this motif. Another interesting specimen of the fish-motif is to be found in the crystal casket of the 4th century B.C., discovered by Samuel Peppy in Piprawah near Lumbini during the last decade of the 19th century. This bowl has two parts, the top is of fish motif sealed at both ends. The lustre and polish of this unique bowl of the Maurya period is a real wonder that human

hands can produce. The fish is quite a common motif in the art of the ancient Americans, the Peruvians, the Mayas, the Aztecs and the Mexicans.

Fish, belonging to the oldest of totemic animals, has been portrayed either as a means of representing some element associated with it or for the magical purpose of averting an evil. It has perhaps become an object of attraction to the artists of all ages partly because of its own grace and charm and partly because of the mysticism which surrounds its life and its inhabited world. The artists have truly found innumerable graphic possibilities in the many modes of this natural element.

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ASUTOSH MUSEUM OF INDIAN ART, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

NAMED after Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the great Indian educationist, Asutosh Museum of Indian Art was opened in Calcutta in 1937. As the first University Museum in India it was intended to collect and preserve representations of different phases of Indian art with special emphasis on the art of Bengal.

Implements of the stone age, in the shape of axes, found in Bankura, Bangarh and Tamluk, preserved here, carry the cultural history of Bengal to the remote past. A comprehensive collection of folk-art of Bengal and Orissa is a feature of this Museum—unique in India—on which special emphasis has been placed to show the unbroken continuity of Eastern Indian artistic tradition for the last two thousand years and more.

The growth of the Asutosh Museum reveals, on the one hand, the rich potentiality of different parts of India in antiquarian remains and art-treasures and, on the other, it illustrates how a museum can develop in this country without much financial assistance.

The University has, in fact, during the last twenty years spent only about thirty thousand rupees on actual purchase and acquisition but the total value of the Museum collections exceeds thirty lakhs of rupees.

The Museum opened with 50 exhibits, the number going up to 1,228 at the end of 1937, and 2,423 in 1938. By the middle of 1956, it swelled up to 13,000 pieces consisting of stone sculp-

tures, terra-cotta objects, paintings, folk-art objects, metal and ivory objects, wood carvings,



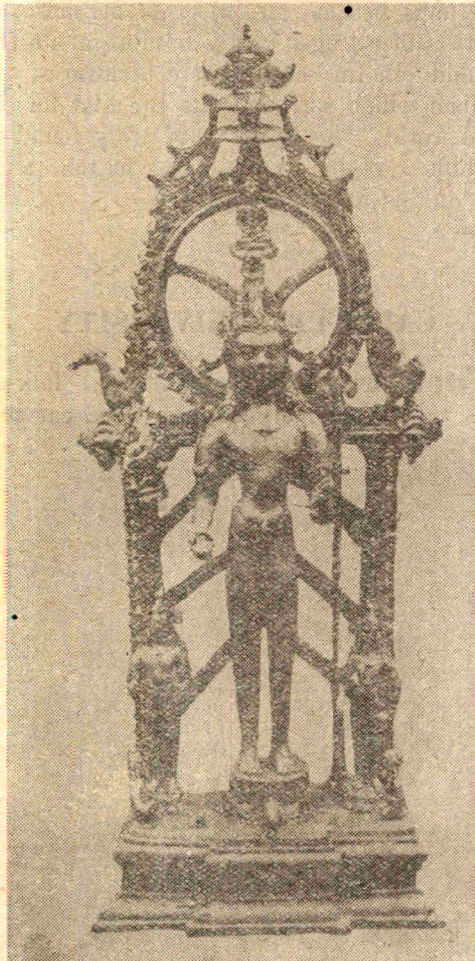
A black stone representation of a Sudarshana Chakra encircling Vishnu dancing on Garuda. Sundarban, West Bengal (C. 11th century A.D.)

painted book-covers, palm-leaf and paper manuscripts, gold ornaments, textiles, coins and

excavated antiquities. It is growing bigger still.

Field collections and generous private benefactions are the two pillars on which the Museum mainly supports itself. A systematic scheme of collection specially in the districts of Bengal, in which several under-graduates and post-graduate students, teachers of schools and artists took part, at considerable personal sacri-

collection of antiquities has grown rapidly since 1938, when excavations were at first started at Bangarh. These excavations have thrown fresh light on the dark periods of the history of Bengal. Five successive strata, reaching down to the Sunga level (1st century B.C.) and revealing numerous monuments, buildings and walls of the different periods were unearthed at Ban-



A metal image of Siva-Lokesvara (standing) crowned by a seated figure of Dhyani Buddha. Bronze. Habibpur, Dist. Barisal, E. Pakistan (C. 11th century A.D.)

fice, has yielded magnificent results. The Curator has also succeeded, in the course of his tours in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, in securing unique objects of plastic and graphic arts and in discovering little-known monuments.

EXCAVATION ACTIVITY

Excavation of old historical sites is a regular activity of the Museum. As a result, its rich



Life-size figure of Gopala playing on flute, carved out of a single log of wood. Cansat, Dt. Malda, W. Bengal (C. 15th century A.D.)

garh, apart from numerous portable antiquities including some remarkable pieces of terra-cotta figures, inscribed seals and potteries and punch-marked silver coins and gold jewellery. Excava-

tions were also undertaken at Tilda (Midnapur) in 24-Paraganas and two in Howrah. They and Tamluk (a port site) in 1955. bear testimony to the fact that about two thou-



A female head. Terracota. Gupta period. Panna, Dist. Midnapur, West Bengal

Besides, Chandraketugarh which was excavated recently, is an ancient port city-site in 24-Parganas, twenty-five miles only from Calcutta. Thirteen layers of human occupations were successfully revealed here, the lowest one reaching down to pre-Maurya level. Antiquities from Chandraketugarh range from the Maurya period up to the Gupta, in the shape of about one hundred punch-marked silver coins, Maurya, Sunga and Kushan terra-cotta figurines of singular beauty, inscribed tablets in early Brahmi and Greek, Roman potteries, vases and Hellenistic figurines and rare gold coin of Chandragupta. Having extraordinary grace and loveliness, some of the early terra-cotta sculptures are among the most refined ever found in any part of the country.

During the last three years about a dozen hitherto unknown ancient sites have been discovered by the Museum within a radius of fifty miles of Calcutta forming a sort of garland around it; five in the district of Midnapur, five

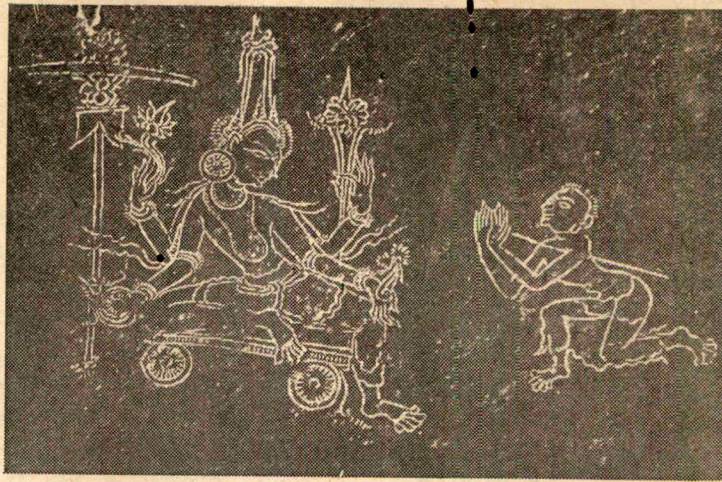


Avalokitesvara flanked by attendant deities. A painting from a Mahayana Buddhist text from Nepal in the Eastern School style of Taranatha. From a Nepalese manuscript dated 1105 A.D.

sand years ago, besides the great sea-port of Tamralipta, Gangetic Lower Bengal bordering on the sea was dotted with numerous cities and ports, and the Bidyadhari Channel was once a prosperous maritime highway for foreign commerce.

GENEROUS DONATIONS

Among the valuable gifts to the Museum, undoubtedly, the most noteworthy are those of Bijay Singh Nahar consisting of almost the entire collection of his father, the late Puran Chand Nahar, containing more than 1,000 pieces. The late Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen also presented his valuable collection of Bengali and Assamese art to the Museum. In 1939, Biren Roy's collection consisting of 1,500 objects of Orissan art was secured by purchase, as also the Dutt collections of Mazilpur, which included some of the rarest stone-carvings from



A copper-plate engraving showing Vishnu seated on a chariot with a devotee in adoration. Sundarban, W. Bengal (1198 A.D.).

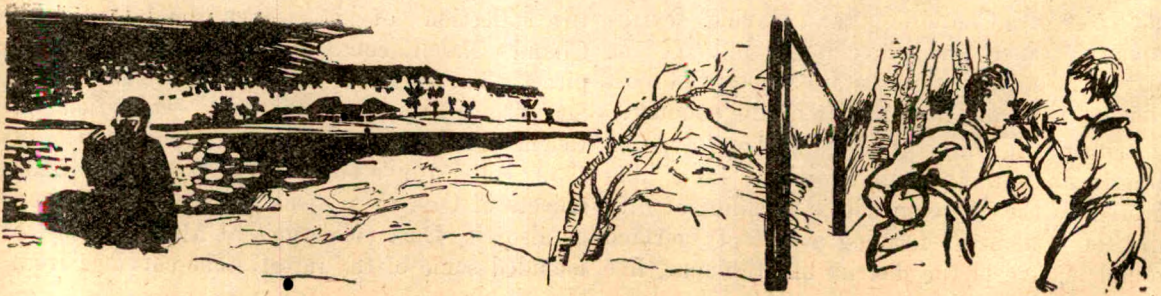
the Sundarbans belonging to the Pala and Sena periods. Secured in 1955, the collections of the late A. C. Gupta contain some priceless Rajput and Pahari paintings and Nepalese bronzes.

Before the establishment of the Asutosh Museum, rarely any art and archaeological museum-piece from Bengal was to be found dating earlier than the Gupta period or later than the mediaeval age. Now in less than twenty years' time it is possible to study with the help of selective and comprehensive records at this Museum the artistic and cultural achievements of Bengal without any gap from at least the 3rd century B.C. up to the modern times.

Emphasis on Bengal art notwithstanding, some of the Museum objects, such as a remarkable copper-plate from Sundarbans, engraved

with Vishnu seated on a chariot (dated 1198 A.D.) and a bronze figure of Siva-Lokeswara from Barisal (c. 11th century A.D.), have proved important source material for the study and development of South-East Asian art and iconography. Other unique specimens include a double-sided stone Chakra showing Vishnu as Nataraja from Sundarbans, and the earliest illuminated paper manuscript so far discovered in India in the shape of a Mahayana Buddhist text from Nepal dated 1105 A.D., with eight exquisitely painted figures of Buddhist divinities.

The Museum's usefulness has been considerably enhanced by its guide lecture scheme, art appreciation course and a summer vacation course for the training of teachers and art lovers.—*PIB*.



ANCIENT GLASS EXHIBITED AT U.S. MUSEUM

THE Ray Winfield Smith collection of "Glass from the Ancient World," the largest private collection of ancient glass in existence, was recently exhibited at the Natural History Museum of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. Included in the collection were numerous objects of early Islamic glass, featuring items from Egypt, Persia, Mesopotamia, Lebanon and other eastern Mediterranean countries.

Arranged chronologically by period and area, the exhibit traced the history of glass-making from the most ancient period known to man down through twenty-seven centuries of hollow-glass production. The objects were grouped by major historical periods and depicted clearly the four basic methods used in glass production.

Examples of these four basic techniques



This ewer of clear mold-blown glass was acquired in Tehran, Iran. Probably Persian, Sassanian period (7th-10th century A.D.)

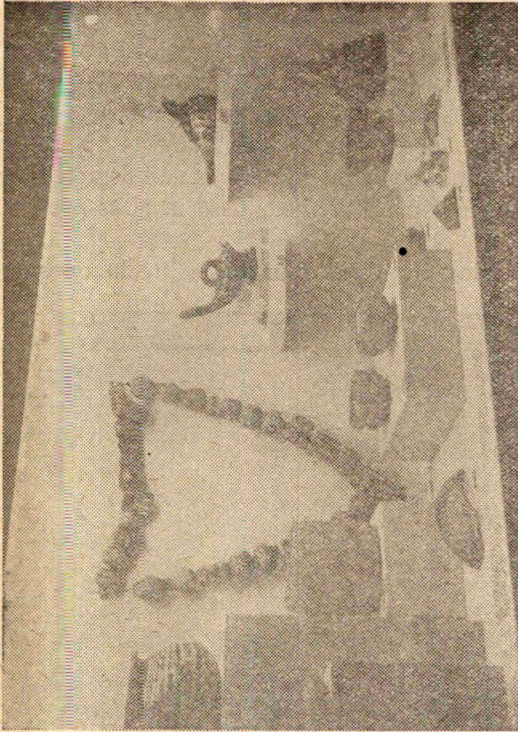
Mr. Smith spent 25 years assembling the collection, which begins in 1500 B.C., and ends in 1200 A.D. The exhibit revealed in a manner without parallel the infinite variety and extraordinary quality of ancient glass. It also demonstrated the great contribution that a dedicated collector and scholar has made to the knowledge of one of man's relatively few basic materials.



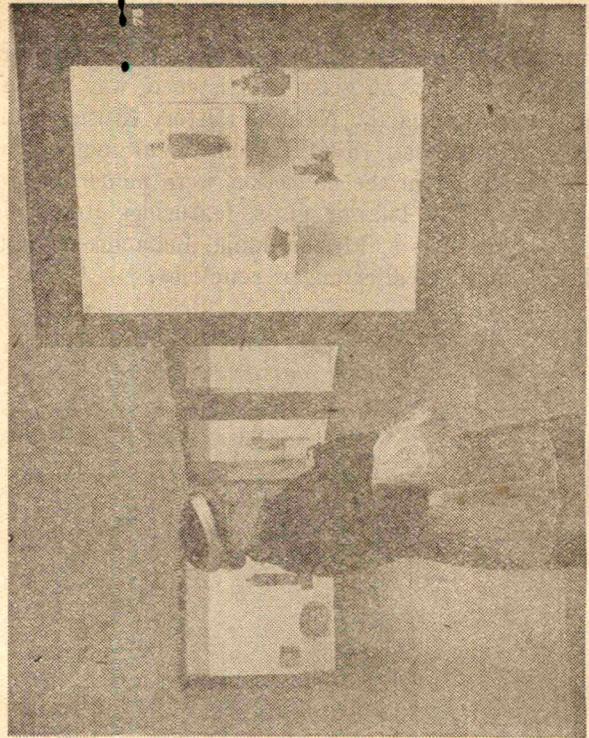
This rare head is an example of early mold-pressing. Acquired in Cairo, Egypt. (First half of the 1st millennium B.C.)

—core-molding (commonly known as "sand-core"), abrasion, mold-pressing and inflation—were included in each grouping.

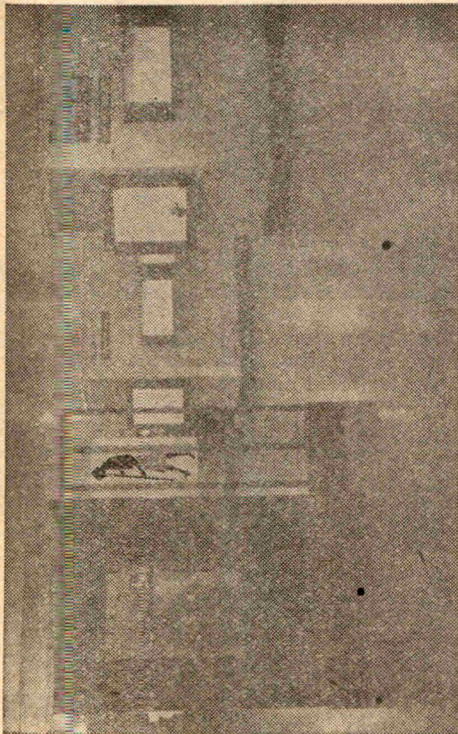
In the "sand-core" method a mold of sand or clay was placed on the end of a rod shaped in conformity with a vessel's desired form. The rod was then immersed in molten glass, or in some cases the molten glass was poured or daubed over the core. Repeated heating of the vessel in a furnace would permit the addition of



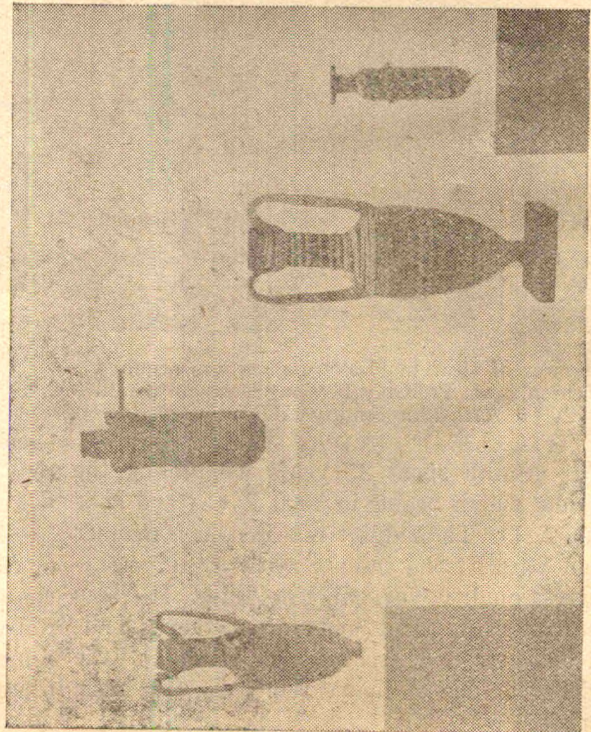
Islamic glass objects from Iran (7th-12th century A.D.)



A visitor to the Museum studies the display of objects made during the Islamic period



Display of Islamic lustre-ware at the Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C.



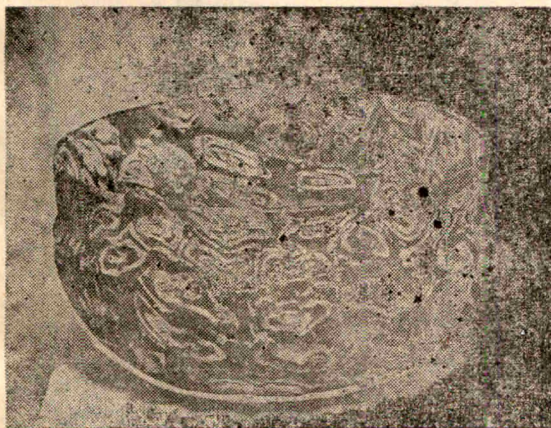
Collection of vases from the eastern Mediterranean area. The vase (second from right), possibly from Iraq, dates back to 2nd century B.C.



Ray Winfield Smith, collector of the ancient glass exhibit, explains to a group of visitors the methods of glass-making used during the late Roman Empire

handles and base, the shaping of rims and other details, and the characteristic decoration usually found on "sand-core" objects.

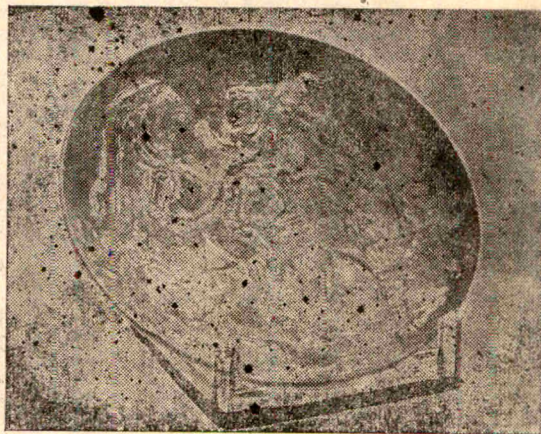
well as large jars showing vertical seams where the sides were joined.



The mold-shaped lilac bowl. Acquired in Lebanon (1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.)

Mold-pressing involved the use of an exterior mold of clay, with the vessel's interior fashioned by other means, or the pouring or daubing of molten glass over an inverted interior mold.

Abrasion, or cutting of vessels from solid blocks of glass, involved the use of a revolving wheel. Examples of hemispherical bowls of almost clear transparent glass were exhibited, as



Transparent red glass plate from Persia (9th-11th century A.D.)

The technique of glass blowing, which began about two centuries before the Christian era, has dominated the art of glass-making ever since. Probably no three consecutive centuries (2nd century to 1st century A.D., witnessed a greater industrial expansion in the history of glass-making, for first-century glassware has been found throughout the ancient world.

One of the most interesting and beautiful sections of the Smithsonian exhibit featured

objects of Islamic glass, which covered the period, 7th to 12th century A.D. Islamic artisans not only preserved all the classical traditions of glass-making, but contributed their own methods as well.

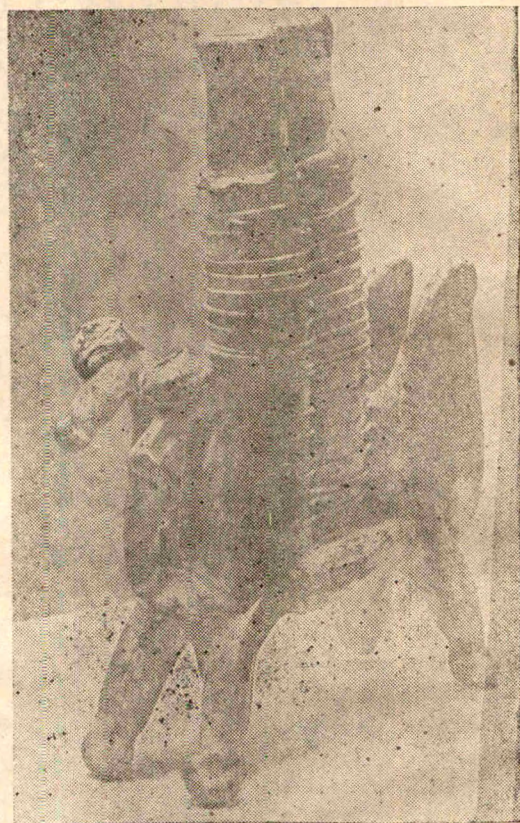


Transparent cup. Acquired in Iran. Possibly Persian (9th-12th century A.D.)

Decorative techniques were promoted in Islamic times with taste and imagination. Tooling (cutting) was widely used, not only to embellish vessels ornamentally, but also to fashion cufic inscriptions, section by section, by competent tooling—twin tubes surmounting a span of horses being a fine example of this method.

Lustre-ware, considered the greatest contribution to decorative techniques in the history of glass-making, made its appearance during the Islamic period. This method involved the use of silver compounds and other metallic oxides which, when applied to the surface and brought to a high temperature, resulted in brilliant colors ranging from golden shades through reddish browns into deep purple.

Islamic artisans most certainly made use of scientific knowledge, for lustre-ware was produced by the same chemical processes used in glass-making today. Highlight of the exhibit was a special case containing Islamic blown lustre-



Twin tubes surmount a span of horses. Pre-Islamic or Islamic (6th-8th century A.D.)

ware, especially lighted to bring out the beautiful colors.

An example of fused mosaic, or millefiori technique, was a mold-pressed lilac bowl filled with purple and white spiral elements. This technique, practised in Islamic times, consisted of impressing multi-colored glass into molten mixtures before shaping.

Other outstanding examples of Islamic glass featured were ointment bottles shaped in the form of a bird and a dolphin, molded beads, "sand-core" bottles, a pale green transparent ewer and a lustre cup. The last two were from Persia, where the art of ancient glass-making reached its zenith, as it did throughout the Islamic world, during those amazing five centuries.—USIS.

INDIAN TAX SYSTEM

BY PROF. LAKSHMAN PRASAD SINHA, M.A.

OBJECTIVES OF TAXATION

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TAXATION should not be considered as a mere source of revenue-collection and revenue gathering for the state. It is not to be regarded as a burden and an evil. The payment of a tax is to be considered as a necessary obligation of citizenship. The tax system of a country is not only a revenue-earning measure and device but a powerful weapon to wipe out the vast disparity of wealth and income that exists in our society to day. It is a measure through which public good and public welfare can be achieved and realised. It is to be regarded as an instrument of social change if the tax system leads to equitable distribution of wealth and income. It has a social purpose and aim. The tax system stands for social reconstruction and social change. But there are certain limits to the concept of taxation as a means to social change. Fundamental economic and social changes can not be brought about by fiscal measures only. Non-fiscal measures are also necessary for such fundamental changes.

The tax system of a country is to be judged from the triple principles of equity in the distribution of tax burden, the productivity of the country and the economic effects thereof. The problem of incidence can determine the equity of the tax system. A sound tax system must be fair in its incidence. All must pay the tax according to their capacity and ability. The twin principle of benefit and ability to pay must be taken into consideration in the formulation of a tax policy. The purpose of a tax system is to secure rapid economic development and progress. Economic growth and progress must be regarded as a *sine quo non* of a sound tax system. The aim of a tax system is constructive. In a welfare state, the tax system is considered as an instrument of providing the greatest good to the greatest number. It is an instrument of bringing redistribution of wealth and income through public expenditure policy. In fact, everything depends upon the purposes

for which increased tax revenue is spent. An unwise expenditure policy will neutralise the effects of a good tax system.

In fine the tax system of a country stands for providing the greatest good to the greatest number. It stands for rapid economic development, growth and progress as well as bringing social and economic readjustments in society. The tax system is a reflection of the social, economic and political relationship that subsists in the society. It expresses the relative position and relationship of different classes of people in an economy. It expresses their social views and economic ideas. It is an index of their economic growth and progress, their welfare and well-being. In short the tax system of a country is a true reflection of the sum total of various relationships, economic, social and political that we find in an economy in a particular period of time.

NATURE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN TAX SYSTEM

(a) Not based on accepted principles of Taxation:

Indian tax system is not based on accepted principles of taxation. The accepted canons of taxation are the principle of progression, justice, equality, elasticity and diversity. The tax system of India is based more on the considerations of practical nature than on the right principles of taxation and hence the tax system is not scientific.

(b) Unplanned Tax System:

Indian tax system is unsystematic, unscientific, unplanned, hap-hazard and regressive in character. A sound tax system must be motivated by the triple objective of welfare, economic development and equitable distribution so that there may not be any wide gap, unbridgeable chasm between the wealth and income of the different classes of people. Indian tax system is not sound in this respect.

(c) Large number of indirect taxes and few direct taxes:

In the Indian tax system we find a large number of indirect taxes and a small number of direct taxes. The balance between direct and indirect taxes is absent and the range of taxes narrow. The element of progression is found in a very few direct taxes like the Income tax, Corporation Tax, Capital Gains Tax, Estate Duty and Expenditure Tax. Custom Duties, Central Excise Duties, Sales Tax, Commodity Taxes, Land revenue and such other indirect taxes are all regressive in character. The burden of such taxes do not fall equitably on all sections of the people. The poorer sections of the people are bearing much greater burden than they can afford while others who are rich are not paying as much as they can afford to pay. The burden of taxation on the urban population is much greater than that on the rural population.

(d) Yield of tax efforts unbalanced:

The proportion of direct tax efforts to total revenue is very low in comparison to advanced countries of the world. The contribution of direct taxes to total revenue in India has increased from 12 per cent in 1938-39 to 45 per cent in 1944-45, but has fallen down to 38 per cent in the current Mr. Krishnamachari's budget of 1957-58. In India only one person out of every 560 pays income tax as compared to 44 per cent in U.K., 37 per cent in U.S.A. 34 per cent in Australia and 20 per cent in Canada. The contribution of direct taxes to total revenue stands at 38 per cent in India whereas in U.S.A. it is 85 per cent and in U.K. 54 per cent.

(e) Direct taxes are inefficient and inequitable:

According to Prof. Kaldor, the British expert, the present system of direct taxation is both inefficient and inequitable. It is inequitable because the present base of taxation "Income" is defective and biased as a measure of taxable capacity and is capable of being manipulated by certain class of tax-payers. It is inefficient because the limited character of information furnished by the tax-payers, and the absence of any comprehensive reporting system on property transactions and proper income make large-scale evasion through concealment

or under-statements of profits and property income relatively easy.

(f) Large volume of Evasion:

Prof. Kaldor holds that the amount of tax evasion stands between Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 crores annually and the hidden income may be of the order of Rs. 576 crores. This volume of tax evasion and hidden income takes away the little element of progression which we find in the Indian tax system. A re-oriented tax system must try to reduce the large volume of tax evasion and hidden income.

(g) Regression nature-incidence heavy:

Indian tax system is highly regressive in nature and character. This is so because the incidence of taxation is not fair. A sound tax system in a welfare state must be fair, just and equitable in its incidence. A tax system brings redistribution of wealth and income in the society through proper public expenditure policy. The problem of incidence is vitally linked up with the problem of public expenditure policy. Public expenditure policy may neutralise the effects of a sound tax system.

(h) Burden of the tax unequal:

The Taxation Enquiry Committee of 1924 opined that the burden of Indian tax system was not high, but its distribution was unequal as it affected the poor section of the people proportionately more than the richer section of the community. Certain classes went untaxed while the burden on others was heavy. Sir Walter Stamp supported this view. Sir James Grigg, the Finance Minister of the Government of India, declared in 1938 that "taxation in this country (India) lets off the rich too lightly and presses the poor too heavily." Prof. K. T. Shah, too concluded that the burden of Indian tax system was unequal.

(i) Effects not wholesome:

The total effects of the Indian tax system are also not happy. Indian tax system is not helpful and conducive to formation of Capital. The incentives and power to save which help in the formation of capital are vitally vitiated. The low standard of living, the small per capita income, the miserable plight of the people, lack of welfare measures all speak in volume of the bad effects of the Indian tax system.

(j) Low tax efforts:

The proportion of tax efforts to National income in India is very low. It stands at 7 per cent only. This percentage when compared with 21 per cent in Ceylon, 16 per cent in Egypt, 26 per cent in U.S.A. and 41 per cent in U.K., clearly speaks of the low tax efforts of the Indian people. Per capita tax contribution is also very poor. An Indian pays Rs. 22 only whereas a Canadian pays Rs. 1613, a British Citizen Rs. 1274 and an American Rs. 2272 and an Australian Rs. 1273. But one should not run away with the idea that the burden of taxation is low in India. A low percentage of a low national income entails a much greater hardship and sacrifice than a higher percentage of a higher national income. However, according to Colin Clark, under normal circumstances 25 per cent of the national income is the limit of taxable capacity in any country.

(k) Equality not achieved:

Indian tax system is not contributing very much towards the reduction of inequality of wealth and income prevailing in the country. This is so because the major share of the total tax revenue is collected through indirect taxes which are regressive in character. The rich are getting richer and have to bear a less amount of burden compared to the heavy burden shouldered by the poor section of the community.

(l) Development Programmes suffering:

The present tax system cannot cope with the developmental programmes launched under the two Five-Year Plans because the system lacks elasticity and diversity. Taxes are not diverse and they lack the principle of elasticity. Indian tax system is conservative. Developmental programmes and welfare works can only be successfully carried on if the tax system is diversified and the principle of elasticity is introduced in the tax system. Indian tax system requires thorough over-hauling, reformation and reconstruction to meet the needs of under-developed economy of this country. For rapid development of economic growth and progress, for reducing inequality of income and wealth, for social changes and reconstruction, for insuring the principle of justice and equality the Indian tax system requires re-orientation and changes to fit in with the growing needs of the welfare state.

(m) Pattern of Public Expenditure:

The pattern of public expenditure policy of the Government of India is also not sound in view of the fact that a large sum of money is being spent over defence and security services while national building services and welfare works are suffering and being neglected. So long as the pattern of public expenditure is not geared to the chariot wheel of projects and measures contributing to welfare of the people the grim inequality, the low standard of living, the suffering of the people will remain and tarnish and disfigure the face of the economy.

(n) The distribution of tax revenue between the Union and the State Government is not proper, adequate and based on scientific principles.

PRINCIPAL DEFECTS OF THE INDIAN TAX SYSTEM

The nature of the Indian tax system reveals demerits, defects and short-comings of the tax-structure rather than its merits. In short the principal defects of the tax system may be summed up thus:—The Indian tax system is not based on accepted principles of taxation. It is not planned, organised and systematic. It is not scientific. The element of progression in the tax system is vitiated by a large volume of evasion and hidden income. The direct tax system is inefficient and inequitable. The direct taxes are very few. There are a large number of indirect taxes, and the burden of taxes is not equal. The incidence of tax-burden falls heavily on the poorer section of the community than on the richer section. Tax efforts are very low in comparison to national income. The tax system is highly regressive in nature and character. The tax system does not lead to equitable distribution of national wealth and income and hence grim inequality disfigures the face of the economy. Rapid growth and development of the economy is not taking place due to the lack of the principle of diversity and elasticity. Proper expenditure policy cannot be executed with such meagre tax efforts of the people. The effects of taxation are very much depressing. Capital formation is at its lowest ebb. The will to save and power to save—the two springs and strings of capital formation are not properly

chanellised. The tax system is conservative. It does not take into account the low standard of living of the people. Welfare measures are not properly executed. A large share of tax efforts are being spent on defence and security services and hence nation-building and welfare measures and works are suffering. Inadequate financial provisions for welfare measures and services explain the low standard of living, grim and grinding poverty, misery and degradation of the people. The tax system is unjust, inequitable and inefficient and cannot cope with the developmental programmes launched under the two Five-Year Plans of progress, prosperity and welfare of the people.

REFORM MEASURES AND PROPOSALS TO RE-ORIENT INDIAN TAX SYSTEM

Let us now divert our attention towards the schemes, plans, proposals and recommendations of tax reform suggested by the Taxation Enquiry Commission of 1953-54. With Prof. Kaldor, Prof. S. N. Agarwal, and others, we are also to see how these recommendations have been given effect to by Sri T. T. Krishnamachari, the Finance Minister of the Government of India in his budget proposal for 1957-58.

At the very outset it can be said that the Taxation Enquiry Commission of 1953-54 attempts to survey the entire structure of Indian Tax system and suggests reforms covering all the spheres of the tax system. The commission attempts at a systematic re-orientation of the Indian tax structure so as to fulfil the requirements of the developmental planning. The re-oriented tax policy is based on the triple architecture—the equality approach, the incentive approach and the development approach. The proposals are very comprehensive. Let us examine the suggestions proposed by the Taxation Enquiry Commission.

of the income tax should be reduced from Rs. 4200 to Rs. 3000 so that the tax may be broad-based. This suggestion has been accepted by T. T. Krishnamachari in his budget proposals for 1957-58. Children allowance up to the limit of Rs. 600 has been given. This re-oriented income tax, with a system of allowance is in

(1) It suggested that the exemption limit

keeping with the system of allowance provided in U.K. Income Tax system.

(2) The Taxation Enquiry Commission recommended increases in the Existing Excise duties on sugar, kerosine, tea, cloth and matches and suggested imposition of new duties on woolen textiles, electric lamps, batteries, paper, sewing machine and other articles. This enhancement would bring 40 to 45 per cent increased revenue to Central Exchequer. The recommendations have been incorporated in the Budgets. This trend is likely to continue in future budgets as well.

(3) Additional taxation of wide range of luxury or semi-luxury products at fairly substantial rates accompanied by broad-based taxation of articles of mass-consumption at comparatively low rates has been recommended to achieve equality in the tax system of the country.

For the purposes of developments programme a diversified scheme of taxation with emphasis on both depth and range has been recommended. The Commission recommends a developmental rebate of 25 per cent on all specific investments in fixed assets. To stimulate new investment and enterprise in private sector a grant of a complete tax holiday for six years from the first year of production to new concerns of special national importance has been recommended. The general tax relief up to 6 per cent of the employed capital in all the new industrial concerns is to be replaced by this new scheme of concessions and tax holiday. The recommendations for Developments Rebate and Tax holiday would go a long way in stimulating the Private Sector of the economy. Private investment would be stimulated and Planned Economy would have rounded development.

These suggested changes would make the Indian tax system more equitable, just and efficient.

Prof. Kaldor suggested reforms mainly in the field of Direct Taxes so that finances may be available for developmental schemes and programmes. He aims at broadening the base of direct taxes in India. His scheme is for comprehensive reform in the realm of personal income taxation and suggests significant changes in the domain of business taxation. Prof. Kaldor also

recommended a single comprehensive return, a self-checking system of personal taxation and an automatic reporting system. This scheme if brought into operation will do away with the defect of the large volume of evasion and hidden income in the country. Thus Prof. Kaldor has recommended five taxes—all in the field of Direct Taxes to make the system of direct taxes more efficient and equitable. They are as follows:

1. Income Tax. 2. Capital Gains Tax.
3. Annual Wealth Tax. 4. Personal Expenditure Tax. And 5. General Gift Tax.

Income Tax:—Prof. Kaldor divides his proposal on direct taxation into two categories—one dealing with personal taxation and the other dealing with business taxation. "Income," the present base of personal taxation, is extremely dishonest. The rate of income tax is high. It stands at 92 per cent in the highest slab. The maximum rate of income tax should not be more than 45 per cent. But this reform should be carried on with an imposition of another tax on personal expenditure at higher levels. Personal expenditure tax would serve as a most effective check on private spending and would make up for the loss of revenue if any under income tax. In the domain of business, Prof. Kaldor has suggested significant changes in the domain of business taxation. He suggests a single uniform company tax of 7 annas in the rupee. All other direct taxes on business are to be abolished. These changes if implemented would increase tax revenue by Rs. 60 to 100 crores per annum.

Capital Gains Tax:—All capital gains on realisation and all casual gains and capital receipts not chargeable at present, should be charged to Income Tax which means a flat rate charge of 7 annas in the rupee once the combined income including capital gains exceeds Rs. 25000. Capital gains of companies should be chargeable to tax in the same way as trading profits. Prof. Kaldor's most important recommendations relate to capital allowances and company taxation. There is no justification for allowing depreciation allowance under a system of income tax which exempts Capital Gains. And even when Capital Gains are taxed on realization, depreciation should in equity be allowed for on sale or obsolescence of an asset

and not earlier as is done under the present system. Prof. Kaldor recommends a once-for-all capital allowance in the very year of outlay with a provision for carrying forward the unabsorbed portion. This allowance should be given on selective principle.

Wealth Tax:—Dr. Kaldor has recommended the imposition of Wealth Tax or Property Tax as a substitute for the very high slabs of Income Tax and Super Tax prevailing in this country. The arguments in favour of wealth tax are based upon the defects and deficiencies of the income tax and super tax which are sought to be remedied. The maximum rate of Income Tax is as high as 92 per cent. Kaldor recommended its reduction to 45 per cent and suggested the imposition of wealth tax as the substitute of income tax on higher slabs. The tax on wealth recommended for India was the prototype of the wealth tax prevalent in Scandinavian countries. Dr. Kaldor was of the opinion that the tax be levied at the rate of 0.3 p.c. per annum on the lowest slab (i.e., from Rs. 1 lakh to Rs. 4 lakhs) rising to 1.5 per cent per annum on the highest slab (i.e., on the value of property in excess of Rs. 45 lakhs). Thus Dr. Kaldor recommended an exemption limit of Rs. 1 Lakh for the purpose of levying an annual tax on wealth. Thus income tax coupled with property or wealth tax better fulfils the taxation canon of 'ability to pay.'

Dr. Kaldor's recommendation of "Wealth Tax" has been implemented by T. T. Krishnamachari in his budget for 1957-58. The exemption limit in the budget has been raised to 2 lakhs from Rs. 1 lakh advocated by Dr. Kaldor. The rates are also different. The rates are $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum of the first 10 lakhs, 1 p.c. for the next 10 Lakhs and $1\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. on balance. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari has treated the wealthy class a little more leniently than what Dr. Kaldor did in his tax reform proposal.

Personal Expenditure Tax: The introduction of Expenditure Tax as a substitute for Income Tax and the Super Tax for the higher brackets has been recommended by Dr. Kaldor. The arguments for Expenditure Tax are based on the ground that expenditure tax will promote savings and curb spending more than is done by Income Tax and Super Tax. This tax would bring

about equity in the tax system. A progressive expenditure tax would achieve a greater degree of equity than a Super Tax or Sur Tax. Expenditure Tax would stimulate savings and check inflations by discouraging consumption among the richer groups. Expenditure Tax has been incorporated in the Budget for 1957-58 at such rates: 10 p.c. above expenditure of Rs. 10000 and 20 p.c. between Rs. 10 to 20 thousands, 40 p.c. between expenditure of Rs. 20 to 40 thousands, and 60 p.c. between Rs. 30 to 40 thousands and between Rs. 40 to 50 thousands, and 100 p.c. expenditure exceeding Rs. 50,000.

Gift Tax:—Prof. Kaldor recommended that there is an immediate necessity of General Gift Tax to supplement the Death Duties. Absence of Gift Tax leads to large-scale evasion of death duties through transfer of property during one's life time. The imposition of General Gift Tax will make the evasion of death duties impossible.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari has tried to bring about changes in the Tax structure of the country by introducing in his budget the recommendations of Dr. Kaldor as well as the suggestions of the Taxation Enquiry Commission of 1953-54.

Wealth and Expenditure Taxes as recommended by Kaldor have been accepted but in a modified form. Capital Gains Tax has also been introduced in the mid-year Finance Bill of 1956. Certain changes in the structure of Income Tax with a system of allowance have been accepted. But one fails to understand as to why T. T. Krishnamachari failed to plug the loophole in the field of Death Duties by income of Gift Tax.

Prof. S. N. Agarwal suggests various reforms in the realm of Income Tax, Death Duties,

Sales Tax, Agricultural Income Tax to bring about the element of progression, justice and equality in the Tax system of the country. Prof. A. C. Minoche advocates for equity in Indian taxation by distributing the tax burden equitably and levying the tax according to taxable capacity. The incidence of taxation must be fair, just and equitable..

Thus the tax system of the country can be improved, and made more equitable by introducing the elements of progression in the realm of direct taxes. Direct taxes have to be made more progressive, efficient and equitable. All loopholes in the management and administration of direct taxes have to be plugged so that evasion may not take place. Evasion has to be stopped. Rates of Estate Duty have to be raised. Imposition of General Gift Tax will make the evasion of Death Duty through the transfer of Property during one's lifetime impossible. All these measures will bring more revenues and at the same time reduce the present inequality in the distribution of wealth. Sale taxes should be reduced by Union Excise Duties specially on luxury articles. Heavy duties on luxury goods will make the tax system all the more just and equitable. Land can bear a higher share of tax burden. The rates of Agriculture Income Tax should be made more steep. Taxes on windfall should also be made a part of the tax system. Different states should levy betterment taxes. The Second Finance Commission has recommended allocation of revenues and Grant-in-Aid from the standpoint of needs, requirements and the welfare of the people. Defence Expenditure has to be curtailed and Expenditure on Development and Welfare works has to be accelerated. All these will go to make the tax system progressive, just, fair, equitable and efficient.



FOOD GRAINS INQUIRY COMMITTEE REPORT*

By HARE KRISHNA SAHA, M.A.,

ALL the agricultural statistics, collected by the Government, show that production of foodgrains is increasing. However inaccurate they may be—if the same inaccuracy persists throughout the series, there is very little room for doubting that production *has increased*. At the same time prices are rising in an abnormal way. Mere increase of population does not account for this rise in prices. The Government of India appointed a Committee under the presidency of Sri Asoka Mehta to make a thorough investigation and suggest the remedial measures. The result is the Report under review. The best service the reviewer can do is to introduce the report to the intelligent reader.

The report is workman-like. Quite brief—sometimes too much. Well-documented with statistics and charts. But though the causes of the recent shortage of foodgrains relative to demand and those of rise of their prices have been completely discussed, one feels that the remedies proposed for the disease are very mild, and hardly strike the problem at its roots.

The Report reviews the trends in prices of foodgrains in Ch. II, the Food policy of the Government in Ch. III, and factors in rise in prices in Ch. IV. In Chapter V. the Committee briefly discusses the "Prospects for the Future" and comes to the conclusion that due to (1) increase in population (2% per annum), (2) increase in income leading to an increase in outlay on food especially superior qualities of cereals more than in proportion to rise in income in case of lowest income groups, the total demand for foodgrains may increase by 14.4—15 per cent. The committee estimates the total demand for foodgrains in 1960-1961 would be about 79 million tons.

The Committee then estimates the future supply of foodgrains, and finds that the expected domestic production of foodgrains in 1960-61 would be of the order of 77.5 million tons. The Committee is fully aware that this estimate is however, subject to errors, to cycles in production, defects in primary data, variation from the

trend which may be of the order of 7% in individual years. On the other hand, inter-crop variations in output as well as inter-regional variations must also be taken into account. The Committee then considers the prospect of imports of wheat and rice from abroad and concludes that the gap between demand and output is likely to subsist in spite of imports.

"It should be . . . instability of food prices is also not likely to abate during the next few years" (p. 74). In Ch. VI of the Report the Committee proceeds to consider the problem of price stabilisation. It does not favour complete rationing but it also thinks that complete free trade in foodgrains is undesirable because foodgrain markets in India are essentially imperfect and are not able to correct the instabilities caused by demand of large metropolitan areas as also by the existence of pockets of scarcity.

The view of the Committee on this important problem will be found on Sec. 6.5 (p. 77).

"The solution to the food problem in our view lies between complete free trade and full control . . . restrictive character." The Committee thinks that rigid integration of price structure, which is not desirable on the one hand will put too much strain on the administration; on the other it may "distort and obstruct to such a great extent the normal functioning of economic forces that it may result in more harm than good."

The regulatory measures proposed by the Committee is that the Government should undertake "open market purchase and sale of foodgrains as a regular measure . . . food" Sec. 6.11 (p. 80). Certain other measures will have to be undertaken in a period of rising prices to supplement the above. These are suggested in Sec. 6.12 (quote).

These two sections give the gist of the Committee's recommendations. The gist of the Report deals with Administrative Machinery proposed to be set up to implement the above recommendations.

The Committee recommends the setting up of a high-powered "Price Stabilisation Board"

* Government of India Publication, Nov. 1957.

composed of representatives of the Ministries of Food, Agriculture, Finance, Commerce, Industry, Railways, as also the Planning Commission and the Reserve Bank of India. It will work through a separate body, the "Foodgrains Stabilisation Organisation," under the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. The Committee also recommends a Central Food Advisory Council composed of representatives of agriculture, trade, industry, workers, consumers banks co-operatives, leading political parties and economists. We may state at once that the Council is likely to be too unwieldy to be of any real use.

The Committee also urges the creation of a Prices Intelligence Division, to which of course, no exception can be taken. As it is, on this subject, there is dearth of reliable and comprehensive statistics to work upon. We may go further and suggest similar organisations should be set up by State Governments but on a much smaller scale. What is more important is *publication* of the main statistics promptly—a time lag of six months or more, usual with Government publications, is of no help.

In Ch. VII, the Committee deals with the duties of the Foodgrains Stabilisation Organisation of which the most important work would be to undertake 'buffer stock' operations. It should complete its purchase operations within three months of the harvest. It must of course, have warehouses in important producing and consuming centres. For building up its stock, some form of 'Limited Compulsory Procurement' would be necessary. The committee recommends the cordoning-off of the States of Orissa and the Punjab, the delta districts of the Andhra Pradesh and the Chhatisgarh area of the Madhya Pradesh. The Committee considers the alternative methods of levy on all rice and flour mills as also a fixed levy for every acre of land on substantial farmers but does not recommend these. The Organisation should according to the Committee, maintain a reserve stock of at least 2 million tons which reserve must be replenished from time to time. To build-up this stock as well for meeting the needs of deficit areas, it will be necessary to resort to imports of foodgrains from other countries. A licensing of all dealers and foodgrains would be necessary if the F.S.O. is to function efficiently.

In Ch. VIII. the Committee deals with Fair Price Shops, subsidised sales, creation of zones, grain golas and organisation of local relief works and recommends that a special division should be set up in the Ministries of Food and Agriculture in the Centre as well as the States to promote the production and consumption of subsidiary food.

In Ch. IX. the Second Five-Year Plan regarding increased production of foodgrains has been considered. The achievement ratio is estimated to be about 80%. In this connection the committee considers the irrigation projects, improved seeds, chemical fertilisers and recommends setting up of a larger number of seed-stores and more factories for the production of chemical fertilisers and briefly touches on mechanical farming, land reclamation, as well as Community Development and National Extension Services. It has also devoted a paragraph on useless and stray cattle.

In order to meet the problem of distribution, it is necessary that measures should be taken to augment and encourage the flow of marketable surplus of foodgrains. For this purpose the committee recommends regulation of the foodgrains markets. There are only 298 such regulated markets in the whole of India and none in West Bengal. It also recommends setting up of Grain Golas in rural areas on co-operative basis, as has been done in Orissa.

In Ch. X., the Committee studies the food situation in the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh in some details and recommends intensive surveys for other scarcity areas.

The following reasons are given for low yields:

- (1) Sub-marginal cultivation.
- (2) Over fragmentation.
- (3) Decline in well irrigation due to lack of repair.
- (4) Poor progress of flood control schemes.
- (5) Growth of population.

It is pointed out that even though the area is chronically deficit, the region is a substantial exporter of foodgrains. This, the Committee points out, must be stopped at all costs. On the other hand, it is recommended that foodgrains should be supplied to this area at cheap prices on a continuing basis.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE BUDDHA AND HIS MESSAGE:

By N. Gangulee. *Popular Book Depot, Bombay*, 1957. Pp. 206. Price Rs. 4.50.

In this posthumously published work the author, who is well-known for his studies in Indian agriculture, has attempted to present 'the essential features' of the Buddha's teachings divested of their accretions of myths and miracles. (p. 18). The author's view-point is well indicated by his statement that 'the message of the Buddha is the greatest heritage of Asia' (p. 17) and that 'a revived faith in Buddhism' freed from its metaphysics is bound to 'provide an enduring foundation for the harmonious growth of Asian culture and civilisation' (p. 26). Admitting the insufficiency of science or secular power to fulfil 'the noble purpose of recreating civilisation' (p. 26), and while fully sympathising with the author's trumpet-call to the Buddhist leaders of Asia to re-interpret the Master's message in the spirit of his 'mandate for the spiritual uplift of man' (p. 38), it is permissible to point out that the above statements ignore the political and economic forces at present in the ascendant among the liberated nations of Asia, and again, the vital role which Islam is playing in shaping Asian history in our times. The author's exposition of the Buddhist doctrines of the 8-fold Noble Path, the Middle Way, and *Nirvana* as well as of the Buddha's attitude towards *ahimsa*, *karma* and transmigration of souls (Ch. III) is correct so far as it goes, but unfortunately it is derived entirely from the canon of the Theravada school of Buddhism. The author would have done well in developing the tenets that give essential unity to the various differences that came to mark Buddhism in the course of its expansion outside India's limits. The concluding chapters (Chs. VI-VII) contain an anthology of extracts (many of which are perfect gems in thought and ex-

pression) from the Buddhist writings of different lands and times. It would have been well if the opinions of modern exponents of Buddhism had been given in the form of an appendix instead of being incorporated in these chapters. We have noticed some mis-statements of fact, e.g., that 'Asia never had any religious wars' (p. 25), and mis-prints such as 'Angarika Dharmapala' (p. 33). Instances of historical inaccuracies are 'Kapilavastu, the capital city of Kosala' (p. 41), and the precise dates given to the birth of the Buddha and the first Buddhist Council (pp. 41, 83). The reference to 'Asoka's Capital Anuradhapura' (p. 91) is a slip, the identification of Suvarnabhumi with Burma (p. 92) is problematical, the *Atthakatha* is not the title of the commentary on the *Dhammapada* (p. 114).

The work which is dedicated to the memory of Rishi Dwijendra Nath Tagore is pre-fixed with a Foreword by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and an Introduction by Miss I. B. Horner and a poem of Rabindranath Tagore, while it concludes with a glossary of Sanskrit and Pali words. The paper, print and get-up are good and the price is remarkably cheap for the value of the work.

U. N. GHOSHAL

FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS OF INDIAN METAPHYSICS AND LOGIC: By Dr. Susil Kumar Maitra, M.A., Ph.D., Retired George V Professor of Philosophy, Calcutta University.

STUDIES IN PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION: By the same author.

Distributed by Chuckervertty Chatterjee and Co., Calcutta..

The books under review come from a renowned professor of philosophy who taught in the Calcutta University for more than four decades. Dr. Maitra has the unique gift of a clarity of thought and a precision of expression so rare even amongst the more publicised authors

of repute. His *Fundamental Questions of Indian Metaphysics and Logic* is a topical treatment of different metaphysical and logical problems of Indian philosophy. A topical treatment undoubtedly conduces to a clearer perception of the issues and of the standpoints of the different schools of thought. It is an usual practice with the writers of the histories of Indian philosophy to present systemwise the different problems of Indian philosophy, both logical and metaphysical. Dr. Maitra's happy departure from this tradition has undoubtedly enhanced the usefulness of the volume.

The book gives an objective presentation of the Indian treatment of some of the fundamental questions of philosophy as discussed in the different schools of Indian thought. The author has mainly followed the original Sanskrit texts with meticulous care and as such the discussions claim an authenticity which can hardly be ignored. The book has been divided into two parts: Metaphysics and Logic. The first part deals with such fundamental problems of Indian metaphysics as the problems of *samanya* and *visesa*, the problem of the existence of God (Nyaya approach), the Samkhya theory of *purusa* and *prakriti* and the Jaina theory of *syadvada*. The 'Logic' part presents the Indian views on perception, inference and testimony as sources of knowledge. A sifting critical analysis by the author has carefully ascertained the merits of the rival claims of the claimants. The chapter entitled 'Theories of Validity in Indian Philosophy' is really illuminating.

The lucid writing of the author clearly bears out the fact that he knew what he was writing. Though it sounds paradoxical, yet our observation signifies a meaning which cannot be lightly brushed aside as redundant. Metaphysics of false appearance and 'Negation' deserve a careful reading. They bring out to the fore the author's keen insight into and a good grounding in the Advaita and other systems of Indian philosophy. As such the book deserves a distinguished place and we are sure, it will earn its much-deserved distinction before the first edition exhausts. The teacher and the taught and the larger reading public will find it profitable to go through the volume. Serious students of Indian metaphysics and epistemology, we are sure, will not be disappointed.

Studies in Philosophy and Religion finds its second edition. The first edition, when it came out, was enthusiastically received by all serious students of philosophy. It contained fifteen essays. The second edition is a collection of

eighteen papers written at different periods of time. The attentive reader, in spite of the seeming lack of cohesion in the treatise, will surely discover an underlying unity in the essays which has been unwittingly given to them by a logical and consistent mind who spun the thought-webs. It is apparent that the author is an idealist who does not subscribe to the Hegelian notion of a coherent whole of experience except as a wishful thought or a necessary make-believe. It has been his endeavour throughout to make out the objective forms as the self-alienation of the free subject. As an out-and-out Samkarite the author does not believe in any compromise with objectivism either of the idealistic or of the realistic brand. He explains his position in the essays entitled 'Spiritual Life' and in the second paper on 'Theories of False Appearance.'

The essays are mostly of a technical nature and they suit the trained and the initiated. The layman would find it difficult to have a proper appreciation as the abstruse thought process of the author has been couched in very many technical niceties. Of course, essays like capital punishment and 'Religion of Ancient Egypt' are intended for general readers. Essays on religion, such as, 'Religion and Magic' are monuments of scholarship and they have rightly been branded as 'illuminating study and a valuable addition to our literature on religion.' We wholeheartedly recommend the book to all serious students of philosophy and beg leave to say that in style, diction and contents the essays will match the most learned works of similar nature in the West.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

SELECTED SPEECHES OF MORARJI DESAI: Edited by Dr. Chandrakant Mehta, M.A., LL.B. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., (Bombay). Price Rs. 5.

The Indian national struggle threw up a marvellous leadership, a leadership any people may be legitimately proud of. The much-maligned Indian universities are the alma maters of this leadership. A sympathetic foreign observer aptly remarks, "... the universities (of India) produced the fine generation of men who have become leaders in the New India. One would like to think that men of the same calibre are coming out of the universities today" (*India: New Pattern* by Lady Mabel Hartog, p. 120).

Shri Morarji Desai is one of our front-rank political leaders. A firm believer in Sarvodaya, he is a true follower of Mahatma Gandhi and

has followed in the footsteps of the Master for more than a quarter of a century. The Editor and the publishers are to be congratulated for having presented the reading public with a handy volume that reveals the mind of an illustrious contemporary. The printing, binding and get-up of the volume leave nothing to be desired.

S. B. MOOKHERJI

1. JUPJI—the Sikh Prayer: Translated by Khuswant Singh. Published by Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society of London. Pp. 24. Price Re. One.

2. JAPJI—Text, translation and notes by a second-rate prophet. Part I. Published by S. Jaswant Singh, 15 Kutchery Road, Dehradun, U.P. Pp. 150. Price Rs. 5/-.

The first book is a simple translation of the Jupjis the most popular sacred book of the Sikhs. It is written by Guru Nanak the founder of Sikhism in ancient Punjabi language and chanted by the devout Sikhs as daily prayer. The translation is prefaced by a brief informative account of the Sikh faith and practice. It is essentially meant for the English and non-Punjabi readers.

The second book has been given the subtitle 'Nanak's conception of the design of existence.' It has the text in Devanagari Script with word-for-word meanings and literal renderings and is followed by a glossary of words used in the Japji. This board-bound broad volume ends with appendices of about eighty large pages on the pattern of life, in which everything under the sun is quoted by the self-styled, ludicrous second-rate prophet, who at the foot-note of the page 3 observes: "I believe the Hindus have adopted the Avatara theory from the Christians." These fantastic remarks no doubt expose his unpardonable ignorance of the Hindu History.

The translation has indeed some merits but the comments and criticisms are erratic and objectionable. For this demerit of the book the publisher apologises and observes that the translator is 'half mad brain crack,' and openly warns the readers refrain from reading his footnotes and appendices. It is lamentable that the translator sets out to prove like a dare-devil that Christ was the Original of Lord Krishna. Of course, the publisher in his apology frankly contradicts this idiotic observation at the very outset of the book and challenges the ignorant translator.

But if the publisher is fully aware of the

'mental derangement of the translator' and his non-sensical remarks, what is the use of his publishing such trash? The less such trash is circulated the better for the Society and State, since such writing does more evil than good.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

WHAT MAO REALLY MEANS: By Giri Lal Jain. Published by Siddhartha Publications Private Ltd., 35, Faiz Bazar, Delhi. Pp. 73, Price Rs. 2.

In this book the author has presented a study of Chinese Communism so far as the same is understood from the speeches and writings of Mao Tse-tung, President of the People's Republic of China. The author has tried to show that Communism is the same whether it is in Russia or China and its methods and tactics are not different. In China (many people think) the Communists are working in co-operation with other groups. According to the author, this is only a temporary phase. In due course, Communistic dictatorship will crush all other forces and groups and make the entire China Communistic. Because of special circumstances full Communism is not possible at the present moment in China but the process is already begun and non-Communists of that country are aware of it. There is much truth in what the author contends and the reader will find this book an interesting study.

(1) PLANNED DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE: Pp. 26. Price Re. 1.

(2) FOR GREATER FOOD PRODUCTION: Pp. 43. Price Re. 1.

Both by Radha Krishna Khanna. Published by Deepak Publications, Hakim Baga Street, Delhi.

In the first booklet the author severely criticizes the Planning of the Government of India. In his opinion forced industrialisation of India cannot lay the foundations of her economic development or prosperity of the people. He also disagrees with the land and agricultural policy of the Government. He has no faith in co-operative farming. The policy of nationalisation is severely attacked by the writer. "The Government is neither industrializing nor solving the problem of unemployment; far less it is solving the food problem of the growing millions." Planning is described as "purposeless." The writer concludes, "What our Government are really doing, though unwillingly, is to bring

about communism by non-violent means and not planned development of the country."

In the second brochure the author gives some constructive suggestions for greater food production. He supports large-scale farming so that up-to-date methods might be applied to agriculture. According to the writer, agriculture and food production must have priority to industries, otherwise there would be untold privations, sufferings and hardships to the people.

These booklets show the dark side of the picture.

A. B. DUTTA

THE LEFTIST EXPERIMENT: By S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao. *The Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bombay-7. August 1957. Pp. 174. Price Rs. 8.25.*

This is an inconsequential book with an imposing title. The book purports to record the impressions of the writer, who is deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, gained during his visits to the USSR and Yugoslavia in 1955 and to China in October, 1956. Apparently the writer saw little of significance in those countries and understood still less. The range of his knowledge and understanding is given by the following remark made by him at the conclusion of this book. "China," Shri Rao writes, "is also a Communist country working in close association with the USSR. But unlike the USSR it does not want to mechanise or collectivise its agriculture" (p. 174). The facts are however completely to the contrary. Far from not "wanting" to collectivise and mechanise agriculture, China had completed the process of collectivisation before the author had gone there. The truth is that he was so engrossed in other things that he completely failed to discern even this gigantic change there. There is absolutely no justification for the high price of the book.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

THE POETRY AND CAREER OF LI-PO: By Arthur Waley. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Price 8s. 6d. net.

Li-Po of the eighth century is regarded by many as China's greatest poet. In religion, he was a follower of Taoism. Mr. Waley has given not only a record of his life and career but has also described the social history of the times so that the reader may have an adequate idea of the background of his poetry. He has provided every material necessary for the proper understanding of the poet.

VAISHNABA LYRICS: By Dr. Matilal Das, M.A., B.L. Ph.D. *Bharat Samskriti Parisat, Block K, Plot 467, New Alipore, Calcutta-36. Price Rs. 3/-.*

151 pieces of choice Vaishnaba lyrics, rendered into facile English prose, preceded by a short but thoughtful introduction. The emotional fervour and the music of the originals defy all attempts of translation. The author has been able to convey to a great extent the mystic charm and the spiritual import, characteristic of them.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

SANSKRIT

DHARMOTTARAPRADIPA of Durveka Misra with Dharmottara's Nyayabindutika and the Nyayabindu of Dharmakirti. Edited with Introduction and indices by Pt. Dalsukhram Malvania, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1955, Price Rs. 7.50.

The *Nyayabindu* with Dharmottara's commentary has been published in India and abroad. The Dharmottarapradipa here published for the first time elucidates the positions of Dharmottara and Dharmakirti. It gives us a wealth of information which is not available elsewhere. It is highly learned and at the same time not very difficult to understand. The labour spent on it by the learned editor is well-spent. We congratulate both the editor and the publisher for this new addition of importance to the philosophical literature. The available materials have diligently been utilised. Durveka Misra, a student of Acharya Jitari, was one of the most important scholars of the Vikramasila University and seems to be an older contemporary of Dipankarasrijnana. The non-mention of Vachaspati Misra in this work as well as in his *Hetubindutikaloka* is significant. The pradipa clearly proves that *Ahrika* (p. 246) is not a proper name as is generally supposed. But it means the Jainas in general. Durveka quotes the *Nyayabhasyatikas* of Adhvayana (*Ruchitika*), Trilochana (*Nyayamanjari*) and Visvarupa. All these works are lost. The quotations are, therefore, invaluable to a student of Indian Logic. The *Kavyalamkara* quoted here (p. 6) is the work of Bhāmaha. A quotation (p. 173) identified in Uddyotakara's *Nyayavartika* has been introduced with *Yadahaksapadah*. We are inclined to take the word *Aksapada* as a follower of *Aksapada* which Uddyotakara certainly was. The learned introductions in English and Hindi

add to the value of the book. We hope that this volume will be well received by the world of scholars.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

BENGALI

SUNYA PRANTARER GAN (The song of the Barren Field): *By Sivadas Chakravarti. Ranjan Publishing House. 57, Indra Biswas Road, Calcutta-37. Price Rs. 1-8 as.*

Not extraordinary, but readable poems of clear ideas in faultless metres.

HINDI

SANT-SUDHA-SAR: *Edited by Viyogi Hari. Introduction by Acharya Vinoba. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. 1953. Pp. 663+289. Price Rs. 11.*

Shri Viyogi Hari is a mystic by nature, though the call of the suppressed and suffering humanity, particularly the scheduled classes, has compelled him to be a man of action, always "on His service," (as He manifests Himself with a special appeal in *Daivdranarayana*). His inspiration, however, has always been derived from the poet-mystics of India, pre-medieval as well as medieval. The present anthology is

accordingly, a treasure-chest of the 'rubies' and pearls of wisdom—the wisdom of the Eternal—bequeathed to us by these God-intoxicated and God-realized souls. Will our Hindi-knowing young men and women then avail themselves of his treasure-chest, rather than read literature which feeds them on chaff and wild oats? Shri Vinoba's illuminating introduction is, indeed, a letter of introduction to the mystics. G. M.

GUJARATI

JAMAI-RAJ: *By Pannalal N. Patel. Published by the Bharatiya Sahitya Sangh, Ltd., Ahmedabad. 1952. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 140. Price Rs. 2.*

Pannalal Patel's stories have won a high place already in Gujarati literature of the present times but this is his first attempt in the direction of Drama writing. The book contains three plays. Two of them have been already staged. They reflect certain aspects of our village life. The first one, meant to be a reflection of our domestic life in its opening stages, e.g., where Chandan and Kishore meet accidentally, looks artificial, unreal, laboured. Mr. Patel had better stick to fiction.

K.M.J.

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Indian Periodicals

Scientific Policy of India

Science and Culture writes editorially:

We make no apologies for reverting to the scientific policy resolution of the Government of India. This resolution was placed by the Government of India before Parliament on March 12 and received their approval. It is so important a statement that it has been reproduced below in full.

"The key of national prosperity, apart from the spirit of the people, lies in the modern age, in the effective combination of three factors, technology, raw materials and capital, of which the first is perhaps the most important, since the creation and adoption of new scientific techniques can, in fact, make up for a deficiency in natural resources, and reduce the demands on capital. But technology can only grow out of the study of science and its applications.

"The dominating feature of the, contemporary world is the intense cultivation of science on a large scale, and its application to meet a country's requirements. It is this, which, for the first time in man's history, has given to the common man in countries advanced in science, a standard of living and social and cultural amenities, which were once confined to a very small privileged minority of the population. Science has led to the growth and diffusion of culture to an extent never possible before. It has not only radically altered man's material environment, but, what is of still deeper significance, it has provided new tools of thought and has extended man's mental horizon. It has thus influenced even the basic values of life, and given to civilization a new vitality and a new dynamism.

"It is only through the scientific approach and method and the use of scientific knowledge that reasonable material and cultural amenities and services can be provided for every member of the community, and it is out of a recognition of this possibility that the idea of a Welfare State has grown. It is characteristic of the present world that the progress towards the practical realisation of a Welfare State differs widely from country to country in direct relation

to the extent of industrialisation and the effort and resources applied in the pursuit of science.

"The wealth and prosperity of a nation depend on the effective utilisation of its human and material resources through industrialisation. The use of human material for industrialisation demands its education in science and training in technical skills. Industry opens up possibilities of greater fulfilment for the individual. India's enormous resources of man-power can only become an asset in the modern world when trained and educated.

"Science and technology can make up for deficiencies in raw materials by providing substitutes, or, indeed, by providing skills which can be exported in return for raw materials. In industrialising a country, a heavy price has to be paid in importing science and technology in the form of plant and machinery, highly paid personnel and technical consultants. An early large-scale development of science and technology in the country could therefore greatly reduce the drain on capital during the early and critical stages of industrialisation.

"Science has developed at an ever-increasing pace since the beginning of the century, so that the gap between the advanced and backward countries has widened more and more. It is only by adopting the most vigorous measures and by putting forward our outmost effort into the development of science that we can bridge the gap. It is an inherent obligation of a great country like India, with its traditions of scholarship and original thinking and its great cultural heritage, to participate fully in the march of science, which is probably mankind's greatest enterprise today.

"The Government of India have accordingly decided that the aims of their scientific policy will be—

- (i) to foster, promote and sustain, by all appropriate means, the cultivation of science, and scientific research in all its aspects—pure, applied and educational,
- (ii) to ensure an adequate supply, within the country, of research scientists of the highest quality, and to recognize

- their work as an important component of the strength of the nation,
- (iii) to encourage and initiate, with all possible speed, programmes for the training of scientific and technical personnel, on a scale adequate to fulfil the country's needs in science and education, agriculture and industry and defence,
 - (iv) to ensure that the creative talent of men and women is encouraged and finds full scope in scientific activity,
 - (v) to encourage individual initiative for the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge, and for the discovery of new knowledge in an atmosphere of academic freedom,
 - (vi) and, in general, to secure for the people of the country all the benefit that can accrue from the acquisition and application of scientific knowledge.

"The Government of India have decided to pursue and accomplish these aims by offering good conditions of service to scientists and according them an honoured position, by associating scientists with the formulation of policies, and by taking such other measures as may be deemed necessary from time to time."

It is, of course, true that since the advent of freedom Shri Jawaharlal Nehru as the Prime Minister of India has given science and scientific research in this country an importance which they did not receive before. It is chiefly because of his realisation of the pivotal importance of science in the modern age that a chain of national laboratories could be built up in a relatively short space of time. Organisational steps taken by way of constituting different Ministries and Departments dealing with different aspects of scientific and technological development have helped to harness science in the programme of economic development. The Government's initiative in taking up river valley projects, and various industrial projects like fertilisers, steel, atomic power, etc., which are essential for the rapid development of the country, is truly commendable and has brought science and technology before the public eye.

In spite of all the above efforts, however, there has been a feeling in the minds of scientists in this country that the full potentiality of science for the good of the nation was not being realised. The scientific policy resolution of the

Government of India embodies Government's thinking in regard to this matter and does well by indicating the directions of progress. What in our view is now important is the concretisation of this resolution. For this purpose Government may ask the National Institute of Sciences of India to appoint a Committee which will frame the details. Alternatively Government may formulate the measures themselves through a joint committee with the National Institute of Sciences of India. It is possible that some of these measures would disturb some established practices and vested interests inside the Government machinery. They might upset some hierarchical priorities and wound the vanities of some permanent services. But unless the Government is bold enough in adopting reforms which will enable scientists and technologists to pull their weight in the rapid economic development of the country, the scientific policy resolution will remain a resolution and will not sufficiently subserve the interests of the nation.

The University of London

The University of London is an unique metropolitan centre of learning. Lord Strang writes in *The Social Service Quarterly*:

London was one of the last of the larger capitals to be equipped with a University: but in the 130 years or so since the first foundations of this great institution were laid, the University of London has won an outstanding place for itself among the Universities of the world, in point of range and variety of academic activity as well as of student population and geographical extension. In Britain it is unique.

COLLEGES WIDELY DISPERSED

The heart of the University lies in the "Precinct," a University quarter now being developed in Bloomsbury, north of the British Museum and adjacent to it. But its constituent schools are spread over a wide area in London and the Home Counties: from Queen Mary College in the Mile End Road in the east to the Wye Agricultural College away at Ashford in Kent in the south-east, and from Westfield College in Hampstead in the north to the Royal Holloway College at Egham in Surrey in the west. These two latter, like Bedford College in Regent's Park, are colleges for women only. Two of the schools of the University, King's College and the London School of Economics

and Political Science, are in one of the busiest parts of central London, on two sides of the Strand.

The "Precinct" itself includes within its boundaries not only the Senate House and administrative offices (completed in 1936), the University Library and the Students' Union, but also two of the University's oldest foundations, University College and Birkbeck College. University College, with its 3,500 students, the largest of the schools of the University, is in size and comprehensiveness a University in itself. Within its rectangle, arising afresh from the ruins of World War II, on its original site fronting on Gower Street, are the Faculties of a normal University, Arts, Science, Laws, Engineering and Medical Sciences, as well as the world-famous Slade School of Fine Arts. Birkbeck College, by contrast, carrying on in its new building since 1957 an old and honourable tradition, provides part-time degree courses for those engaged in other occupations during the day.

Also within the "Precinct" is a number of relatively newly formed University Research Institutes. These, unlike the schools of the University, each of which has its own governing body, are the direct responsibility of the University itself. Among them are the Institutes for Historical Research, Education, and Archaeology; the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes of Art, and the Schools of Slavonic and East European Studies and of Oriental and African Languages.

SPECIALIST SCHOOLS

Some of the schools of the University are specialist in character, like the great Imperial College of Science and Technology at South Kensington, now to be substantially expanded; the London School of Economics; the small Queen Elizabeth College for women, where there are degree courses in household science and nutrition; the Royal Veterinary College, and the School of Pharmacy.

The University also has within its fold no fewer than 12 Medical Schools for undergraduates, and a whole range of post-graduate medical institutes organized by the British Post-graduate Medical Federation. The importance of medical studies in the University may be gathered from the fact that medical students form about a third of the whole student body.

The University, thus widely dispersed and in all its rich variety, provides for somewhat

over 20,000 students, more than a quarter of them women, reading for degrees or engaged in post-graduate research. Their needs are served by a professional staff unsurpassed in eminence by any other university institution in the country.

The University also has a rich external side, conducting degree examinations for external students, running courses of study through an active Department of Extra-Mural Studies, and maintaining special relations with growing University Colleges in oversea territories.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

What are the main differences between a University of this character and other Universities in the United Kingdom; and what is the balance of advantage and disadvantage for the academic staff and student body?

The London Colleges vary widely in size, and they vary also in the extent to which residential accommodation can be provided within or in the neighbourhood of the college. But in a large college like University College, only a small proportion of the students will live in college halls of residence. Most will live in lodgings, often far out in the suburbs, where rooms are cheaper. And many will live at home. The college cannot, therefore, be the closely-knit community, able if so desiring to live in cloistered calm, like the relatively small Oxford or Cambridge colleges, or the new University of South Staffordshire at Keele. Nor can there be the same intimacy of contact between staff and students as under the Oxford and Cambridge tutorial system. As against this, the staff are perhaps somewhat less tempted by the lure of internal college politics and the students by the appeal of college exclusiveness than in some of the older foundations.

The atmosphere is apt to be more free and open, the intellectual traditions less inbred. There is both gain and loss here. What may be too much lacking in London is the fruitful and stimulating impact of mind upon mind which is one of the requisites of a full and all-round education. As compared, on the other hand, with newer Universities in great provincial cities like Birmingham, Manchester or Sheffield, the London student, even the student of science and technology, may not be sufficiently conscious, in an intimate way, of the world of industry, the realm of technology, and of its meaning for us today and in the future.

"LIVING CLOSE TO THE WORLD"

But such disadvantages, if they may be so called, are largely outweighed by the advantages of spending the student life in a capital city of the unique character of London. The student of politics has the Houses of Parliament and the government departments almost at his door. The student of economics or finance or commerce can look into the city of London; with its banks and finance houses, its shipping offices and its great port, and the headquarters of giant industrial and commercial corporations. The student of laws may turn to the Inns of Court, where barristers are bred, or to the Law Courts, where justice is done. The student of international affairs may look to the foreign Embassies, the student of the arts to the museums and art galleries, the student of classics or philosophy to the multiplicity of learned societies, the student at large to the pulsing intellectual, artistic, theatrical life of the metropolis, with the concourse of visitors for business or pleasure from all parts of the United Kingdom and from the Commonwealth and every country in the world. And great as the advantage of "living close to the world" may be for the ordinary undergraduate, it is even more stimulating for the post-graduate research student and most of all for the occupant of a professorial chair.

Writing about the year 1500, that fine Scottish poet, William Dunbar, called London 'the flower of cities all.' Dr. Johnson said in the eighteenth century: "When a man is tired of London, he is tired of life; for there is in London all that life can afford."

Seeds and Sowing for Inner Harvest

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially:

It is true that no two religions, teachers, or sacred books present desirable qualities in the same order. This by itself need not become a great stumbling block; rather it is as it ought to be. It is now being increasingly recognized that each person has certain inborn traits which should be kept in view in all matters connected with his development. In giving secular education, in enabling people to choose their vocations aright, and even while selecting drugs to cure

diseases, the tendency is to study the peculiar characteristics, different 'individuals' exhibit. We see that in some systematic, though to us at present unknown manner, a person takes from his food the pigment 'natural' for his body. What we have to do is to apply the same principle to matters relating to his intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual growth. Where the 'suggestions' given and the 'disciplines' prescribed match his inborn tastes, his reactions will as a rule be favourable, and he will speed along the path of virtue and knowledge. Where, on the other hand, the proffered advice goes against the pattern of virtuous qualities ready to sprout up within him, it will blunt his sensitivity and hamper his growth. Thus, while every quality mentioned in a system is doubtless necessary for all-round progress, adequate provision has also to be made for the individual's 'right of choice' regarding the order in which he would find it economic to cultivate them. When he is encouraged to experiment with them, he is sure, after some trial and error, to discover the one quality which, when strengthened, will give him a steady basis for the advancement of the rest. Viewed in this light, all systems appear equally beneficial, though each step as it stands in any of them may not suit everyone in an equal measure at all stages of his onward march.

Some may have a predominantly devotional type of mind. Their programmes will be centred round the attainment of the grace of God. But even they have to 'exert' in a number of ways,—for example, by studying sacred books, by worshipping God with the aid of symbols, by learning to meditate on Him and, finally, by 'surrendering' themselves into His protecting hands. All these or other 'disciplines' mean intense 'self-effort,' whatever the goal or the direction may be. This 'exertion' is not to be understood as a denial of humility or of a spirit of dedication. It is the direct opposite only of the laziness and inertia that finds it convenient to invoke, in words, the gratuitous aid of outside agencies without doing anything positive or useful. Exertion is the spontaneous expression of the determination to plough one's inner field properly, select and sow right seeds, pull out weeds, and do everything else for raising an excellent harvest, helpful to men and pleasing to God.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Draft of China's 1958 National Economic Plan

Po I-po Vice-Premier and Chairman of the National Economic Commission of China made a report on the Draft of 1958 National Economic Plan at the fifth session of the National People's Congress on February 3. The purport of the report is published in *China To-day*, February 25, 1958:

NATIONAL ECONOMIC GROWTH IN 1957

Vice-Premier Po I-po said 1957 was a year of great victories on many fronts in the country, and these resulted in the all-round fulfilment or overfulfilment of the basic tasks and the major targets of the First Five-Year Plan.

Reviewing the achievements on the political-ideological and economic fronts during the year, the Vice-Premier said they further strengthened the unity of the nation under the leadership of the working class, strengthened the socialist, political and economic system and consolidated its material foundation.

The nation-wide rectification campaign initiated by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and the struggle against the bourgeois rightists during this campaign, had provided the basic driving force for these victories, he added.

Vice-Premier enumerated the results in the major aspects of the 1957 national economic plan as follows:

Capital Construction: total investment in capital construction in 1957 came to an estimated 12,370 million yuan, exceeding the plan by a wide margin. 178 of the 642 above-norm major and important industrial and mining enterprises which were continued, or newly launched, in 1957 were completed; and this was a greater number than in any other year in the First Five-Year Plan.

With these major enterprises built and in operation, the Vice-Premier said, China now

came nearer to self-sufficiency in high-grade steel, alloy steel and aluminium, could manufacture boilers for thermal power plants and certain heavy machinery which she had been lacking and produced paper on a large-scale for industrial use. An up-to-date, comprehensive chemical industrial base had also been completed.

Industry: total industrial output in 1957 (excluding handicrafts) reached an estimated value of 62,810 million yuan, which was 4.1% more than the plan for the year, 6.9% more than the output in the previous year, and 17.3% more than the original plan for 1957 when the First Five-Year Plan was drawn up. The great majority of the major industrial items also exceeded their planned output.

Agriculture: output of agricultural and rural side-occupations last year reached an estimated value of 60,350 million yuan. This was 3.5% more than the previous year's output. Compared with 1956, the estimated grain output in 1957 increased by 2.5 million tons, reaching a total of 185 million tons; and cotton by 195,000 tons, reaching 1.64 million tons. There were increases, too, in the output of sugar cane, sugar beet, jute and ambary hemp and in the number of pigs.

The annual planned totals for communications and transport, commerce, education and cultural services in 1957 had all been surpassed.

Vice-Premier Po I-po said China's national economy had advanced at a rapid pace since liberation in 1949. However, he said, the road had not been ideally smooth but had seen some twists and turns; and progress has been made only after repeated efforts, overcoming one difficulty after another. During the past eight years, China had more than once encountered difficulties caused by serious natural calamities, more than once met difficulties due to insufficiency in resources, finance and technical forces. But these difficulties had been overcome one after the other.

The great victories last year on the political and ideological fronts, won through the rectifi-

cation campaign and the anti-rightist struggle, had acted as a spur to achievements on the economic front during the year; and the victory on the economic front had in turn consolidated the victories on the political and ideological fronts, Po I-po said.

"With the memory of 1957 to encourage us," Vice-Premier Po I-po continued, "each of us can look forward to our great future with confidence and hope."

II. NEW FORWARD LEAP IN CHINA'S NATIONAL ECONOMY IN 1958

Vice-Premier Po I-po predicted that 1958 would see a new leap forward in China's national economy, a good beginning for the Second Five-Year Plan. The scale of capital construction this year would greatly exceed that of any previous year, he said.

The Vice-Premier added that the major tasks in the development of the national economy this year were—energetic work in every field for an upsurge in agriculture and a bumper harvest; vigorous development of heavy industry, chiefly to raise the output of fuel, electric power, raw materials, chemical fertiliser, heavy machinery, farming power machinery and electric power equipment; increased investment in

capital construction to the limit of the country's material and financial resources, mainly concentrating on productive enterprises; hard work to increase consumer goods output, continued efforts to keep market prices stable and appropriate improvement in the living standards of the people on the basis of expanded re-production; energetic development of culture, education and public health.

The Vice-Premier elaborated on the major aspect of the economic plan for 1958 as follows:

Capital Construction: total investment in capital construction this year was tentatively fixed at 14,577 million yuan, or 17.8% more than the estimated figure for 1957. There would be increased investment in agriculture, particularly water conservancy, and in various branches of heavy industry, particularly fuel, electric power, metallurgy, the chemical industry and other branches of industry supplying the needs of agriculture.

A total of 1,185 above-norm projects would be continued or started this year, including 716 industrial projects and 185 agricultural, forestry and water conservancy projects. Of these, 188 major industrial projects would be completed within the year.

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Total industrial output in 1958 was, tentatively, estimated to reach 64,370 million yuan, 14.6% more than in 1957. (As from this year, the figures of industrial output are calculated in terms of 1957 prices; and there were reductions in that year in the prices of most products of heavy industry. Calculated on the old basis, i.e., 1952 prices, the figure for industrial output in 1958 would be 71,960 million yuan. —Editor). Heavy industry would still be at a relatively high rate of development this year. Energetic efforts would be made to increase the output of fuel, electricity and raw materials in order as fully as possible to meet the needs of expanding capital construction and the growth of the processing industries and the whole national economy.

The target for steel output in 1958 was set at 6,248,000 tons, 19.2% more than in 1957; electricity 22,450 million kilowatt-hours, 13% more than 1957; and coal 150,724 million tons, 17.2% more than 1957; timber output would go up by 9.4% in 1958 and cement output by 14.5%.

In the machine-building industry production would concentrate to a greater extent than before, on the needs of capital construction and technical improvements in agriculture. There would be a notable increase in the output of chemical fertiliser in 1958.

Branches of light industry would be greatly increased thanks to the fairly good harvests of 1957.

There was stress in the plan on the introduction of more new types and varieties of products, Po I-po said. The industrial ministries alone would this year begin trial production of 372 major new products. These included: high-pressure air-compressors and synthetic chambers for the nitrogenous fertiliser industry, complete sets of 50,000-kilowatt thermal power-generating equipment, complete sets of 72,500-kilowatt hydro-electric power-generating equipment, 1,513-cubic metre blast furnaces, 1,150-millimetre rolling mills, 54 horsepower caterpillar tractors, ocean-going cargo ships of over 13,000 tons dead-weight each, electronic computers, television transmitters and receivers and synthetic fibres. "When prototypes of these important new products are successfully manufactured," Vice-Premier Po I-po said, "it will mean a great step forward in the technical level of our industry."

Agriculture: the total output of agriculture and rural side-occupations in 1958 would reach an estimated value of 68,830 million yuan, 6.1%

more than the previous year. (As from this year, the figures of agricultural output are calculated in terms of 1957 prices; and there were increases in the prices of a number of farm products in the year. Calculated on the old basis, i.e., 1952 prices, the figure for agricultural output in 1958 would be 64,250 million yuan. —Editor). This rate of increase far surpassed the average in the First Five-Year Plan. The target for the food crops in 1958 was 196 million tons, 5.9% above 1957, and cotton 1.74 million tons, 6.7% above 1957. There would also be increases in the output of peanuts, rape seed and tobacco, in the acreage of afforested land and in the numbers of livestock—oxen, horses, donkeys, mules and pigs.

All these planned targets could be fulfilled and, "possibly, overfulfilled, provided there were no specially serious natural calamities," the Vice-Premier added. The guarantee was the unprecedented enthusiasm among the more than 500 million peasants for increasing production.

Turning to other fields of the national economy Vice-Premier Po I-po said the volume of commodities which could be supplied was in excess of purchasing power. Consequently, market stability and stable commodity prices would be assured and the commercial departments would be able to keep certain reserves of goods.

The educational system would be improved in accordance with the principle of combining brain work with physical labour; and work in culture, education and public health would be actively developed in accordance with the principle combining industry and thrift in the running of schools and cultural and health establishments, and relying upon the resources of the masses themselves.

The Vice-Premier said the draft 1958 national economic plan was fully reliable and might possibly be overfulfilled. It had been drawn up, and also provided for some reserves, in the light of the favourable conditions that had emerged out of the following situation: the successful rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle which had stimulated unprecedented enthusiasm for socialism among the great mass of the people and government workers. This enthusiasm would exert its influence over a long time to come. The current upsurge in agriculture was certain, in particular, to bring about a new upsurge in industry;—the tremendous achievements in the First Five-Year Plan which had resulted in the establishment of many new departments of industry that had never existed in China before and the rapid

growth in the country's productive capacity; —the improvements in the system of administration and in work in every field. The administrative improvements made it possible for the localities more actively to discover and utilise local potentialities for agricultural and industrial development, particularly as regards industrial enterprises which could serve agriculture, and also other productive undertakings. At the same time, by passing over to the local authorities responsibilities for many undertakings which these could manage perfectly well, the central authority would be able to concentrate to a still greater extent on key projects, technical transformation and the checking of results, so helping forward the national economy as a whole.

"In the new stage, we shall certainly expand capital construction and develop industry and agriculture and all other undertakings to the maximum possible degree, speedily, satisfactorily and at the lowest cost," Vice-Premier Po I-po said. This could be achieved "so long as we can make good use of every favourable factor and turn into concrete action in which the whole people participate the call issued by the Communist Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao to catch up with or surpass Britain in the output of steel, iron and other important industrial products in 15 years or a little longer; and by bringing to bear all available positive factors, consistently carry out the policy of developing industry and agriculture simultaneously on the basis of priority to the growth of heavy industry and the policy of building the nation in the spirit of hard work and thrift."

The Vice-Premier also stressed the favourable international situation. He said, "The successful launching of the two artificial satellites by the Soviet Union and the Moscow Conference of Communist parties of over 60 countries marked a new turning-point in the world balance of political power. Since then, the international situation has turned more and more in favour of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union. Fraternal solidarity among the socialist countries has been further strengthened, including the solidarity between China and the Soviet Union." He pointed out that the overfulfilment of China's First Five-Year Plan was inseparable from the enormous assistance given by the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries; and during the Second Five-Year Plan, China would continue to receive from them "generous help in many

spheres to enable us to advance more speedily to the great goal of socialism."

Vice-Premier Po I-po called for continued frugality and the elimination of waste as an important task in building the national economy. Very considerable achievements had been gained in this field during the increase-production-and-practice-economy campaigns since liberation, he said, but there were still immense possibilities for economy.

He added that the current nation-wide rectification campaign provided excellent opportunities for pressing forward with the economy drive and combating waste and extravagance. The practice of economy and elimination of waste must be regarded as an important subject for keen discussion, so as to bring about drastic corrective action during the campaign. He called on the leadership in all enterprises and organisations throughout the country to sweep away rightist conservative ideas in this regard. "We want to generate an immense wave of activity throughout the country to sweep away all waste," the Vice-Premier said.

Vice-Premier Po I-po appealed to all those engaged in economic activity to fully rely on the masses, bring their initiative and creativeness into full play and so go forward to fulfil and overfulfil the 1958 national economic plan.

India and Armenia

The second part of the article on India and Armenia by Melik Simonyan in the *Armenian Bulletin* is given below:

3. HOSPITABLE INDIA

What should be done? Adopt the attitude of an onlooker or, take part in the liberation struggle of a nation that

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had hospitably opened its doors to the refugees? The documents which have been preserved to our days indicate that most Armenians were not troubled by this dilemma. In 1763 Bengal declared war on England. The foreign invaders met with the staunch resistance of the Bengali troops among which there were Armenians, officers and men. Grigor Arutyunan (Gorgi Khan) was an outstanding general in the Indian army. Under his leadership several defeats were inflicted on the English troops. In one of the battles Gorgi Khan lost his life. It is also a known fact that an Armenian named Margar was active in helping to organize the army Mir Kasim led against the English.

The majority of Armenian merchants in India, whose trade on the main depended on local markets, regarded the Europeans in general and the English in particular as their enemies. On the one hand fear of a powerful competitor was an important factor, on the other, the ever-present memories of Armenia's ordeals stimulated their hatred for all people who came with the sword into a foreign land for the purpose of killing and imposing their will.

But England won and put the Indian people into colonial irons for two hundred years.

The Armenian communities were steadily declining. In the middle of the 19th century only some buildings put up by them and the memorials on deserted grave-yards bore witness to the past existence of many thriving and densely populated townships. Armenian communities have survived only in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, but they no longer play the role they did in the past. One may point out that the Calcutta community was older than the city itself. It came into being on the banks of the Ganges before that city was founded.

4. AID FROM INDIA

The ties of the Indian Armenians with their mother country stood the test of time and of the distance that separated them. The recurring events, spelling death and destructions in all corners of Armenia's highland, constantly kept the refugees' minds alive to the necessity of overthrowing the Persian and Turkish yoke. Being outside the reach of Turkish janissaries and of the latter's Persian opposite numbers, they were often in a position to do, and they actually did, more than the people living under foreign yoke.

Those were days of hope. The slumbering began to think, the thinking called to arms. The second half of the 18th century was

marked by the re-birth of the Armenians' national consciousness. Many of them became convinced that it was necessary to wage a liberation struggle. Yet how was it to be done? How could the oppressed and disarmed Armenian people get back on their feet without outside aid? The Indian Armenians found the right answer to this question, which was later borne out by history: the enlightenment of the people and Russia's help. It is to the Indian Armenians that goes all the credit for publishing historical works about the formerly strong and independent Armenian state.

The Indian Armenians published lay books, they founded schools and printshops not only in India, but also in Armenia, Russia and Europe. An outstanding event of that period was the appearance in Madras in 1794 of the first Armenian monthly, *Azdarar* (News). A complete file of that publication is extant at present at the Armenian State Library. It was turned over in 1956 by the Calcutta Armenians to the writer Garegin Sevuntz who was visiting India. As he said later, in addition to this valuable acquisition he also brought from India priceless impressions of that great land and its splendid people.

Azdarar was a successful beginning. It was followed by other periodicals: *Shtemaran* (The Granary), *Azgacer* (The Patriot), *Azgacer Araratyan* (The Ararat Patriot), and others.

As said above, the Indian Armenians regarded enlightenment as a means of achieving the great aim—the liberation of their homeland. But that materialized much later, after the October revolution. It is not out of Armenia that caravans of migrants are moving now, but back into Armenia. Tens of thousands of people have returned to their native land. Hundreds of thousands of others are aspiring to return too. And the whole Armenian nation is enthusiastically pursuing free, constructive endeavours.

But while it builds, it does not forget the past. It was as dark as the night sky shrouded by clouds. Very very seldom, in between the clouds, appeared a little star spelling bright memories. A very lonely little star indeed. But that is why it has all the gratitude of our hearts, a gratitude that would suffice for millions of stars.

In Armenia's history that bright moment betokens of a distant name that is yet so close: India.